William Rider, Publisher
16, Great Windmill Street, Haymarket
London

The Northern Star,
AND NATIONAL TRADES' JOURNAL.

VOL. XII. No. 607. LONDON, SATURDAY, JUNE 9, 1849. PRICE FIVEPENCE or Five Shillings and Sixpence per Quarter.

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

TO THE OLD GUARDS.

Loved and Honoured Comrades,

You will no doubt read the discussion upon the motion of Mr. Hume with no ordinary satisfaction, not derived from the small minority—although the snowball increases in its onward course—but from the speeches of Mr. Hume, Mr. Bright, and Mr. Lock King, which cannot of course be reported at full length in the "*Northern Star.*" Nevertheless, I can analyse them for you. They were, one and all—and especially that of Mr. Bright—what in the "good old Tory times," would have been designated as little short of treason; and it was from the substance of those speeches, rather than from the terms of the motion, that I gleaned no slight satisfaction. But although I voted for that motion, rather than be stigmatised as an obstructive, impeding and standing in the way of progress; yet, nevertheless, I must call your attention to the fact, that even with Annual Parliaments, Universal Suffrage, Vote by Ballot, and Equal Electoral Districts, it would not be in the power of that constituency, to return a member for a county if he did not possess £600 a year; or a member for a borough, if he did not possess £300 a year. And further, that if even Property Qualification was dispensed with, an intelligent man of your order, capable of representing you, and possessing your confidence, would not be likely to abandon trade or profession, if deprived of the means of existence. And believe me, Old Guards, when I tell you, that the interest of the labouring classes will not, and cannot be represented in Parliament, except by labourers. That is, by a sufficient number of intelligent working men to enlighten those who are wholly ignorant of the Labour Question.

Old Guards, take experience from the past; and recollect that Sir George Grey taunted Mr. Hume with the absence of petitions, and do not let him taunt me with the same popular apathy, when, in this racing season, I give *the animal its gallop.* As I instructed you, you will send those petitions to the members of the respective districts from which they come, and you will report to the Executive the number of those petitions, and to whom sent; while I confess that I should derive no little pleasure from receiving a LITTLE MONSTER from Manchester, Birmingham, Sheffield, Leeds, Newcastle, Bristol, and all the smaller towns of England; and from Glasgow and the smaller towns of Scotland; and from patriotic Merthyr Tydvil, and the smaller towns of Wales. Lord John Russell has boasted of your loyalty and your satisfaction, based upon your silence. Show him that you are loyal to your principles, and that you will only be satisfied by their adoption.

Old Guards, you have now ample time for action, and let me implore of you not to throw it away, inasmuch as upon your firm resolution will depend the new Reform the Prime Minister has promised, and which is eulogised by the "*Times.*" The Government, to establish itself upon a firm basis, must henceforth recruit its forces from the Liberal, and not from the Tory ranks, and upon the firmness of the people will depend its RECRUITING CRY! The more we ask for, if it is legitimate, and not an extension of our former demands, the more we shall get; while, upon the other hand, the less we ask for, the less will be offered to us.

Old Guards: "To be forewarned is to be forearmed,' and let me again forewarn you. The policy of the English Government will now mainly depend upon the state of foreign nations, and especially the state of France. Take warning by the past. The French revolution of 1793 compelled the English Government to promise the Irish Catholics a large relaxation of the penal code, but circumstances changed, and they changed with them. The French revolution of the "three glorious days," as they are called, of 1830, considerably expedited the Reform Bill, and the passing occurrences in other countries must eventually quicken the march of progress in this country. But let me foreshadow your danger and oligarchical reliance. You may rest assured, that if the reactionists in France cannot uphold their monopoly of power with the concurrence of the representation of the mind of France, they will have recourse to physical power, as a means of resisting the progress of mind if its wise developement and legitimate representation promises to the working classes a fair and legitimate remuneration for their labour. Now, mind that, and never lose sight of it, and bear in mind, that this, and all other countries, have for centuries been governed by foreign, and not by domestic policy. In short, that there has existed a LEAGUE of KINGS against the LEAGUE of PEOPLE, and that the voice of knowledge has hitherto been stifled by the cannon's roar. But it is now your own fault, if you allow this policy to be continued, which may be destroyed by the proper direction of that mind, which has been industriously created, and judiciously organised, in this country.

Old Guards, my hands have been so full this week that I have not time for more, and shall conclude by again imploring of you to be watchful, resolute, and discreet; to destroy the Minister's taunt of there being no petitions for the Charter, and to let the House of Commons, the Press, the country, and the world understand that there is a force in the organised LABOUR-MIND of England, which no battery can assail, no bayonet can stab, no sword can cut down, or "Gagging Bill" intimidate. Let them understand, that the "ARTFUL AND DESIGNING DEMAGOGUE," *alluded to by the artful and designing Minister*, has plucked the poisoned arrow from his quiver, upon which he was wont to rely for the accomplishment of his artful, designing, malicious, liberty-slaying assaults upon English industry and liberty.

Your faithful Friend and Representative,
Feargus O'Connor.

"A true labourer earns that he eats; gets that he wears; owes no man hate; envies no man's happiness; glad of other men's good; content under his own privations; and his chief pride is in the modest comforts of his condition."—*Shakspere.*

TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD JOHN RUSSELL.

My Lord,—It will be ten years on the 13th of next month, since I addressed you in the "*Northern Star,*" upon the then position of your party, and the probable result of your policy generally; and it is two years since I addressed four letters to you in the "*Labourer,*" upon the Irish famine, the probable use you would make of it, and what the inevitable effect of your policy would lead to.

My Lord, I am perfectly aware that such appeals from one wholly unconnected with privileged party, to one who owes his position and power to the caprice of privileged faction, and to which he must defer, is "throwing pearls before swine." However, as I—though perhaps presumptuously—speak the warning voice of millions, I consider it my duty to them, to you, and to myself, to forewarn you.

My Lord, men are impelled by various motives to become politicians, and none are stronger than those which are based upon dire necessity, and in this age, when prudence, economy, justice, and all other considerations are merged in political pre-eminence, those who see an utter absence of prudence, economy and justice, arising from political monopoly, very naturally abandon all other hope, save that which is now based upon a participation in political power.

The people have frequently relied upon Whig professions for a just and fair developement of prudence, economy, and justice, but having at length gained wisdom and experience from the past, they have prudently adopted the motto, that "WHAT IS TO BE DONE FOR THE PEOPLE, MUST BE DONE BY THE PEOPLE;" and from this resolve no bait can lure them, no threat can intimidate them, no vengeance can affright them. That, now, my Lord, is the POPULAR RESOLVE, based upon Whig betrayal of POPULAR CONFIDENCE.

My Lord, self-interest is the basis of human action, and political power, unfortunately, constituting the ladder by which many raise themselves to comfort, eminence, and notoriety, all thought of honour, generosity, and justice is merged in the hope of acquiring the greater, because more profitable, prize—and the people, finding that none but themselves can convert the prize to their own use, behoof, and benefit, have resolved never again to be diverted from the course, until the national voice shall declare them the winners. My Lord, men are actuated by different motives, though in quest of a similar object—some are moved by ambition, some by avarice, some by love of idle splendour, some by hope of achieving a competency, and many of the poor are induced to lecture for the acquisition of the darling object of others, in the hope of saving themselves and their families from beggary and starvation. All these, my Lord, are very powerful influences, and are calculated to have a powerful effect upon human action; but let me now explain what constitutes the strongest agency in the hands of political aspirants. It is the influence, the baneful influence, which the monied classes exercise over their dependent slaves, through the purchase, the apostacy, desertion and conversion of their trusted leaders; while the desertion of those trusted leaders leads to the humiliation, the persecution, incarceration, transportation, or, perhaps, death of the bold and consistent few. My Lord you are not so ignorant as to suppose that any party in the state could uphold its ascendancy, for a single week, upon any other tenure than popular dissension, and, therefore, you must at once admit, that the whole policy of all parties has been, by art, by trick, by policy, connivance, or persecution, to foment and perpetuate that popular discord upon which alone depends the capricious rule of an otherwise weak and insignificant minority.

You are aware, my Lord, of the effect that the desertion of officers would have upon the bravest regiment, full of enthusiasm, and panting for the order to advance upon the enemy—you must be aware that a sudden and immediate panic, and as sudden a flight, would be the result; you must feel convinced that the rule applies morally as well as physically. But now, my Lord, those days are gone, those magic influences have lost their charm, and I will tell you why. Because by your one sided policy you have so centralised power and aggregated capital in the hands of a very small minority, that they can no longer contend against the want and dissatisfaction of the too oft duped large and dissatisfied majority.

My Lord, when things come to the worst they mend; but, upon the other hand, "A stitch in time saves nine," and prevents the necessity for violent haphazard corrections; as, believe me, that no change based upon mere expediency can be permanent, or even beneficial while it lasts. This, however, has been the policy of every Government, until at length the absurd tinkering of each to MAKE THE THING LAST ITS TIME, has produced a patchwork fabric, in which not a single one of the framers could recognise his own handiwork—here a fore-shadowing of LIBERALISM, as it is called, there shaded with the old hue of TORYISM; here a bit of PROTECTION, there a bit of FREE TRADE; here a LANDLORD'S MINIATURE, and there a MANUFACTURER'S PORTRAIT; here a bit of STATE, and there a bit of CHURCH. Landlords, manufacturers, protestantism, catholicism, dissent, railways, navigation, army, navy, ordnance, and patronage, all—one and all—have their supporters, while the industry upon which all live and make profit is without a representative, or, should it find one, he is stigmatised as a DESTRUCTIVE, a DEMAGOGUE, a REVOLUTIONIST, and worse than DEVIL.

My Lord, allow me now to point out the social error which has led to this political jumble. The mind of the country has not yet recovered from the political error into which it was led by Reform agitation, and by which it was taught to classify parties under two simple heads—namely, WHIGS and TORIES; the latter foolishly resisting what they foolishly designated any innovation of the BRITISH CONSTITUTION, and the former openly contending for power, for the purpose of adapting legislation to the progress of mind and fitness of things as they are. Well, my Lord, in this political skirmish, there were recognised two distinct parties, the one promising, the other resisting progress, and hence the progressive mind of this go-a-head age was marshalled under the POLITICAL—(mind, my Lord) the POLITICAL BANNER of the Progressionists; and now mark the sequel. This party has achieved political supremacy, and the people, believing that political power was but the means, and social advantages the end, now ask, and justly, CUI BONO?—what one advantage have we derived from the transfer of power from the hands of our open enemies to those of our professing friends.

Now, my Lord, I will point out your social error. The political struggle was between sluggish land and active money; between landlords representing Toryism and standstill, and manufacturers representing Liberalism and progress; the landlords basing their strength upon the £50 tenants-at-will and county representation, and the manufacturers basing their strength upon popular support and borough representation. The farmers are beginning to find that their interests were best protected by landlords, but the middle and working classes, who were the prop and support of the manufacturing interests, are beginning to discover that the same identity of interest does not exist between them and manufacturers, as exists between landlord and farmer; and hence, my Lord, you will find, ere long, that the political will merge into the social question. The people have been taught to look upon the LANDLORDS as representing expensive aristocracy, and upon the COTTON-LORDS as representing economical Democracy; but, my Lord, both the middle and working classes, the shopkeepers, and traders, have learned from experience, that the monopolist representatives of active money exercise a much more tyrannical influence over their several orders than the landlords could under any, the most rigorous, system. Hence, my Lord, you will understand, that the people, —gaining wisdom from dear-bought experience —have at length learned that political changes are but the means, and social improvement the end, for which they will henceforth contend; and experience has taught them, that of all sources from whence these social changes can come, the legislation of those who traffic in money expended on labour, is the least promising. They have now learned to distinguish between the sluggish tyranny of Land, and the active tyranny of Steam; that the landlords inherit by descent, and the steam-lords by their political influence, which enables them to confine social benefits within the sphere of their own cupidity.

My Lord, have you ever reflected upon this one fact, the repetition of which, though it may surfeit my readers, may be a novelty to you and others who are not as well informed as my well-instructed pupils? It is this:—suppose the case of a landlord, possessing a rental of £5,000 a year, raising the rent of his tenants ten per cent.; now, in such case, how many waggon loads of paper would be converted into FREE TRADE abuse of the monster tyrant? Well, my Lord, let us reduce the landlord's rental to cotton-lord's capital. The landlord's five thousand pounds a-year, at thirty years' purchase, would fetch ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY THOUSAND POUNDS; and as money is to the one just what land is to the other, let me portray the rent—independent of speculation in converting the raw material into manufactured fabric—that the cotton lord would make of his one hundred and fifty thousand pounds capital. Suppose him, then, to employ one thousand hands, with an idle competitive reserve, forced to underbid those at work, and suppose him, in consequence, to reduce the wages of his hands no more than FOURPENCE a-day; he would, by such a reduction, make profit, over and above fair speculation, but simply by this reduction, of FIVE THOUSAND TWO HUNDRED A-YEAR, or two hundred more than the landlord's entire rent; and who is to control him, and who dares to oppose him? You cannot, as long as his class constitutes your political reserve. Then, my Lord, suppose that the FIVE THOUSAND TWO HUNDRED was equitably distributed between the one thousand hands, instead of being filched by the one, which would be best for shopkeepers, traders, labourers, and the EXCHEQUER? If circulated through the several channels it would serve all, while the one monopolist vests it in some RAILWAY or BUBBLE SPECULATION, where it is not reproductively used; and, still further, observe, my Lord, that these ONE THOUSAND DEPENDENT SLAVES are compelled to abstract a portion of their remaining poor pittance to invest in sick and burial clubs and benefit societies, and to have recourse to the one thousand and one shifts to which, for want of a FULL, FAIR, and FREE REPRESENTATION, they are driven, to meet sudden emergencies, sickness, and even death.

This, my Lord, this is my first letter to you upon the LABOUR QUESTION—*the question of questions*: you may not read it, but millions will, and hence your great difficulty of not knowing the influence which, though now despised, will one day operate upon you.

My Lord, in conclusion, I beg to assure you, that I would not to-morrow establish my plan, much as I value it, upon the destruction of human life, or the confiscation of property. My hope is, to make the rich richer and the poor rich, by a prudent and profitable developement of our national resources, to substitute plenty for want, content for discontent, harmony for deadly strife, and peace for war.

I have the honour to be
your obedient servant,
Feargus O'Connor.

HORRIBLE MASSACRE THROUGH NEGLECT.

June 6th, 1849.

Sir,—I beg to apprise you of a terrible calamity—an explosion of fire damp—whereby thirty-four individuals have perished at the Hebbrow Colliery, near Newcastle-on-Tyne. I am just setting out to visit the same, and attend the inquest, therefore I cannot at present give any further particulars.

Please to notice in the House at your earliest convenience, the apathy of the Government in neglecting, for two years (since their pledge was given to Mr. Duncombe), to bring in their promised measure.

The explosion happened at six o'clock yesterday morning; *upwards of one hundred* men and boys were down at the time.

Please to try whether the Government will send down any parties to investigate the affair, as at previous explosions.—Yours, &c.,
M. Jude.

F. O'Connor, Esq., M.P.

Chartist Intelligence.

Todmorden.—A delegate meeting was held on Sunday last to arrange for the Lancashire and Yorkshire annual Camp meeting, usually held at Blackstone-edge. The following places were represented:—Manchester, William Shelmerdine; Rochdale, William Bake; Todmorden, Richard Barker; Padiham, Robert Wilkinson; Hebden Bridge, Jas. Mann; Halifax, Christopher Shackleton and Wm. Maude; Bradford, Thomas Wilcock. Richard Barker was elected chairman and James Mann, secretary. On the motion of Mr. Maude, seconded by Mr. Mann, it was resolved—"That the annual Camp meeting of Lancashire and Yorkshire be held on Sunday, July 15th, 1849." Moved by Mr. Bake and seconded by Mr. Maude—"That the meeting be held at Basin Stone, near Todmorden, instead of Blackstone Edge." Carried. After other business, the meeting adjourned to Sunday July 15th, at ten o'clock, a.m.

Bradford.—A meeting of the National Land Company was held at Mrs. Smith's, on Sunday last. Thomas Hirst in the chair. It was resolved "That the business under discussion should be postponed until next Sunday, and it is requested that the members will attend." It was also resolved "That the members should be given a fortnight from the 3rd day of June, as there is a great influx of members that have got confidence once more in the Land plan, and we also have great numbers of the poorer members that are willing to come up if we will give them time."

Birmingham.—A public meeting was held at the People's Hall, on Monday, May 27th. Mr. Grantham in the chair. The following resolution was adopted: "That it is the opinion of this meeting that we cannot, as a body, assist any sect or party in agitating for any reform short of the People's Charter." Carried unanimously. Mr. Allan Dalziel then delivered a most excellent lecture "On the Rise and Progress of Democracy" which gave evident satisfaction to a large meeting, and was well received throughout, as true democracy is the very germ of Christianity. The meeting then adjourned to Sunday, June the 4th.

Hamilton.—The Democratic Association of this place having invited Mr. Samuel Kydd to lecture to the inhabitants on some popular subject, he complied with their request on the evening of Monday, the 28th May. His theme was,—"Revolutions,—their causes and effects; the French Revolutions of 1789, 1830, and 1848; their influence on the nations; the respective missions of France and Britain; the progress and position of Democracy. In a social manner, Mr. Kydd placed before his audience a picture of the condition of France during the reigns of Louis the 14th, and Louis the 15th, of the various but converging chains of events which under the next Louis ultimately led to the convulsion of 1789,—of the nature of that convulsion and its results—the career of France's idol, Napoleon Buonaparte—the space of time which elapsed betwixt his downfall and the Revolution of 1830—that Revolution and its consequences—Louis Philippe his character, his ambitious aims, and sudden overthrow—the Revolution of 1848, and its present, and probable future effects upon society, were briefly but ably sketched. He then proceeded to speak of France as the quickener of thought, and of Britain as the leader of industry, and concluded with an eloquent exhortation to working men to fit themselves by self-enlightenment for the great struggle which was pending between liberty and despotism.—By the special request of the audience, Mr. Kydd delivered a second lecture on the following evening on the labour question. He then explained the different theories upon organising labour, propounded by Louis Blanc and M. Chevalier, giving the preference to the latter as most practicable at the present day. For the amelioration of the distress existing in this country, he recommended as most attainable, the project which proposes the location of our *surplus* or pauper population on the waste lands of Britain and Ireland, and thus, not only provide work for the unemployed, but rid those who are employed of a heavy burthen, and increase the actual wealth of the country. Throughout the course of his excellent lectures, Mr. Kydd was frequently and warmly applauded, and, we believe, gave general satisfaction. We earnestly recommend any locality not having had the pleasure of hearing him to seize the first opportunity of securing his services.

Padiham.—A meeting was held in the Chartist Room, Thorn-street, on Monday evening, June 4, when the following resolution, moved by Robert Wilkinson, and seconded by Benjamin Pilling, was carried unanimously:—"That we, the Padiham Chartists, *are of opinion*, that while we refrain from opposing the agitation of the Financial Reformers, we cannot give up one of the principles of the People's Charter, or join any movement having for its object less than that measure of justice; and, being convinced of the justness of its principles, we are determined to agitate for the People's Charter, and to let our motto be,—'Measures, not men.' We are also of opinion that any reform short of the Charter would be of little benefit to the working classes, and not wishing to be deceived by half measures, we intend to be firm to the 'Charter and no surrender!'"

Charterville.—A tea party and ball was lately got up by the females of Charterville, for the benefit of the victims, which was well attended. The school-room was tastefully decorated for the occasion with Chartist portraits, flowers, and evergreens, the portrait of our noble chief, F. O'Connor, Esq., M.P., occupying the centre. A loaf weighing thirty-two pounds was presented gratis by the female allottees, and another allottee also gave a ham. Ample justice having been done to the good things provided, Mr. George Bubb was called to the chair.—Mr. Willis responded to the following sentiment:—"The living victims of Whig misrule—may the day of their delivery rapidly approach, and, like pure gold from the crucible, may they retain their sterling value to society and their friends."—The toast was also responded to by Messrs. Beattie and Gilbert.—Moved by Mr. Young, and seconded by Mr. Willis,—"That the thanks of this meeting be given to F. O'Connor, Esq., M.P., for his advocacy of the people's rights, and his untiring exertions in endeavouring to locate the people on the Land; and this meeting hopes that he may live to see the Charter become the law of the land, and the Land Plan successfully established."—The resolution was carried, with three times three cheers, which made the school-room echo. Dancing and singing then commenced, and were kept up till four o'clock in the morning, when the party broke up highly delighted with their evening's amusement. We are happy to state that £1 10s. profit was realised, which sum has been sent to Mr. Rider, for the benefit of the victims, and if females of other localities would exert themselves, there would be no necessity for so many appeals on their behalf.

Sheerness.—On Tuesday evening Mr. Stallwood delivered a lecture on Parliamentary Reform, after which the Chartist petition was adopted, and ordered to be forwarded to T. L. Hodges, Esq., M.P., for presentation. This is the first Chartist meeting ever held in Sheerness.

Merthyr Tydvil.—A public meeting was held in the Market Square, on the 31st ult., Mr. J. W. James, surgeon, in the chair, when the Chartist petition was adopted. The meeting was addressed by Messrs. Thomas, Johns, Gould, Morgan, and the Rev. A. Jones. The petition is to be presented by Sir J. J. Guest.

Oxfordshire.—A numerous meeting of the inhabitants of Minster, Charterville, Brize Norton, &c., was held on the 30th ult., when the petition was adopted, signed by the chairman, and transmitted to Mr. Henley, one of the county members, for presentation.

Birmingham.—On Sunday evening last, at the People's Hall, Mr. A White, a fellow-sufferer with Beard and Hardy, at Bonny-Muir, Scotland, in 1820, gave a description of that eventful time. After the address, five shillings was collected for the Victims, and the meeting adjourned.

Sheffield.—At a meeting of the Council on Tuesday evening, it was resolved: "That a camp meeting should be held on Sunday, June 10th." It was also resolved: "That a public meeting should be held in Paradise-square on Monday, June 18th, to adopt the National Petition, and also to sympathise with the patriots of Hungary, Rome, France, &c." After the disposal of some financial business the meeting adjourned to Tuesday next.

The Executive Committee of the National Charter Association.—At a meeting of this body held at the office, 144, High Holborn, on Wednesday evening, June 6th,—Mr. Dixon in the chair, it was resolved: "That the meetings be held on Wednesday evenings instead of Friday as heretofore."

Finsbury.—The members of the above body met at their room, 34, Clerkenwell-green, on Tuesday evening, June 5th. Mr. Nobbs in the chair. Moved by Mr. W. Blake, and seconded by Mr. Jones, "That Mr. Allnutt act as secretary *pro tem.*" Carried. Moved by Mr. A. Fuzzen, and seconded by Mr. Jones, "That we, the members of this locality, are determined to stand by the Charter, and have nothing to do with any party having for its object less than the People's Charter, being of opinion that anything short of that measure of reform must end in disappointment to the working classes." Carried. Moved by Mr. Jones, and seconded by Mr. Livesay, "That we, the members of this locality, form ourselves into a committee, for the purpose of getting signatures to the National Petition." Carried. The meeting then adjourned until Tuesday evening, June 12th.

Marylebone Assembly Rooms, Princess Royal, Circus-Street.—Mr. Stallwood delivered a lecture on "The life, character, and writings of Thomas Paine," on Sunday evening last, to a very numerous audience. In concluding his address, Mr. Stallwood called on his audience to reduce the works of that great author to practice, by attending to the registration of all qualified to become electors, by pushing Chartism by every means in their power, by enforcing the necessity of "Home colonies" on the attention of their rulers, and by a bold and manly expression of their opinions on every suitable occasion. After a few appropriate remarks from the chairman (Mr. Godwin), a vote of thanks was carried by acclamation to the lecturer. Messrs. Chapman, Christie, Packer, Patteson, and others on behalf of the Sunday "Union?" Boat Committee—(the boat running from the Weigh-bridge, Paddington, to Greenford-green, for the purpose of raising funds with which to take or build a "Working Man's Hall)—reported that they had been eminently successful that day—the boat had been crowded, and the receipts were large; they had also the pleasure of announcing that notwithstanding the inauspicious state of the weather on Whit-Monday, that day's boating had left a surplus of 10s. 9d for the funds of the National Victim Committee, and they had to announce that the shareholders had resolved to again give the boat for the benefit of the Victims, on Monday, June 25th. This announcement was received with loud cheers. The 10s. 9d. was then ordered to be handed over to Mr. Stallwood, for conveyance to the Victim Committee, and the committee adjourned.

Cripplegate.—At the weekly meeting on Tuesday it was resolved:—"That we, the Chartists of this locality, have no confidence in the Parliamentary Reform Movement, but will not offer it any factious opposition; still, however, we feel ourselves perfectly justified in submitting, at the meetings called by the Reform party, what we think best calculated to ensure the political emancipation of the working classes, and offer them the same privileges at our meetings." The expenditure and income of Milton-street Theatre was submitted to the meeting and approved of.

National Land Company.

Barnsley.—At the monthly meeting of this branch it was resolved:—"That, in order to aid the progress of the Company, meetings should be held in future at Mr. Utley's, every Monday night, so that unpaid members might be enabled to pay up their shares, and paid up shareholders, their local expenses."

LETTERS TO THE WORKING CLASSES.
XLVII.

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

DOWN WITH THE OBSTRUCTIVES!

Brother Proletarians,

Mr. Hume's motion for Household Suffrage, the Ballot, Triennial Elections, and a more equal apportionment of representatives to population, has been rejected by 268 votes against 82. Only eighty-two members could be found to affirm Mr. Hume's motion. Partly by their direct votes, and partly by their absence from the House, nearly six hundred of the misrepresentatives of the Commons of England have declared that there shall be no reform of Parliament; that you, Brother Proletarians, shall remain as you are—the slaves of Privilege, the serfs of Capital, the prey and scorn of landlords and money-lords.

Altogether, the debate (with the exception of the speeches of Messrs. O'Connor, Bright, and Osborne), was a most dreary exhibition of make-believe on the one side, and aristocratic insolence on the other. The introducer of the motion—the great leader of the moderate Reformers—made but a sorry display. Instead of taking the bold and honest course of demanding the suffrage for all men as a right founded on Eternal Justice, he made the grievance of excessive taxation the basis of his appeal for reform. The extravagancies of the Court, the gold-lace on the coats of flunkey-ministers, and similar puerilities, entered largely into the composition of his speech, which was utterly wanting in that warmth which sincerity pleading for justice against injustice cannot dispense with. O! for one hour of Proletarian energy in that House of professional mouthers and peddling shams.

Mr. Bright spoke with more energy, and excited the "ironical cheers" of the privileged mockers, when he reminded them of the "not wholly to be despised conspiracies," and "incipient insurrectionary movements," in this country in the summer of 1848. He added truly, "that there was a wide-spread discontent among a large and intelligent class, and a hatred of the law, which those who sat in that House ought to be the last to encourage."

Amongst the opponents of the motion, a Mr. Campbell contrived to render himself eminently absurd by delivering some most stupid arguments (?) in support of the most gross injustice. Judging him by his exhibition on Tuesday last, it is hard to decide whether imbecility or knavery most predominates in the person of the hon. member for Cambridge. God forgive him, I cannot, for the wearisomness I suffered when wading through his most wretched "speech." In the course of his harangue, he declared that the 10th of April was a day the glories of which could be done justice to only by poets and orators!!! As a specimen of his precious arguments take this:—"If it were possible for him, "under present circumstances, to state the opinions of "the late lamented Dr. Chalmers, he doubted not "that the sentiments of that great man would not be "expressed in favour of the motion of the hon. mem"ber for Montrose." Why what man of common sense cares one straw for what the opinion of Dr. Chalmers might have been, or for that of any other Scotch priest or Malthusian, dead or living? Shall a question of justice depend upon the "opinion" of *any* man? Brother Proletarians, we repudiate their idols of clay; their "opinions" are of less weight with us than is the passing breeze. How *dare* any man, Doctor or Minister, Lord or M. P., presume to give an "opinion" against the rights of his fellow-men? The man who dares to do so should have his insolence hurled back into his teeth with ample interest.

Sir George Grey, the ballot-apostate, with that modest assurance for which the Whigs are distinguished, declared that he regarded "with feelings of unfeigned thankfulness, that constitution, the value of which had been tested in adverse times, and under threatening circumstances, *and was felt and appreciated by the great body of the people.*" This called forth "loud cheers." Doubtless, Sir George Grey has substantial reasons for his thankfulness, that the "wisdom of our ancestors" created, and the stupidity of their descendants has permitted the continued existence of a "glorious constitution," through the operation of which himself and his class contrive to plunder and humbug the population of these islands, as never any other people were plundered and cheated, though laws and constitutions have in most countries and times been framed and worked for the benefit of the few rather than of the many. It must be acknowledged, that "the great body of the people" *feel* and *appreciate* the *value* of the aforesaid blessed constitution; they *feel* the *burdens* it imposes, and they *appreciate* its *ruinous operation* upon their interests. If they could join Sir George Grey in expressing "thankfulness" for such *blessings*, they would be slaves indeed; slaves who would well deserve worse treatment than they have hitherto met with; wretches who would merit, instead of whips, the scourging of scorpions. But my countrymen are not so base, and for their own honour, I beseech them to repel the calumny of the *thankful* Home Secretary.

That worthy official concluded his speech by asserting his *belief* that "the House of Commons, as at present constituted, did adequately represent the people." But can his "belief" outweigh the great—the two-fold fact: First, that seven-eighths of the people have neither part nor parcel in the appointment of the members of that House; and, second—that the said members, elected by a small minority of the people, have no communion of feeling with the unrepresented masses, no regard for their interests, no respect for their rights? Is this disputed? Turn to the division which concluded the debate under notice, and behold the confirmation of all that we have asserted. The masses of this country are no more represented in the House of Commons than they are in the Congress of America, or the *Aulic Council* of Austria.

Lord J. Russell, in his speech, stated that the design of the framers of the Reform Bill was to invest those persons with the franchise, who were possessed of independence and intelligence. What an unintentional satire is this upon our "glorious constitution." Lord John insinuates that the working classes are neither independent nor intelligent. If they are not independent they are at the mercy of oppressors of some kind or other; and if they are not intelligent, it is proof positive that their "pastors and masters" have utterly failed in their duty;—for instruction is an obligation due by society to all its members, and if that obligation is not fulfilled, the chiefs of society, statesmen, bishops, &c., &c., are guilty of the worst of crimes against humanity. But if the working classes *are not independent*, the more need is there that they should be armed with the suffrage to protect themselves, and establish their independence. If they are not *intelligent*, the greater is the necessity that they should be represented in the legislature, that they may command for their children that National Education which is their right, but which right is infamously withheld by those who, usurping the government of the country, have established the rule of Wrong. The Premier knows full well, that were the working-men invested with the Suffrage, and protected in its exercise by the Ballot, they would show themselves too independent, and too intelligent, to elect such misrepresentatives as himself and his colleague Grey. Brother Proletarians, Lord John Russell—all flummery to the contrary, notwithstanding—really stands in awe of your *knowledge*, and your *love of justice*; *therefore*, he declaims against Universal Suffrage, and, therefore, against your enfranchisement he will struggle to the last.

In the course of his speech, Lord John Russell stated it to be his belief, that, "the people—the humblest people—the poorest people—had no indisposition to the aristocracy." The enunciation of this article of the Premier's political belief, called forth "loud and general cheering." Presently he repeated the expression of his "belief," and the consequence was, again "loud and continued cheering." Strange that the "noble lord" and those who so loudly cheered him, will not trust this aristocracy-loving people with the exercise of their citizen rights!

The disturbed state of Europe was a great card in the hands of both Grey and Russell, who imputed to Universal Suffrage all the evils which have fallen upon Paris, Milan, Vienna, Berlin, and other places. Well Lord John Russell knows, no one better, that the sieges, confiscation, massacres, &c., which have stained the several capitals of continental Europe, have been occasioned not by Universal Suffrage, but by the conspiracies of kings, aristocrats, capitalists, and their tools, to prevent the establishment of Universal Suffrage, and the realisation of those social reforms which should flow from Universal Suffrage. Had the classes above alluded to permitted the peaceful triumph of Universal Suffrage, there would have been neither anarchy, bloodshed, nor the rule of military ruffianism. Mr. Osborne adroitly turned the tables upon the Prime Minister by reminding him that Ireland had been in a "state of siege" for the last twelve months, and that in that country there were actually more soldiers than voters—soldiers employed to keep the people in forced subjection to our "glorious constitution." Lord John Russell concluded as follows:—"I "pray you in the name of that constitution, not to "adopt the measure now before the House, but to "give it a decided negative. I believe you will be "consulting the interests, *and I am firmly convinced "you will also be consulting the wishes and opinions "of the people.*"

Lord John Russell professed to consult *your interests, your opinions*, and *your wishes*, by declaring and voting against all "Reform!" His error must be rectified. Within another month, Mr. O'Connor will bring on his motion in favour of the entire Charter; and it is important that that motion should be backed up by demonstrations of public sympathy. Let Public Meetings be holden, and Petitions adopted; and from John o'Groat's to the Land's End, let the cry go forth:—"DOWN WITH THE OBSTRUCTIVES!" "THE CHARTER AND NO SURRENDER!"

L'AMI DU PEUPLE.

June 7th, 1849.

Police.

MARLBOROUGH-STREET.—Attempted Suicide.—Dinah Lancaster, a respectably-dressed female, about 40 years of age, was brought before Mr. Bingley, charged with having attempted to commit suicide, by drowning herself in the Serpentine.—James Johnson, one of the park constables, *stated, that on Saturday*, about half-past four o'clock, he saw the defendant lying on the grass insensible, with her clothes saturated with water. Two gentlemen were near her, who said they had seen the defendant throw herself into the water, and they had been the means of rescuing her. The defendant was taken to the receiving house, and had the necessary attentions paid to her, which had the effect of relieving her completely from the consequences of her immersion. When lying on the grass, the defendant came to herself, and said that she was a ruined woman, and that she would destroy herself at the first opportunity.—The defendant said she was the wife of a surgeon living at No. 9, Terrace, Gravesend. She had been separated from her husband some time, and had received a maintenance until lately when all her means of living being exhausted, she had fallen into such a state of destitution as induced her to attempt self-destruction. The defendant produced some letters to prove that the cause of separation did not originate with herself.—Mr. Bingham decided on remanding the case until Thursday, in order that time might be given to communicate with the defendant's friends.

Another Attempted Suicide.—Sarah Wood, an elderly woman, was charged with attempting suicide by drowning herself in the Serpentine.—Witnesses came forward to prove that the defendant had thrown herself into the water partly under the influence of drink.—Having expressed due contrition for her folly, the defendant was given over to her friends.

Third Case of Attempted Suicide.—James Hanscombe was charged with having meditated throwing himself off the bridge over the Serpentine.—The defendant said he was out of work and in great distress.—The defendant's father came forward and said his son was too lazy to work.—Discharged

THAMES.—Assault by a Boy upon his Mother.—J. Denny, not more than 13 years of age, was charged with assaulting his mother, and attempting to stab her with a knife.—The prosecutrix keeps a salt-fish shop, at 109, Rosemary-lane. Her husband had to go to America on business some time since, and since his absence the prisoner, who had always exhibited a vicious disposition, associating with thieves considerably older than himself, became quite incorrigible, frequently remaining out the whole night. Not many weeks since, to keep him from such company, she locked him in an upper room, where he attempted to precipitate himself from a two story window. On Sunday night he came home at a very late hour, and when she ordered him to bed, he refused to go. She then struck him with a rod, on which he snatched up a knife, and said that if she struck him again he would give her something for herself.—She gave the alarm and when Driscoll, a constable, came in, she beat him well. He, however, took up a candlestick, and struck her with it.—Mr. Yardley: Have you no one to keep him in order; no elder son?—Yes, I have one nineteen years of age, but he is as much afraid of him as I am, for this boy is the stronger of the two.—Driscoll, 24 H, said the prisoner was the most thorough scapegrace in London. He was always committing acts of wanton mischief, and was the terror of both young and old in the neighbourhood.—Mr. Yardley, who said it was a melancholy case, seemed puzzled how to deal with the young urchin, and remanded him until Wednesday to consider the case.

MARYLEBONE.—Charge against a Man for Attempting to Strangle his Wife.—W. Foster, a coach-painter, in Paul-street, Portman-market, was charged with attempting to strangle Mary Anne, his wife. The complainant seemed much affected, and said she had no wish to state anything against her husband, believing that she was most in fault, they had a few words, and she certainly said that she would run him through with a knife.—Elizabeth Williams deposed that the parties had lodged with her about two months, and that on Monday night, at eleven o'clock, she heard a great disturbance in their room, and prisoner said, "If you don't be quiet I'll strangle you." And I then heard a noise like that of a gurgling in the throat, which I felt satisfied proceeded from his wife. I ran up into the apartment, and found the poor creature lying in bed in a dreadful state; and on my asking her what was the matter, she pointed to her throat, saying, as well as she could, "My husband has nearly strangled me."—John Wiltshire, another lodger, gave similar testimony.—The wife was then sworn, and she reluctantly gave evidence to the effect that being irritated at her husband coming home late she used a threat towards him, upon which he threw her down on her bed and said he would strangle her, but he only put his hands upon her throat.—Mr. Broughton: Was there not a gurgling in your throat, and did he not hurt you very much?—Complainant (after some hesitation): Yes, sir; but I don't wish to injure him.—Clard, 268 D, deposed that when called in by the landlady the prisoner was present, and on witness telling him that he ought to have a medical man, he said, "Well, if you think fit to send for one you shall pay for him." He (witness) went for a surgeon, who on his arrival bled complainant, and said that she was in a dangerous state. But it appeared that she was in the family way.—The prisoner, in answer to the charge, said that a great deal of the evidence given was true, but he denied most positively having had any intention of strangling his wife, he merely threw her down upon her threatening to stab him.—Mr. Broughton remarked that in most cases of alleged assaults where the complaining party expressed a disinclination to follow up the case, he discharged the accused, but the present matter was of so serious a nature that he felt bound to remand the prisoner for a week.

LAMBETH.—Burglary and Robbery.—F. Collins and M. Fenton, two notorious "cracksmen," were placed at the bar on a charge of being concerned, with two others not in custody, in burglariously entering the premises of Mr. Weir, a draper, in the London-road, and carrying away property to the amount of nearly £200. From the evidence it appeared that Mr. Weir, on retiring to bed on the *preceding night* about half-past eleven o'clock, left all the doors and fastenings secure, and on the following (Tuesday) morning, he found that in the course of the night some thieves had entered his shop by forcing the back shutters, and a vast quantity of the most valuable articles, consisting of pieces of cloth, Irish linen, silks, &c., had been carried away. The thieves, in reaching the back premises of the prosecutor, must have passed over those in the occupation of a person named Moseley, a blacksmith, in whose yard there was placed a hackney cab. In this vehicle the thieves placed the whole of the property removed from the shop of Mr. Weir, and covered it over with some dry litter.—Mr. John Moseley, the blacksmith who charged the prisoners with being concerned in stealing his cab, stated that about half-past five o'clock on that morning, he and his man drew a cab out of his premises into the street, where it had been for several days exhibited for sale. Witness missed the cab shortly after he had drawn it into the street, and it was found, as he understood from the police, in the possession of the prisoners and two other men.—Other witnesses were called, who saw the prisoners and two other men draw the cab along the streets, from the London-road to the Kennington-road, where they were stopped. The prisoners and their companions endeavoured to effect their escape, but they were ultimately secured. The prisoners were remanded to a future day.

A quantity of counterfeit shillings are now in circulation. Being but clumsy specimens of the art of coining, it will be easy for the public, thus cautioned, to be on its guard.

Foreign Intelligence.

FRANCE.

THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.—The parties have declared against each other a war *à l'outrance*, of which the consequences cannot be foreseen. The majority have assumed a tone so high that they cannot well come down from it. They say that they will not be led by the Red Republicans and Socialists, and they now make almost more noise than their opponents are accused of. General Bugeaud, with remarkable tact, on Thursday, said, in the midst of one of those uproarious scenes with which the Legislative Assembly has inaugurated its existence, that the majority should give the example of moderation, and the majority instantly accepted the rebuke. It may be remembered that M. Cauvin de Bourguet had been reinstated in the command of the Assembly by M. Marrast when he had been dismissed prematurely by General Changarnier. As soon as the power of M. Marrast was over, General Changarnier again dismissed M. Cauvin. Again General Lebreton had been entrusted by the Constituent Assembly with the chief command of the forces protecting the Assembly. *He has been superseded* by the same individual, who resisted some time since the orders of the President of the Constituent Assembly. It was upon these facts that in the chamber on Sunday, M. Chavoix ascended the tribune to interrupt the verification of powers for a motion to order. General Lebreton succeeded M. Chavoix, and having confirmed the facts stated with regard to M. Cauvin, that he had thought fit to resign his command in consequence of the difficulties he had met with in the exercise of his command. This determination he had come to, he said, because he thought it right not to allow the dignity to be weakened in his hands. After this statement, M. Chavoix rushed to the tribune, and, amidst the loud cries of the Right and counter cries from the Left, accused the ministry of protecting, by its responsibility, the illegal acts of a soldier. M. Ledru Rollin followed, but was met at the outset by such determined interruption from the whole of the party of the Right, that he remained standing in the tribune, with his arms crossed over his chest, waiting for a silence which it soon became impossible to obtain. The Left answered the cries of the Right by cries louder still, and M. Keratry, the President, put on his hat. The sitting was consequently suspended, and it was to have been desired that calm should follow reflection, but it was not so. M. Ledru Rollin no sooner commenced speaking, on the resumption of the sitting, than M. Keratry was observed to lean forward and make some observations. These remarks were, it appears, an insult to M. Ledru Rollin, who, turning round to the President, cried out that the tribune was not free, and came down from it. The confusion then became worse confounded, and each party gave free vent to its feelings; four of the secretaries declared that they resigned.

M. Odillon Barrot requested that M. Ledru Rollin would continue his speech. M. Keratry, at the instance of M. Pierre Leroux, retracted the words which had offended M. Ledru Rollin, and this gentleman then expressed a hope that the secretaries would resume their functions. Again the party of the right put in their veto, and one of the members cried out that they would not yield. It was then that Marshal Bugeaud came forward and said that the greatest attribute of the majority was moderation; he hoped that he should often during the session have to agree with M. Ledru Rollin whom he thought quite right in proposing the reinstatement of the secretaries. This was immediately granted, and the order of the day was voted.

On Friday the verification of powers continued to excite as much tumult as ever. Sergeant Rattier having protested against the elections of the Cotes du Nord, led to a great noise, which was only stopped by a vote, which negatived the sending to the bureaux of the question of these elections. Sergeant Rattier, in protesting, said that he did so in the name of the whole army; upon which all the generals in the Assembly rose up to protest against his representing the army.

On Tuesday, the Assembly was the scene of another violent debate on the validity of the elections of the department of the Youne. This is the department to which one of M. Faucher's telegraphic despatches was sent, countersigned by M. Fremy, his *chef de cabinet*, who himself was a candidate for that very department. M. Faucher defended the course he had pursued at considerable length amidst the execrations of the Mountain. In the course of his speech he was interrupted by M. Lagrange, who told him that the Constituent Assembly had declared that he (Leon Faucher) lied. On this a scene of indescribable confusion ensued, which even M. Dupin was scarcely able to suppress.

M. Cremieux rose to reply to M. Leon Faucher, but the Assembly, completely exhausted, rose almost unanimously, and called out, 'To-morrow, to-morrow!'

The house then adjourned in much disorder.

THE NEW MINISTRY. — On Saturday the President of the Council ascended the tribune, and announced the formation of his new ministry as follows:—Odillon Barrot, President of the Council and Minister of Justice; Dufaure, Minister of the Interior; De Tocqueville, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Rulhieres, Minister of War; De Falloux, Public Instruction; Passy, Finance; Tracy, Marine; Lanjuinais, Commerce; Lacrosse, Public Works. Thus has a ministry been formed by the coalition of MM. Odillon Barrot, and Dufaure.

On this ministry the 'National' observes:—'It is a heterogeneous Cabinet, without consistence without value, without signification, without *avenir*, and incapable of making head against the difficulties of the situation; such is the marvellous production of which M. Louis Buonaparte has been brought to bed after fifteen days' labour.'

The first act of the new Cabinet is said to have been the despatch of peremptory orders to General Oudinot to enter Rome with the least possible delay, *bon gre mal gre*. This order is different from those hitherto sent to Italy, but it is supposed that General Oudinot will have as much difficulty in executing it as the confused orders which preceded it. If the accounts which arrive from Rome be correct, the Romans are determined to resist, and have the means of doing so for almost an indefinite period. They have not only 30,000 fighting men within the walls, with plenty of ammunition and provisions for several months; but every street in the city is barricaded to an extent that makes each street a fortress. Perhaps General Oudinot, notwithstanding his army of already 30,000 men, will find himself in the position of the general who got 'liberty to besiege Gibraltar.'

OFFICERS OF THE ASSEMBLY.—The scrutiny in the Legislative Assembly for the nomination of its President was as follows: M. Dupin (*aine*) obtained the majority of 336 votes; M. Ledru Rollin came next, with 182; and General Lamoriciere, with seventy-five. The Vice-Presidents elected were MM. Baroche, Bedeau, Lasteyrie, Benoit, Deseze, and De Tocqueville. The Secretaries elected were Messrs. Arnaud, Peupin, Lacaze, Chapot, Heeckeren, and Berard.

HURRAH!—Algeria has added three new members to the Mountain: Henri Didier, Emile Barrau, and De Rance, all Socialist Democrats.

MORE PERSECUTION. — The editor of the 'Peuple' has been again condemned for an article inserted in that journal entitled 'Napoleon et les Paysans.' This time he is fined 12,000f. and sentenced to five years' imprisonment.

THE INVASION OF ITALY.—The French government received on Tuesday morning, the 5th inst., the official news that M. Lesseps, the Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary at Rome, has positively become deranged in his intellect. A letter is said to have been addressed to the President of the Republic by M. Lesseps himself, in which he proposes to him (the President) a detailed plan of a bedchamber. It was believed this unhappy incident would still further complicate the Italian question.

ARREST OF PROUDHON.—M. Proudhon, who has hitherto escaped from the condemnation to three years' imprisonment passed against him, has been taken into custody.

GERMANY.

THE FRANKFORT PARLIAMENT.

The last sitting of the German Parliament at Frankfort took place on the 30th ult. None of the Ministers were present. The sitting commenced with another speech of M. Wolff, the new member, who defied M. Vogt, calling him a coward—a line of proceeding which overcame the composure of the House. A motion of the Committee of Safety was then read, admitted to the debate, discussed, divided upon, and carried with a majority of 71 votes against 64. The motion was, that the House should withdraw from Frankfort, and continue its sittings at Stuttgardt, in Wurtemberg. When this resolution was passed, the Speaker, addressing the House, protested that the resolution was quite unnecessary. He resigned his office and seat. M. Buss took it upon himself to dismiss the speaker with a sneering farewell; M. Lowe (of Calbe) took the chair, and the House adjourned to meet at Stuttgardt on some day next week.

The 'Deutsche Zeitung' states that the last resolution of the German Parliament (to continue its sitting at Stuttgardt) was caused by the wish of that Assembly to get rid of the Regent and his Cabinet. The Regent is resolved to suspend all official communications with the Parliament, and to continue the Central Government as long as possible.

A proclamation has been issued by the Speaker and the clerks of the fugitive Parliament, inviting the members to meet at Stuttgart on the 4th inst. It is expected that from 70 to 80 members will obey the summons.

ANOTHER KING-MANUFACTURED CONSTITUTION.

(From the 'Times.')

BERLIN, MAY 30.—The draught of the Constitution of the Empire drawn up by the Plenipotentiaries of Prussia, Hanover, and Saxony, is published this evening. In the address to the several German Governments, by which it is preceded, the Prussian Cabinet states that Bavaria has taken part in the Conference in which the Constitution was framed, but reserves the decisive declaration of its acceptance. The Prussian Government further states that the Powers who are parties to the Constitution have drawn it up that they may be enabled to meet the dangers by which Germany is threatened if it longer remains without federative constitution or union, and because the Frankfort Assembly ceased to exist as a legal body when it completed its plan of a Constitution, which could not be accepted by the government without alteration; all the after acts of that Chamber are therefore to be considered as exceeding its powers and without validity. What follows is a translation of the document itself:—'The governments of Prussia, Saxony, and Hanover have therefore agreed, according to the 11th Article of the Act of Confederation, to enter into a union (*bund*), that has for its object the mutual protection of its members against external and internal foes. *The conduct of the general measures that may be necessary for this end, they have given over to Prussia.* The government of ——, like all those which formed part of the German Confederation of 1815, is required to join this *bund* called into existence by the danger of the moment, and is requested to notify its junction with it with the least possible delay.

'The above named governments would, however, but imperfectly discharge the mission imposed on them if they merely dwelt on the necessities, which spring from the immediate present. They are impressed with the conviction that reason and duty alike require them to speak openly to the nation, as well as to their allies, on their position with regard to the question of the Constitution. They did not recognise the Constitution drawn up by the Frankfort Assembly, because it went beyond the true and wholesome requirements of a powerful federative state, and, in the form it received from the conflict and concessions of political parties, it did not contain those essential guarantees on which the legal and regular existence of every system of government reposes.

'But the united governments have never for a moment forgotten that even for these reasons it became their double duty to co-operate in framing a Constitution that has become an indispensable necessity for the whole of Germany. Such a Constitution will secure to the nation what it for a long period has been painfully deprived of, what it is justified in demanding of its governments—unity and strength in relation to foreign power; and in its internal affairs, with the secured continuance of the existence of each member of the union, a common *development of general interests and national necessities.* It is the guarantees of just freedom and legal order which the German Constitution will have to grant to the governments and to the people.

'On the proposition of Prussia, therefore, a draught of an Imperial Constitution is laid before the several members of the Confederation of 1815, in the hope that it will meet their assent. The German States which accept the present form of Constitution will be considered as members of the federate state described in article 1; while those states which do not find themselves called on to accept it will continue to possess those rights and duties unchanged created by the treaties of 1815.'

The Constitution is very long, containing, with the law of election, more than 190 paragraphs. An abstract of the most important articles is subjoined:—

'*The imperial house has the right of making peace and war*, appoints the Ambassadors and Consuls of the Empire, conducts the diplomatic intercourse, and concludes treaties of navigation and commerce with foreign countries. The several German governments have given over their right to receive or appoint Ambassadors to the imperial power.

'*The imperial government will consist of a President of the Empire and a Council of the Princes.*

The dignity of the Presidency of the Empire is united to the crown of Prussia.

The council of Princes (or States) will contain six votes, of which Prussia and Bavaria has each one; Wurtemberg, Baden, and the two Hohenzollerns have one collectively; one vote is allotted in the same manner to Saxony and the Saxon Duchies, Reuss, Anhalt, and Schwarzenburg; one to Hanover, Brunswick, Oldenburgh, Mecklenburgh, Holstein and the Hanse-towns; the remaining vote is given to the other small States—Kurhessen, Hesse Darmstadt, Nassau, Hesse-Homburgh, Luxemburgh, Waldeck, Rippe-Detmold, Schaumberg-Lippe, and Frankfort.

'The President of the Empire will reside during the meeting of the Diet, at the seat of imperial government (whether this will be Berlin or Frankfort is not known.)

'The President of the Empire will exercise the powers entrusted to him through responsible Ministers. He will open and close the sessions of the Diet, and has the right to dissolve the House of Representatives.

'The Council of Princes, under the Presidency of the Head of the Empire, or, if he should be hindered from discharging the duty, under the Presidency of Bavaria, has the right of proposing the draught of laws; it will exercise the legislative power in common with the Diet under constitutional limitations. The Council gives its decisions by the absolute majority of the plenipotentiaries present; if the number is equally divided, the President gives the casting vote.'

The section of the Constitution containing the *Grundrechte*, or fundamental rights of the German people, in many of its provisions follows that of the Frankfort Assembly.

The following is an abstract of the law of election for the House of Representatives:—

'Every independent German who has not been convicted of crime, and has attained his twenty-fifth year, is an elector. Eligible as deputy to the House of Representatives is every German not convicted of crime who has attained his thirtieth year, and has been for three years citizen of a German state. Persons holding public officer do not require a special permission to enter as members into the House of Representatives, but have to defray the expenses which may arise by the employment of officers who are to discharge their duties in their absence. Electoral districts for every number of 100,000 souls, according to the latest official return of the number of the population, are to be formed in every state.

'The form of election is indirect. The primitive voters (*Urwhaler*) choose the electors who name the deputies.

'Whoever wishes to exercise the right of voting must, at the time the elections take place, be citizens in the electoral district, and have resided there for at least three years. He must also, if required, prove that he is not in arrear with payment of the State taxes.

The section of the Constitution relating to the Senate of the Empire is in substance as follows:—

'The Imperial Diet consists of two houses, the Senate and the House of Representatives.

'The representatives of the different States are to form the Senate.

'The Senate is to consist of 167 members, of which Prussia sends 40, Bavaria 20, Saxony 12, Wurtemberg 12, Baden 10, Curhessen 7, Grand Duchy of Hessen 7, Holstein 6, Mecklenburg-Schwerin 4, Luxemburg-Limburg 3, Nassau 4, Oldenburg 2, Brunswick 2, Saxon-Weimar 2, and the smaller states 1 each.

'The members of the Senate are appointed one half by the government, and the other by the legislature, in each state.

'In those states which have two branches of legislature the two chambers together appoint one half of the members of the Senate.

'In those states which only send one member, the government is to propose three candidates, out of which the legislature selects one.

'A member of the Senate must be citizen of the state by which he is sent, have attained his thirtieth year, and be in full possession of all civil rights.

'The members of the Senate are chosen for six years.

'The members of the House of Representatives are chosen for four years.'

ANOTHER EXHIBITION OF ROYAL PRUSSIAN PERFIDY.

BERLIN, MAY 31.—The publication of the federal constitution yesterday has been followed today by that of the new election law for Prussia. It is preceded by a long ministerial statement of the reasons why it is promulgated, addressed to the King. It points out the deficiencies of the law of the 6th of December, under which the last chamber was chosen: the first point noticed is the want of a strict definition of the term 'independent Prussian,' which led to so much controversy, remedied now by making the franchise conditional on a contribution to the direct taxation of the country, either state or communal: the vote too is no longer secret, but to be given openly; the system of indirect election is preserved, the primitive voters choosing an electoral college. The voters are divided into three classes, each of which chooses a third of the number of the electors; the most numerous will, of course, be those who pay the smallest amount of taxes, but they will vote for only a third of the electoral college; thus the evil of having the influence of the educated classes overborne by the weight of 69 per cent of the population, here, at least, unprepared for the exercise of a political function, will, it is hoped, be neutralised.

The following is an abstract of the law itself:—

'We, Frederick William, &c., King of Prussia, decree, in order to carry out the articles of the Constitution from 67 to 74, and on the ground of article 105 and on the propositions of our ministry, that the following provisions are to be acted on, instead of those of the law of election for deputies of the second chamber, of the 6th of December, 1848.

'The deputies of the second chamber are chosen by electors in electoral districts; the electors are chosen by the primitive voters in special districts.

'The formation of the electoral districts is to take place according to the last official returns of the number of the population.

'One elector is to be chosen for every 250 souls.

'The electoral districts of the primitive voters are to be formed in such a manner that the number of electors who are to be chosen in the same can be divided by three.

'Every independent Prussian who has attained his 24th year and is in full possession of all civil rights is a primitive voter in the commune in which he has been a resident for six months, provided he does not receive support from public alms.

'The military of the standing army, as well as of the Landwehr, have the right of voting in the garrisons, where they are stationed at the time of the elections, without regard to the length of time they have been there. The electoral districts of the military are to contain 750 men each. Those of the Landwehr, who have been called out, vote at the place where they are stationed.

'The primitive electors are to be divided into three sections, according to the amount of direct taxes (class-tax, land-tax, and occupation-tax), they pay to the state, and in such a manner that each section pays one-third of the whole amount of the taxes paid by all the primitive electors of the district.

'Where no class-taxes are levied, the state-tax, which has been introduced by the law of the 4th of April, 1848, takes its place.

'The first class of primitive voters consists of those who pay the highest tax.

'The second class consists of those who pay the tax which is the one lower than the first. And the third class consists of those who pay the lowest tax.

'Every class chooses one-third of the number of electors.

'In the electoral assemblies no discussions can be held or resolutions passed. Votes given under protest or reserve are illegal.

'Every Prussian who has attained his 30th year, and is in full possession of all civil rights, and who has been a citizen of Prussia for one year, is eligible as deputy.

'The deputies are elected by the votes being entered into an official list.'

The new second chamber is to consist of 350 deputies, to be returned by the several districts into which Prussia is divided, in the following proportions:—

'Konigsberg, 18; Gumbinnen, 14; Dantzic, 9; Marienwerder, 13; Posen, 20; Bromberg, 10; City of Berlin, 9; Potsdam, 18; Frankfort, 18; Stettin, 12; Koslin, 9; Stralsund, 4; Breslau, 25; Oppeln, 21; Liegnitz, 20; Magdeburg, 15; Merseberg, 16; Erfurt, 7; Munster, 9; Minden, 10; Arnsberg, 12; Koln, 11; Dusseldorf, 19; Coblentz, 11; Trier, 11; Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle), 9; Total, 350.'

To the draught of the law is appended the subjoined decree:—

'We, Frederick William, &c., King of Prussia, on the proposition of our Ministry, ordain as follows:—

'1. The primitive electors for the second chamber have to assemble for the choice of the electoral colleges on the 17th of July.

'2. The chambers are summoned for the 7th of August.

'3. Our Ministry is charged with the execution of this decree.

'Given at Sans Souci, May 30, 1849.

'FREDERICK WILLIAM.'

(Countersigned by the Ministry.)

DARMSTADT, May 29.—The district now declared in a state of siege extends to within a league of the gates of Darmstadt; it includes the south-eastern part of the Oden Wald, the mountain road, and the Reid (a tract on the Rhine towards Worms and Mannheim). Whoever is found in the above-named localities with arms in his hands or whoever takes part in any armed meeting, will be punished with death. Worms was re-captured on the morning of the 29th inst., by the Hessian troops under Colonel Weitershausen, after a contest of an hour and a half.

BAVARIA, May 28th.—The Palatinate papers contains the following summons:—'In the name of the Palatinate people!—All the smiths in the Palatinate are summonsed, to prepare without delay as large a number of scythes as possible. The patterns can be received through our military committee, either direct or by means of the cantonal defence committees. The delivery of the scythes when ready is to the last-named bodies. These last-named also will, upon receipt of this summons, take the requisite steps for executing the same with all speed.

'The Provisional Government of the Rhine-Palatinate, 'P. FRIES, GRENIER, R. SCHMITT, HEPP, REICHARD.

'Kaiserslantern, May 25, 1849.'

THE WAR IN HUNGARY.

THE STORMING OF OFEN.—We take the following from the 'Wiener Zeitung':—'The first storming party advanced to the assault at ten on the night of the 17th ult. The insurgents succeeded in reaching the ramparts in several places, but were repelled with great loss, 400 or 500 being killed. The second assault was made at eleven on the night of the 19th ult., on which occasion they did not advance so far as on the former, and retreated leaving several hundred on the field. The third storming, at eleven, on the night of the 20th ult., was successful. At six o'clock on the following morning the fortress was in the hands of the Hungarians. The colonel of the Cecopieri infantry was found dead, Hentzi severely wounded in three places. All the officers of the Croats and the Granzer were cut down without quarter; the castle and single houses, where officers were hunted down, plundered. The major of the *Granzer (the troops of the military confines)*, who with about 200 men held the *tete de pont*, gave orders, when he saw the storming of the fortress and the thronging assault of the rebels, to blow up the bridge. His men refusing to obey him, he seized a match himself, with which he sat fire to the mine. Sufficient of the powder exploded to rend the major limb by limb, but not the least harm was sustained by the bridge. The loss of the Hungarians at the final storming is estimated at 250 men and forty officers.'

The Jablonowski brigade, which crossed the Waag at Freistadt, has been cut off and destroyed by the Hungarians. The corps of General Herzinger, which had likewise crossed the Waag, is asserted to have met with the same fate. Perczel, on the 18th of May, defeated the remnant of Puchner's corps at Wsowa. Bem bombarded Temeswar, the suburb of which was wholly burnt down on May 11. Perczel had summoned Karlsburg to surrender.

The Pesth papers have at last some news from Temeshvar. It appears that that fortress is in a sad condition. The Hungarians have cut off the supply of water, and the garrison is suffering from thirst and the camp fever.

The 'Kolner Zeitung' has advices from Vienna of the 30th ult., stating that letters have come to that city from the captive officers of the late garrison of Buda. It appears from these letters that these captured officers are treated with great kindness. General Hentze was buried with all military honours. The Hungarians took about 60,000 florins in silver, which were kept at Buda. The garrison of 22,000 men and eighty officers was conveyed to Debreczin. Eighty-three pieces of artillery, 1,400 cwt. of gunpowder, 2,000 cwt. of saltpetre, and 14,000 muskets, fell into the hands of the Hungarians after the capture of Buda.

A report is in circulation at Vienna that the Russians met with a terrible reception at Kaschau, in retaliation for which they destroyed that city. The facts are given as follows. The Russians having entered and taken up their position in the square, a murderous fire was opened upon them from every window. Upon this they immediately retired, surrounded the city with cannon, set fire to it at the four corners, and cut down all who attempted to make their escape. The 'Austrian Correspondent' inserts these reports without denying them. A battle has taken place in the neighbourhood of Trentschin, to which place the extreme left wing of the Austrian army extended; it lasted nine hours, and was very bloody. Field Marshal Lieut. Heynau, who had been summoned from Italy, commanded, and General Vogel who had advanced from Galicia through the pass of Dukla, but who being then cut off had been forced back to Trentschin. Dannenberg is supposed to have commanded the Hungarians. After the battle Vogel fell back from Trentschin and made for Tyrnau. From this circumstance, in particular, it is evident that the victory was not on the side of the Austrians.

The Austrian army, probably in consequence of *the fall of Ofen*, has made at Presburg a retrograde movement. They evacuated Bos (pronounced nearly like *bush*,) on the island of Schutt, which was immediately occupied by the Hungarians. The main body of the Austrians was at Szedahely, that of the Hungarians in the little town of Megyer, a few leagues off.

There was a sitting of the National Assembly at Debreczin on May 14th. Paul Almasy was the president. Ludwig Kossuth here took the following oath:—'I, Ludwig Kossuth, elected Governor-President by the National Assembly, swear to maintain the nation's declaration of independence in all its consequences, and also obedience to the laws and decrees of the National Assembly. So true God help me.' Hereupon the President of the Assembly made an appropriate patriotic speech. After this the ministers severally swore fealty to the constitution, and the Assembly adjourned.

Accounts from Southern Hungary state that the Hungarians occupy on the frontiers of the Danubian Principalities positions so strong that it is almost impossible for the Russians to enter in that quarter.

From the seat of war in the west the rumour which prevailed on the 31st ult. of a battle at Trentschin, has been confirmed. The Austrian troops engaged consisted of the corps of Vogel and the brigade of Benedek; while the Hungarian forces were the advanced guard under General Dannenberg. The Austrians were put to flight, and were pursued down the Waag-thal by the Hungarian hussars, who made fearful havoc among the fugitives. A battle is also reported to have taken place at Raab.

Bem has reached Orsowa, and issued a proclamation to the Servians. The news, therefore, that the Russians had reached Orsowa on the 14th is, as I surmised, untrue.

The news is confirmed that a large part of the Russian troops in Wallachia and Moldavia had retired across the Pruth. The Vienna press, not knowing what to make of this backward move of the great ally, ascribes it one while to a protest of the Porte, another to an energetic note from England or France. Concerning the march of the Russians into Galicia, accounts from Floczmow, of the 29th ult. *report that the last column of the Russians came in* on that day. The whole corps consisted of 52 000 men, with 15,000 horses, and advanced towards the Carpathians, on the road to Krosno.

ITALY.

THE SIEGE OF ROME.

MAY 28.—We are now awaiting with anxiety the result on the efforts which are still being made by the Triumvirate to bring about some arrangement or compromise with the French commissioner, who has not yet finally quitted Rome. If the Austrians should advance upon Rome from Bologna, as is expected here, we shall probably witness the forces of the French Republic operating in conjunction with those of that power, unless, indeed, which is perhaps not impossible, both of them should give the matter up as a bad business. The French have now an army of 25,000 men here, with no end of Paixhan's eighty-pounder guns. They calculate, no doubt, upon making a breach in the old walls, which they think would give them a free passage. But I tell you that then the work would only commence, and that unless they can starve out the Romans, they must make up their minds to a hand-to-hand fight, and to contest every inch of ground, before they can obtain possession of Rome.

The following proclamation on the present crisis has been issued by the Triumvirate:—

'People of the Republic!—The Austrian advances. Bologna has fallen—*fallen after eight sublime days of battle and sacrifices—fallen as others triumph.* Let its last cry be a cry of war and vengeance for all of us; let those who have an Italian heart receive it as a sacred legacy. *Rome demands of you*, citizens, a last effort; and it is certain of obtaining it, because the blood of her children shed on the 30th April makes it their right.

'By adhesions to the government and administration committed to us when the days of danger commenced, you have given a noble and solemn testimony of concordant faith to Italy and to Europe. We summon you to give another testimony—that of feats. Be ready, every man of you, to seal your faith with your own blood! Arise, every city, every borough, every place, to avenge Bologna! Let every bell sound the stroke of agony, the horror which the people denounces on the foreign invasion. Kindle upon your mountains, from ridge to ridge, a symbol of fraternity in wrath, the fires which gave in December, 1847, the signal of our revolution. Display the red banner everywhere on towers and steeples! From farm to farm, from house to house, let the signal of battle run. Let the enemy, let Italy, let Europe know, that here, in the *heart of the Peninsula, three millions of men stand* bound by the oath of a tremendous defence, irrevocably resolved to combat to extremities, and to bury themselves, rather than yield, under the ruins of their country. And, thanks be to God, no human power will be able to snatch the victory from us Three millions of men are omnipotent when they say—we will it.

'Italians! sons of Rome! soldiers of the Republic, this is a solemn hour, prepared for ages; one of those historical moments which decree the life or death of a people. Great and powerful for ever, or branded for ever with the mark of servitude; acknowledged to be freemen and brothers by the nations, or condemned to the nullity of men who must be obedient to the caprices of others; masters of yourselves, of your houses, of your altars, of your tombs, or the laughing-stock of every tyrant; committed to an immortality of glory or of shame, you will be what yourselves shall choose. The judgment of God and of the human race hangs upon your option.

Be great. Resolve for victory. The people conquered victory amongst the Spaniards, the Greeks, the Swiss—let them conquer victory for Italy. Let the prefects, the extraordinary commissioners, organise the insurrection. Let them assemble from province to province. Let them draw inspiration from Rome. Let them assume, in extreme dangers, exceptional powers and extreme remedies. Let the director who yields, who flees before having combatted, who capitulates, who wavers, be declared a criminal. Let the district which receives the enemy be politically cancelled from the territories of the republic. Let him who does not combat in one mode or another the foreign invader have all the infamy of his conduct. Let him who, were it but for an instant, sides with the invader, lose country and life for ever. Let him who abandons to the invader the materials of war be punished. Let him who does not assist in depriving them of food, lodgment, and rest be punished; let him who, being able, does not quit the ground trodden by an enemy be punished. Let a circle of fire and a desert be drawn round the army that raises a banner that is not ours. Let the Republic, meek and generous heretofore, arise terrible in menace.

'Rome will stand.

'Given from the residence of the Triumvirate, May 21, 1849. 'The Triumvirs,

'CARLO ARMELLINI,
'GUISEPPE MAZZINI,
'AURELIO SAFFI.'

ROME, MAY 23.—A second bulletin from Gen. Roselli, in reference to the action of the 19th, before Velletri, appeared last evening, but it adds little or nothing to the information contained in the first. The Roman loss is stated at but eighteen killed and seventy wounded; but I have reason to know that it is considerably greater. However, there is no doubt that the Neapolitans had a complete beating; they abandoned Velletri at three o'clock on Sunday morning, and the place was immediately occupied by the Roman troops. It must be admitted that the King of Naples and his army have gained no trophies in this useless and feebly conducted raid. With 15,000 men, some hard blows might have been struck, had there been anything but imbecility in his councils; as it is, the invaders are, by the last accounts, in full retreat for the frontier, with Garibaldi's division at their heels.

The 'Monitore Romano,' of the 24th ult., announces that Captain Dobrowolski, of the general staff, is commissioned to organise and command the foreign legion now forming. Two hundred Tuscans had arrived at Rome to serve under the Republic; many Piedmontese *tirailleurs* have deserted, with arms and baggage, for the same purpose. French subjects were daily *dropping in* with the same view.

Later accounts from Rome state that nearly the whole of the Roman forces under Roselli have returned to Rome from their expedition against the Neapolitans. They were received in triumph. Garibaldi is still on the frontiers.

Letters from Rome dated the 28th states that M. Lesseps had abandoned the city and taken refuge in the camp, under protest that he was threatened with assassination; that the Provisional Government had refused to admit a single French soldier without an engagement being made to recognise the Republic; and that sickness had already shown itself in the camp. Head-quarters had not been changed, nor a bridge thrown over the Tiber. The French army now amounts, near Rome, to 25,000 men, provided with every material of war by late arrivals at Civita Vecchia.

Letters from Rome of the 28th ult. announce that hostilities had not been resumed between the French troops and the Romans. Garibaldi had entered the Neapolitan territory, and had, it was said, been received by the inhabitants of the town of Arce with demonstrations of joy. He had suddenly made a movement to the right, in order to effect a junction with the Roman troops, who had marched from the capital against the Austrians.

UNITED STATES.

LIVERPOOL, Monday Night.—The North American mail steamer Hibernia, Captain Stone, has arrived with advices from New York to the 22nd, Boston to the 23rd, and Halifax to the 25th ult.

At St. Louis, the great capital of the south-west, a most disastrous fire on the 18th ult. swept over the principal business portion of the city, extending for nearly a mile along the Mississippi, and consumed goods, warehouses, and steamboats—twenty-seven of the latter, several of them with cargoes on board—to the value, as estimated, of between four and five million dollars.

The city of New Orleans, after being for some time afflicted with cholera, which swept away many of its citizens, is now threatened with even a more fearful and irresistible foe in the overwhelming waters of the Mississippi.

The city lies below the high water level of this great river, and is guarded, as Holland is, from the inroad of the sea, by dykes, or levees, as they are called, along the Mississippi. A portion of one of those levees above the city having been carried away, the waters were passing rapidly through the opening, overcoming all efforts to stop the breach, inundating the plantations below, and actually pouring through some of the streets of the city. Our latest dates by mail are the 13th ult., when in many quarters the inhabitants were already driven by the invading waters to take refuge in the upper stories of their houses. Business, of course, must be materially checked by such a state of things.

INDIA.

The news from the Punjaub—till recently so important and exciting—has begun to grow scanty and of diminished interest.

The 'Mofussilite' announces, on the authority of a Ferozepore letter, that Shere Singh, on being sent for by Sir H. Lawrence, 'made his escape.' 'A party of horsemen,' it is added, 'were sent in pursuit, but they returned without him.' This story, however, receives no confirmation from either the 'Delhi Gazette' or the 'Agra Messenger.' From the native correspondence of the former paper, we gather that on the 7th instant Rajah Shere Singh was present in Durbar, and was told that 'his treachery to the state, and to the British government, was so great that he deserved condign punishment, but that the promise to spare his life would be kept, and some small allowance made for his support.'

BOMBAY, May 1.—This morning's post has brought us news of the escape of her Highness Ranee Chunda, mother of Dhuleep Singh, ex-Maharajah of Lahore, from the fortress of Chunar. It is not long since a plot was discovered, or supposed to have been discovered, at Benares, for the rescue of the Ranee, who had been confined there since her removal from Shaikhoopra. At the same time one of her highness's slave-girls actually made an effort to get off, and was intercepted in the attempt. Impressed with the importance of preventing the Ranee from recovering her liberty, Major M'Gregor determined on changing her place of residence, and accordingly set off with her to the fort of Chunar. She had been there—if there she ever was—but a very short time when the astounding tidings gained publicity that the bird had flown.

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 of 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 DEBILITATED 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	Fits	Secondary Symptoms
Blotches on the Skin	Gout	Tic-Doloureux
Bowel Complaints	Head-ache	Tumours
Colics	Indigestion	Ulcers
Constipation of the Bowels	Inflammation	Venereal Affections
Consumption	Jaundice	Worms of all kinds
Debility	Liver Complaints	Weakness, from whatever cause &c., &c.
Dropsy	Lumbago	
Dysentery	Piles	
Erysipelas	Rheumatism	
	Retention of Urine	
	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.

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.

PROTECTED BY ROYAL LETTERS PATENT.

DR. LOCOCK'S FEMALE WAFERS,

Have no Taste of Medicine,

And are the only remedy recommended to be taken by Ladies. They fortify the Constitution at all periods of life, and in all Nervous Affections act like a charm. They remove Heaviness, Fatigue on Slight Exertion, Palpitation of the Heart, Lowness of Spirits, Weakness, and allay pain. They create Appetite, and remove Indigestion, Heartburn, Wind, Head Aches, Giddiness, &c.

In Hysterical Diseases, a proper perseverance in the use of this Medicine will be found to effect a cure after all other means had failed.

☞ Full Directions are given with every box.

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

BEWARE OF IMITATIONS.

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.

OBSERVE.—The Counterfeit Medicines have words on the Stamp SO NEARLY RESEMBLING THESE, as to mislead the unwary. Purchasers must therefore strictly observe the above caution.

AGENTS.—DA SILVA and Co., 1, Bride-lane, Fleet-street, London. Sold by all Medicine Vendors.

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

INSTANT RELIEF AND RAPID CURE OF ASTHMAS, CONSUMPTION AND COUGHS,

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:—

CURES OF CONSUMPTION.

Gentlemen,—Your Wafers I can speak of myself 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, 1848.

IMPORTANT TO ALL WHO SING.

From S. Pearsall, Esq., of Her Majesty's Concerts, and Vicar-choral of Lichfield Cathedral.

Gentlemen,—A lady of distinction having pointed out to me the qualities of Dr. Locock's Wafers, I was induced to make a trial of a box, and from this trial I am happy to give my testimonial in their favour. I find by allowing a few of the Wafers (taken in the course of the day) to gradually dissolve in the mouth, my voice becomes bright and clear, and the tone full and distinct. They are decidedly the most efficacious of any I have ever used.—(Signed) SAMUEL PEARSALL.—Lichfield, July 10th, 1848.

The particulars of many hundred cases may be had *from every Agent throughout the Kingdom* and on the Continent.

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

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

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

Agents, DA SILVA and Co., 1, Bride-lane, Fleet-street, London.

BEWARE OF IMITATIONS.

NOTE.—Full directions are given with every box, in the English, German, and French languages.

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.

BLAIR'S GOUT AND RHEUMATIC PILLS. The acknowledged efficacy of BLAIR'S GOUT AND RHEUMATIC PILLS, by the continued series of Testimonials which have been sent to and published by the proprietor for nearly twenty years, has rendered this medicine the most popular of the present age; and in corroboration of which the following extract of a letter, written by John Molard Wheeler, Esq., Collector of Customs, Jamaica, having been handed by his brother, at Swindon, to Mr. Prout for publication, will fully confirm.

"I know you have never had occasion to take Blair's Pills, but let me emphatically tell you in mercy to any friend who may suffer from gout, rheumatic gout, lumbago, sciatica, rheumatism, or any branch of that widely-allied family to recommend their using them. In this country they are of wonderful efficacy: not only am I PERSONALLY aware of their powers, but I see my friends and acquaintances receiving unfailing benefit from their use. I would not be without them on any account. If taken in the early stage of disease they dissipate it altogether: if in a later, they alleviate pain, and effect a much speedier cure than by any other means within my knowledge."

Sold by Thomas Prout, 229, Strand, London; and by his appointment by

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

Price 2s. 9d. per box.

Ask for BLAIR'S GOUT AND RHEUMATIC PILLS, and observe the name and address of "Thomas Prout, 229, Strand, London," impressed upon the Government Stamp affixed to each box of the Genuine Medicine.

Poetry.

HUNGARY.

"As right a stand as e'er was made, since hoary time had birth."

"By its own avowal, the Russian government had stirred up a fratricidal war, only to subjugate Hungary, and to oblige her to purchase peace at the price of her independence. If these measures had succeeded, Hungary was erased from the list of independent nations."—*Count Teleki's "Case of Hungary stated."*

Great Lord of Liberty and Truth, I now thine aid invoke;
To plead for noble HUNGARY—that rent the Austrian yoke!
To tell how that great people, like a spring 'midst desert sand!
Have shed refreshing Hope's bright light, upon a despot's land.
Oh! let us all our voices lend, in heart-upholding praise;
To the nation, *that 'midst tyranny*, dared Freedom's head upraise!
That waved her glorious flag across grim Despotism's face,
And *proved* that in the Eastern world, there dwelt *one noble race!*

* * * *

I pray, O! HUNGARY! thou may'st make thy cannon-voiced foes dumb!
That o'er thy lion-hearted land a halcyon time may come!
That thy *true* peasantry may show, thy *noble* nobles how
In much-loved peace—as in dread war—real gratitude they know!
Right well hath thoughtful LANDOR said, for good to all on earth,
That glorious KOSSUTH and brave BEM a million men are worth!
If not within my country's heart—*in mine* thy wrongs have place;
And oft it throbs with hope for thee—thou noble Eastern race!
Oh! ne'er may "freedom shriek," as when great KOSKIUSKO fell!
Oh! ne'er may future history have such dismal woe to tell.
A curse on hireling liars all—out, out upon the *Times!*
It hath humanity's deep curse, winged up from all earth's climes.
If we would right and justice aid—true as God's radiant sun;
If we would aid the march of truth—the way of error shun;
If we would *serve our very* GOD, who smileth in His grace,
Up, up and save, O free-born men, that noble Eastern race!
When hallowed rights *three centuries old*, in blood may be blot out;
Such outrage to Humanity should meet resistance stout.
To see *three hundred long long years*, robbed of all good to man;
To flames of indignation high, all honest hearts must fan!
All glory to the race that shall the CONDOR'S* talons clip,
And thus prevent her ruthlessly in *bravemen's blood* to dip.
If we would *serve our very* GOD, who smileth in His grace,
We must aid, 'gainst the destroyer, that noble Eastern race!
Big with the future fate of man, is this HUNGARIAN sore;
Big as POLONIA'S Eagles' fall, in that sad day of yore!
How fair and timely is the hour, to grapple for the free,
And e'er the set of ALBION'S sun, bend RUSSIA'S Titan knee!
Crushed POLAND *yet* HER spirit hath—ere her's and HUNGARY'S die,
Let ALBION'S name with theirs be joined in immortality!
If we would *serve our very* GOD, who smileth in His grace!
We must save that land of heroes, that noble Eastern race!

May 16th, 1849. HUMANITAS.

(*) Russia, often so called.

Reviews.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF FRANCOIS-RENE, VISCOUNT DE CHATEAUBRIAND. Vol. II. London: Simms and M'Intyre, Paternoster-row.

THE close of the first volume of these memoirs left the author on his exploring expedition through the wilds of North America. The volume before us introduces him to his readers in the company of English, French, and Dutch settlers, Indians and half-castes, including two swarthy goddesses who combined all the graces of Spanish and Indian beauty. The poor traveller's head was well nigh turned, whilst in the company of his bewitching companions. Fortunately, he was philosopher enough to withstand temptation, otherwise his adventures would, in all likelihood, have been cut short by the tomahawk and the scalping-knife. We extract our autobiographist's account of his visit to

NIAGARA.

I have seen the cascades of the Alps with their chamois, and those of the Pyrences with their izzards. I have not ascended the Nile high enough to meet with its cataracts which there degenerate into rapids. I speak not of the azure zones of Terni and Tivoli, the elegant drapery of ruins, or the subjects of the poet's song—

Et præceps Anio ac Tiburni lucus.

"And the rapid Anio and the sacred wood of Tibur."

Niagara eclipsed them all.

I was holding my horse's bridle twined around my arm, when a rattle-snake rustled among the brushwood. The terrified animal reared up and recoiled in the direction of the fall. I was unable to disengage my arm from the reins, and the horse, becoming every moment more frightened, dragged me after him. Already his forefeet had left the earth. Leaning over the margin of the abyss, he was prevented from falling only by the pressure of the reins. It was all over with me, when the animal, astonished himself at his new danger, wheeled round with a pirouette. If I had quitted the world in the midst of Canadian forests, would my soul have carried to the supreme tribunal, the sacrifices, the good works, and the virtues of the father Jogues and Lallemand, or only vacant days and miserable chimeras?

This was not the only danger I encountered at Niagara. A ladder of bind-weed served the savages for descending into the lower basin. It was at that period broken. Wishing to see the cataract from below, I ventured, notwithstanding the remonstrances of my guide, upon the side of an almost perpendicular rock. Notwithstanding the roar of the water which boiled above me, I retained my steadiness of head, and reached within forty feet of the base. Arrived there, the naked and vertical rock no longer offered me any support. I remained suspended by one hand from the last root which I met with, feeling my fingers every moment giving way from the weight of my body. There are few men who have spent during their life two minutes such as I then reckoned. My weary hand at last let go its hold, and I fell. By an unexpected stroke of good fortune I found myself on the slope of a rock, on which one would have imagined I must have been dashed to pieces, and did not feel much injured. I was within half a foot of the edge of the abyss, and I had not rolled over; but when the cold and the damp began to penetrate my clothing, I perceived that I had not got off so cheaply. I had my left arm broken above the elbow. My guide, who was gazing at me from above, and to whom I made signals of distress, ran to summon the savages. They hoisted me up with halters by a path which had been made by the otters, and transported me to their village. I had only a simple fracture. Two splints, a bandage, and a sling sufficed for my recovery.

At the farm-house of an American, CHATEAUBRIAND obtained sight of an English newspaper, in which he read the account of the attempted escape of LOUIS XVI., and his arrest at Varennes. This news decided him to interrupt his travels and return forthwith to Europe. He did so, and had a narrow escape of shipwreck on the shores of Brittany. Shortly after his return to France he married, or rather was married, for he appears to have been the most passive of mortals that ever became a party to the tying of the indissoluble knot of matrimony. His account of the affair though not intended to excite *laughter*, is provokingly ludicrous.

Within a few months of his marriage, CHATEAUBRIAND quitted Madame, and along with his brother joined the loyalist emigrants in Germany. His descriptions of his comrades, show the contemptible character of the brigand aristocrats. He appears to have had but indifferent health, with which to meet the toils and dangers of the life of a soldier in active service. After taking part in a little fighting against the Republicans, which only resulted in the discomfiture of the aristocrats, he quitted the ranks of the Germans, intending to go to Jersey and from there to Brittany, to join the Breton royalists. Almost destitute, and with a journey of two hundred leagues before him, he found himself attacked by small-pox, and suffered terrible miseries. Ultimately reaching Ostend, he embarked for Jersey, but was put ashore at Guernsey, apparently dying.

I was apparently fated to excite compassion. The wife of an English pilot happened to pass; she was touched on seeing me, and called her husband, who, assisted by two or three sailors, carried me into the house of a fisherman—me, the friend of the waves. They laid me on a comfortable bed, in snow-white sheets. The young seaman's wife took all possible care of the foreigner; I owe my life to her. The following morning I again embarked. My hostess almost wept when parting from her patient; women have a heavenly and instinctive compassion for misfortune. My fair and lovely guardian, who resembled a figure taken from the old English engravings, pressed my swollen and burning hands in her fresh and lovely fingers; I was ashamed that so much vileness and misery should come in contact with so many charms.

He reached Jersey, and subsequently London instead of Brittany. New horrors met him, and more than once he was in danger of perishing of hunger. A countryman and companion in misfortune, named HINGANT, lodged with CHATEAUBRIAND.

SUFFERINGS OF THE EXILES.

When we reached our last shilling, I agreed with my friend to keep it in order to preserve a semblance of breakfasting. We arranged that we should purchase a loaf at two sous; that we should allow them to bring up warm water and the teapot as usual; that we should not put any tea in it; that we should not eat the bread, but drink a little warm water with a morsel of sugar which remained in the bottom of the sugar basin.

Five days glided on in this manner. I was devoured with hunger; I was burning hot; sleep had wholly deserted me. I sucked some fragments of linen which I had dipped in water; I chewed grass and paper. When I passed before the bakers' shops, my torments were dreadful. One severe evening in winter, I stood for two hours riveted before a shop where dried fruits and smoked viands were sold, drinking in with my eyes all that I beheld. I could have eaten, not only the edibles, but the boxes, the baskets, and the panniers which contained them.

On the morning of the fifth day, almost expiring from inanition, I drag myself to Hingant's house; I knock at the door, it was locked; I call Hingant, who is some time without giving any reply; at last he rises and opens it. He was laughing in a wild and unnatural manner; his riding-coat was buttoned. He seats himself before the table on which the tea-things were placed.

"Our breakfast is just coming up," said he, in an extraordinary tone of voice.

I fancied I saw some drops of blood on his chemise; I hastily unbuttoned his riding-coat; he had given himself a stab with his pen-knife, about two inches deep, in his left side. I called out for help. The servant hurried out to procure a surgeon. The wound was dangerous.

This new misfortune obliged me to come to some determination. Hingant had been a counsellor in the Parliament of Brittany, and he had refused to accept the stipend which the English government granted to French magistrates, just as I had refused the shilling a-day given as alms to the emigrants. I wrote to M. de Barentin, and disclosed to him the situation of my friend. Hingant's parents hastened to his side, and brought him with them to the country. At the same moment my uncle, De Bedée, sent me forty crowns—the touching oblation of my persecuted family. I thought all the gold of Peru was before me; the pence of the prisoners of France served to support the French exile.

We must leave untouched the episode of "CHARLOTTE," who first excited love in the frozen breast of our autobiographist.

After an exile of eight years in England, he returned to France under a Swiss name, there to prosecute his career as an author. The account of his impressions of Paris in the year 1800, when France was yet nominally a Republic, although BUONAPARTE was then preparing to assume the purple, concludes this volume.

The Autobiography of CHATEAUBRIAND is a work which no reader should be ignorant of. Although not free from defects, it is, on the whole, exceedingly interesting, and abounds in passages of beauty, the equal of which can be but rarely met with.

Chartist Tracts for the Times. No. VII. *Chartism, and the Charter Defended.* By the KIRKDALE CHARTIST PRISONERS. London: Watson.

THIS tract is devoted to an able and impartial sketch of the rise and progress of Chartist principles, from the time of the Reform Bill agitation to the Whig persecution of the Chartists in 1839. The subject will be continued in number eight. In placing the Chartists, and their principles, in their true colours, before the public, our friends are doing good service to the good cause—service which cannot be too highly appreciated by their brother democrats. We select a few extracts:—

THE WHIGS.

The doings of the Whigs during the agitation are fresh in our memory. The burnings at Bristol and Nottingham. Processions, in one of which an executioner was paraded, carrying a bloody axe. Attwood's threat to march one hundred thousand men on London, and at the same time holding a correspondence with the Whig ministry. All this, and infinitely more, was openly tolerated and encouraged, without a single individual being arrested. How strangely this contrasts with the treatment to which the Chartists have been subjected by these brawlers, and incendiaries of 1830. But there was good cause for this. The Seditionists of that day were rich men struggling for the supremacy of an aristocratic faction, whilst the persecuted and imprisoned victims of the Whig and Tory factions are friends of justice, and committed the heavy crime of opposing the usurpation of the titled and the wealthy.

EFFECTS OF THE PROMULGATION OF THE CHARTER.

The definite and unmistakeable shape in which this document placed the true principles of representation, alarmed the Whigs and doubtful Radicals, therefore, to create a distinction, and shelter themselves from the obloquy of openly deserting their previous principles, all who had adopted the London document, as their political creed, were styled "Chartists," and thus a distinct line was drawn between the *real* friends of political and social progress, and the mere *pretenders*. The Working Men's Associations throughout the country, quietly adopted the title which malignity had thrust upon them, feeling it necessary to distinguish themselves from their previous doubtful and insincere associates. This was the origin of the term Chartist, and the democratic doctrines, promulgated by that body, have been called "Chartism." We feel that the preceding facts are a full justification of the part taken by the working classes and their friends. They plainly saw that, during the Reform Bill mania, they were made the mere tools of a worthless faction, whose every pledge to the people had been shamefully violated, and who used their newly acquired power to crush still lower the class who had exalted them to place and distinction, and they accordingly resolved to act for themselves for the future. Many well disposed men still feel a hankering desire to link themselves once more with the middle class; but as for us, we are firmly resolved that the game of 1830 shall not again be played, and that if there is to be a union of action at any future period, the just rights of the people must be first established. If they are willing to add their influence to the movement in favour of the People's Charter, then they will have redeemed their former pledge; if not, they are unworthy of notice.

THE "PHYSICAL FORCE" CHARTISTS.

Even to this day, the most humane, intelligent, and honest portion of the advocates of the Rights of Man, are designated "physical force men," levellers, &c., by the corrupt press of the ruling factions, and their abettors. If physical force Chartism means a comprehensive and entire change in those institutions which tend to enrich the idle and send the grey hairs of industry with sorrow to the grave,—if physical force Chartism means drying the tears of the widow and fatherless, and giving to industry its lawful due, and releasing mankind from the grasp of greedy tyrants,—if it means the full and complete emancipation of the people, from the worse than Egyptian bondage which they now endure—then are we physical force Chartists heart and soul, and should glory in the appellation. The friends of liberty in all countries have been singled out from the shuffling pretenders by some degrading epithet. Why not we? Rejoice then! you reviled physical force men! You are thought worthy of the hatred of the enemies of English liberty and wear a distinctive badge *which has been thrust upon you.* The friends of political and social progression in France are likewise stigmatised as Red Republicans and Socialists. Honour to them! May we all succeed in the establishment of our dearest hopes, man's happiness!

The wide circulation of this tract must tend to dispel prejudice, by enlightening the hitherto uninformed or misinformed of the veritable principles and real history of the Chartist party. All true democrats should purchase, and do all in their power to promote the sale of these most useful and ably-written *Tracts for the Times.*

The Uxbridge Spirit of Freedom. Conducted by WORKING MEN. No. III. June. London: Watson, Queen's Head Passage, Paternoster-row.

THIS admirable publication continues its bold, unflinching course, neither turning to the right hand nor the left, but keeping the straightforward path of honesty. Its writers speak out manfully; witness the following, from an article entitled

IT MOVES FOR ALL THAT.

"It moves for all that," said Galileo. Said not Galileo right, brothers? Ay, it moves for all that! the patriots and friends of humanity have risen, bearded their tyrants, and fallen in their own blood, God's nobles, the high-natured sons of Genius, have let out their lives and shut up the wealth of their burning souls on the scaffold and in the dungeon, the prophets have suffered the bloodiest tortures that persecution could invent, and the world's redeemers have been crucified and slain at cross and stake, oppression triumphed and liberty seemed dead—but, *it moved for all that!*

The poor are crushed, the tyrants link their chain, the poet sings through narrow dungeon grates, man's hopes lie quenched,—but, lo! with steadfast gain,

Freedom doth forge her mail of adverse fates.

Ferdinand of Naples, that regal dabbler in human gore, may plunder, violate, massacre, burn, and make a hell in that heaven upon earth, Italy; but he cannot kill liberty—she lives for ever in the hearts of men, and clingeth fast to the footstool of God. Blum, Messenhauser, and Becher, our own countryman, have gone down to the martyr's grave in the first blush of the glorious dawn which is bursting on the world; Albert, Raspail, Barbes, and Ernest Jones, are in the hands of gaolers; Louis Blanc, Caussidière, Proudhon, and John Mitchel, are in exile from the motherland they loved so well; England groans with three million paupers: Poland lies bleeding at every pore, beneath the iron heel of the Northern Autocrat; but, *it moves still!*

Articles conceived in the same spirit, on "Kings and Kingcraft," "The Monopoly of the Soil," the juggle of "Content," and "Coming Events;" together with Poetry to match make up a pennyworth of truth which Statesmen would do well to digest, and which all true democrats will do well to circulate to the utmost of their power.

SUNSHINE AND SHADOW: A TALE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

BY THOMAS MARTIN WHEELER,

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

CHAPTER X.

What if they failed? 'Twere glory e'en to dare
The proud achievement. Tens of millions brood
O'er human life in one penurious mood
Of paltry thought, and miserable care;
Then shall not these the palm of triumph wear,
A guiltless wreath by slaughter unimbrued;
For not by their own minds were they subdued,
But by the banded powers of * *.

THIS was a fresh era in the life of Arthur Morton, one of those cycles of events on which the whole web of after-life seems to hang; the mute lyre of his soul had been touched by the finger of popular emotion, and gave forth sweet and sonorous music, of the possession of which it had hitherto been unconscious; but the lyre once touched, its vibrations ceased not until the fragile instrument was destroyed. In the exciting scenes that took place during the few days of the Convention's sitting in Birmingham, Arthur was a prominent actor; the irritating interference of a body of police, sent from London to preserve the peace, was the immediate cause of its being broken, and in the riots that ensued they would have speedily met their fate, had they not been sheltered by the military. Arthur deeply regretted these transactions: enthusiast as he was, he would have shed his blood cheerfully in any struggle, however hopeless, which might possibly result in achieving the emancipation of the masses; but he was aware that mere sectional rioting would tend only to dispirit the friends, and exasperate the enemies of the movement; it was, therefore, with fellings of pain that he gazed on that grand and exciting spectacle in the Bull-ring, when the pent-up passions of the mass burst forth like a volcano's lava, scattering flames and destruction around. The leaders of the Democratic movement are decried by their opponents as destructives, and incendiaries—men delighting in anarchy and confusion. Despicable falsehood! were it so, courage and opportunities have not been wanting, and England's mammoth cities might have been the funeral pyres of their oppressors, and blazing beacons of a world's warning against man's injustice to his brother man. Had the leaders of the people that night been the firebrands they are denominated, a new Birmingham must, Phœnix-like, have arisen from the ashes of the present one; but they, in common with the generality of Britons, have a respect for property, and a love of order, carried even to the extreme. Little, however, does this avail them; their motives must be impugned, and their characters maligned, in order that the thoughtless and the inert—the mass of the people—may be deluded and imposed upon, under the specious plea of the rights of private property, and the reign of public order. The events that followed are matters of history, but of history that has to be re-written, to clear it of prejudice and calumny. Time, the great arbiter, will do all parties justice—more is needed not. The Convention, ushered into existence amid the sunshine of unity and hope, dissolved away amid shadow and gloom; many of its members were arrested, and the remainder, with few exceptions, dispersed or in exile; nor were the men of Birmingham suffered to go scathless—imprisonment and transportation was the lot of too many of her sons. Honest and true-hearted, they fell victims to the misguided enthusiasm of the moment. A tear to their woes, and a speedy termination to their exile! Had theirs been an impartial jury of their peers, they would have returned a verdict of "Temporary insanity, brought on by excess of zeal in a good cause." Arthur Morton, deprecating this rioting, and taking no part in the firing of the houses in the Bull-Ring, had nevertheless become a marked man; he had displayed abilities too great to be suffered to go at large, whilst any plausible pretext could be found for ridding the country of him; he was, accordingly, one evening shortly after these events, arrested by Catchem and Holdem, two of the London police, and on inquiring the charge, was informed—"Arson." Arthur had seen enough of life to know that innocence was no protection in a court of justice when the political prejudices of a jury were appealed to, his resolution was therefore taken and acted upon at once. While the policemen were searching his papers and effects, he was descending the stairs to the street, with one of his captors in front and the other behind; he stooped suddenly down, seized the foremost by the legs, threw him headlong, jumped over his prostrate body, and succeeded in gaining the street before the hindmost officer could disengage himself from his companion, who, partially stunned by his fall, but having a dim consciousness of his duty, seized him by mistake for our hero. In vain did Catchem endeavour to convince Holdem that he had got the wrong man by the gripe; Holdem held convulsively to his leg, and it was only by a violent effort that Catchem tore himself from his grasp. Swiftly sped Arthur along the dark and narrow street, he has turned the corner, and no sound of pursuit falls on his ear; he slackens his pace to collect his scattered thoughts, but before he can arrange any plan of escape the shouts of his pursuers burst on his ear—darkness favours him, they see him not, but have traced him by the sound of his footsteps. Onward he flies,—now he emerges from the quiet streets, adjacent to his home, into New-street, and, walking quietly along, is lost to his pursuers amid the passengers that throng the street. In sooth to say, Catchem, in doubt as to the state of his brother officer, did not make any strenuous effort to continue the pursuit; feeling confident of a reward being offered, he rejoined his comrade, whom he found recovered from his insensibility. Holdem, whilst venting imprecations upon the prisoner's escape, laughed heartily at his own erroneous seizure; they then ascertained the route taken by Arthur, and suspended further active operations until a reward should enhance the value of their prey. Meanwhile Arthur, finding himself safe, hastened to the suburbs, and succeeded in reaching Wolverhampton in safety; he paused at the entrance of the town, thinking the lateness of the hour might cause suspicion, but anxiety to place the greatest possible distance between himself and his pursuers hurried him on, and during the whole night he tarried not, but pursued the northern road until he reached Stafford; here, pleading illness, he engaged a bed at a small public-house, and after partaking of tea, retired to the sleeping apartment and soon sunk into slumber; but sleep did not long exert its influence over him; the mind, perplexed and wearied, would not allow the body to repose; his was indeed a dangerous position,—with but a few shillings in his pocket—without change of raiment—destitute of even political friends, save those in Birmingham, with whom it was now dangerous to correspond, he knew not what course to take or where to proceed; with the natural instinct of courage he meditated upon returning to Birmingham, and meeting the unjust accusation, but reflection told him that it would be useless so to sacrifice himself, and that his flight would be looked upon as a strong confirmation of his guilt. After revolving over various plans he at length decided upon travelling to Liverpool, and from thence writing to an acquaintance in Birmingham to turn the few things his savings had allowed him to purchase into money, trusting with the proceeds to reach America, that refuge for the world's criminals and the world's unfortunates, receiving daily the very refuse of Europe,—all who are discontented—all who are in debt—those who cannot, and who will not obey the laws of their native land—mingled with a few of its noblest spirits. Yet by virtue of thy Republican institutions purifying and refining these discordant elements, uniting all in the bonds of citizenship, and setting an example of order, economy, and prosperity to the nations of the Old World, an example which, sooner or later, they will be compelled to follow.

In safety did Arthur reach Liverpool, and from thence communicated with his friend at Birmingham. Day after day passed in suspense, during which time Arthur kept himself almost a prisoner in his room. One evening he ventured as far as the residence of Walter North, which he had ascertained from his landlady; half tempted was he to knock and see what reception he should meet from his old schoolfellow, but prudence bade him desist. He was a fugitive flying from the terrors of the law—his quondam friend was rich and prosperous, and seldom do fortune's favourites protect the felon or the outcast, so he sought again his quiet lodging, though he gazed long and wistfully at the splendid mansion he had left, and well was it for Arthur that he entered not that mansion. Walter North, a Whig economist in politics, and a bitter reviler of the vulgar Chartists, would have thought it his duty—that excuse for every mean and vile act—Walter would have thought it his duty to his country to sacrifice private friendship on the altar of public good, and would have gained golden opinions with his party for the supposed violation done to his feelings, and Arthur would have been consigned to the grasp of the law. Our hero was beginning to despair of an answer from Birmingham, when happily it arrived, containing a £10 note, partly the result of the sale of his watch and few clothes, and partly a subscription from the few who were trusted with the circumstances. Arthur deeply appreciated the kindness of his friend; it would enable him to procure a few necessaries for the voyage in addition to the payment of his passage, and a few days saw him safe on board the *Camden*, a fine American ship, sailing away from the land of his birth, the land that he would have died to benefit, but which met his devotion with persecution, and would have sentenced him to a felon's fate in her Australian world, had he not prevented it by self-exile. Such is the world and the world's justice!

(*To be continued.*)

LOUIS BLANC TO ARMAND BARBES.

(From No. 1 of the *Democratic Review*, June, 1849.)

"MY DEAR BARBES,—Most generous of friends, and best of men! Again, then, you are cast into prison, in the name of that Republic which your unconquerable soul, thirsting for justice, has so valiantly served! Alas! where is the Republican (worthy the name) who does not feel his heart swell with grief at the thought of all you are again to endure after suffering so much?

"I will not speak here of the Court at Bourges; it has condemned you for the 15th of May. In the eyes of the royalists your crime is your whole life.

"Because you have disdainfully passed by their lying oracles, and their idols of clay; because, in your generous spiritualism, you, unlike the gloomy philosopher, refused to believe that millions of *human beings must be sacrificed* to the prosperity of a few, even as millions of acorns are sacrificed for the splendour of the oak; because, saying with Pascal, that "humanity is a man who lives for ever, and learns unceasingly," you have believed in the dogma of the homogeneousness of human existence and cares; because you have fervently held the sublime faith that truth and justice alone are immortal, that injustice is unstable, that ignorance and falsehood may be dethroned, misery destroyed, and evil overcome; because, for the sake of the people whom you love, and for whom you demand the right of happiness, as well as to the Sun's light, you have offered up a sacrifice, your youth, your fortune, your liberty, and your life; and, Christian amidst a heathen society, have shown yourself a true disciple of Jesus our Master—therefore have they cursed you, therefore are you condemned.

"But, Heaven be thanked, men destined to a great mission are created with the qualities necessary for its fulfilment. God in assigning to you the sacred *rôle* of devotedness, has given you constancy, serenity, and strength. He has placed within you a principle of enthusiasm too exalted to be chilled by our enemies. To shake you by calumny—to humiliate you by inflicting upon you the penalty of thieves and assassins—to irritate or even to distress you by threats of the galleys and the executioner—this has been beyond their power. How superior are you to those who oppress you—you, whom they can kill, but can never dismay!

"When dragged before the tribunal of Paris, in June, 1839, your attitude was the same that it has been before this court; your answer to your interrogaters was this:—'When the Indian is conquered and the chances of war have thrown him into the hands of his enemy; he seeks not to defend himself, he utters no useless words, he submits, and offers his head to the scalping-knife.' And when, the next day, Monsieur Pasquier did not blush to say that you were right in comparing yourself to a savage, you answered him—'The worst savage is not he who offers his head to the knife, but he who uses it.'

"At mid-day, on the 13th of June, 3,000 Students assembled on the Place Vendôme, and took the way to the Chancellerie. They proceeded gravely, bareheaded, and in silence, with the manner and bearing of a solemn funeral. It was for you, my dear Barbès, that they came—for you had been condemned to death. Never had Paris presented such a spectacle of consternation. The workshops were abandoned, the suburbs deserted, the public squares and streets were silent—the people were sunk in the deepest grief.

"You, meanwhile, on the eve of ascending the scaffold, were in thought only with your friends, with your party, with France!

"But as noble examples were still needed, as the people had not yet been sufficiently benefitted by your sufferings,—death was not for you—a commutation of your sentence was granted to mourning Paris; the Monarchial dungeons still enclosed you; and afterwards, in the very palace of the Luxembourg, wherein you were condemned, and from which your judges had since been driven by an avenging Providence, it was granted to Albert and me to receive you; your countenance changed by ten years of suffering, but the lustre still on your forehead and your eye still full of fire amid the acclamations of the triumphant people.

"The sun of those great days will shine again. Ay, let our enemies give the name of madness to your enlightened magnanimity; injustice, oppression, falsehood, and evil—these are the true madness. And they would have already discovered this, were it possible *for madness to recognize itself*; for what wretchedness can compare to theirs, who have with them but the army,* and against them their conscience. Are they not in continual dread of the possible outbreaks of poverty? And amid the phantoms evoked by their terror, is there not one that for ever and ever appears before them, which seeks for bread, and finds but a musket. Is not TO-MORROW the word of our hope, the word of their fear?

"That which distinguishes our age from those which have preceded it, and gives it its historical originality, is the character of strength and universality which now marks doctrines that were formerly only held by a few thinkers, melancholy philosophers, unrecognised tribunes, or sects rapidly stifled, like the first Christians—the only true Christians! The thinker, the philosopher, the tribune, who, in the present day, represents the imperishable tradition of fraternal equality, is named, in France—the People! To contain it, prisons are now too narrow. Our triumph is certain.

"Oh, my dear Barbès! did you but know how doubly sweet and precious this conviction is rendered by the affection I feel for you! I know that your Faith, professed in your sublime speech before the tribunal at Bourges, is to you a source of ineffable *consolation*, that it is that which raises you so far above the mass of mankind; that it is that Faith which renders you invincible in suffering; for God has fashioned you of the nature of heroes, of the nature of martyrs, and I know your heart.

"LOUIS BLANC."

* Since the above letter was written the elections have shown the army to be *not* on the side of "our enemies." By their votes the French soldiers have declared themselves on the side of Barbès, Louis Blanc, and the Proletarians. ED. D. R.

PRINCE ALBERT *v.* STRANGE.—In the Vice-Chancellor's Court, on Friday, this case came to a conclusion. The Solicicitor-General stated, that the advisers of her Majesty and the Prince felt it consistent with their duty to take a decree against Mr. Strange without asking any costs against him, because he might have been misled by the statements or misrepresentations made to him. Mr. Strange's counsel immediately acceded; acknowledging the liberality of this course, which relieved their client from the imputation that had rested on him. So the decree for a perpetual injunction was taken without costs.

NEWPORT has been deluged with wretched Irish brought by sea. One vessel brought forty more passengers than the number allowed by its licence; and the Mayor has fined the master £200.

STRATFORD PETTY SESSIONS.

MONDAY.—SACRILEGE AT EAST HAM CHURCH.—Barnard Cook was charged with having broken open the parish church of East Ham, Essex, and stealing therefrom sundry articles. It appeared, from the evidence, that about seven o'clock, on Thursday evening last, the prisoner was seen loitering about East Ham Church, and in the course of an hour afterwards, as Mr. Martin, a tradesman residing in the parish, was walking near the edifice, the prisoner suddenly jumped from one of the church windows, with a bundle in his arms. The prisoner made off as fast as he was able, but was followed by Mr. Martin, who pursued him for a considerable distance. At length a Mr. Matthews, joined in the chase, and followed the prisoner for nearly an hour over ditches and hedges. After travelling several miles, the prisoner gave signs of exhaustion, and plunged into a water-course: he swam across, and was in the act of stepping upon dry ground when Mr. Matthew captured him. The chase had extended over a distance of nearly ten miles. The prisoner was handed over to the police and handcuffed. On their way to Ilford gaol, the prisoner succeeded in slipping his handcuffs, and he immediately darted off. Two farmers, who happened to be riding on horseback, and witnessed the occurrence, went in pursuit of the prisoner, and with the assistance of a mounted policeman who afterwards came up, he was conveyed safely to Ilford Gaol. On examining the church, Sergeant Collier discovered the carpet of the vestry-room rolled up, ready to be carried off; and a quantity of the church books, and other property, were packed up, in order to be removed. Several books and important documents relating to the church were found to be missing.—Mr. Anderson, the governor of Ilford Gaol, stated that on searching the prisoners, two duplicates were found upon him, one of which related to a watch which had been stolen from the house of a lady named Battle, at Barking, and pledged in Whitechapel. Two men stand remanded for having burglariously entered the house of Miss Battle, and stealing the watch.—The prisoner made no defence, and Mr. Cotton committed him for trial for robbing the church, but remanded him upon suspicion of being concerned in the alleged burglary.

HOSIERY AND LACE TRADES.—The strike of the wrought cotton hose hands still continues; all parties seem as determined as ever. The harvest, however, is at hand, the state of Ireland will prevent the usual number of harvest men coming, and if the hosiers drive the contest a few weeks longer their cause will be hopeless. After some long and heavy skirmishes the drawer, pantaloon, shirt, and piece hands have got a cessation to most of their disputes. Many of the Nottingham emigrant stockingers are returning; more than twenty arrived by one train from Liverpool a few days since. The bobbin net trade has not further receded this week; the manufacture of silk is rapidly increasing. The *Ecole du Tissus*, of Lyons, has given a great impetus to the silk bobbin net trade, but the French machines work up a very superior quality of silk, the lace being equally as strong, but very little more than half the weight; the silk is specially thrown for the manufacture of bobbin-net. We have seen several lace hands who have been recently in Lyons, but they seem to have no notion of obtaining foreign methods of making lace or hosiery. The exportation of machinery to France has again commenced, principally for Paris: several attempts have been made to establish the bobbin-net trade in that city, but they have hitherto failed. The warp lace trade is yet much depressed, but there is a shade of improvement, and some activity in making window curtains, and lace to serve as frieze. Many excellent articles are made from the warp frame, especially for gloves, the plated warp fabrics are deficient in the quantity of silk; this destroyed the English twilled trade, as well as the royal ribbed hose branch, which once filled Nottingham with riches.—*Nottingham Journal.*

HOPS.—The total number of acres of land under hop cultivation in 1843 was 43,156; 1844, 44,485; 1845, 48,058; average of the three years, 45,233. In 1846, 51,948; 1847, 52,327; 1848, 49,232; average of the three years, 51,169. The average quantity of hops charged with duty in the three years, 1846-48, amounted to 46,427,485lbs.; and in the three years, 1843-45, to 30,040,855lbs. The total quantity so charged, in the three years ending 1845, was 90,122,576lbs., and in the three years ending 1848 140,182,375lbs., being an increase in growth of 55 per cent., and an increase in average of 13 per cent. The quantity of British hops exported in the three years ending 1845 was 597,768lbs; and in the three years ending 1848, 1,262,587lbs. The average quantity exported, 428,862lbs. The quantity of foreign hops retained for home consumption amounted in the three years, 1846-48, to 409,058lbs.

A FORTUNATE PURCHASE.—Some time since a brig, at present called the Carleton, was put up for public sale at the London Dock, and was purchased by Mr. Scott, a chain lighterman, residing at Wapping, for the sum of £750. After undergoing considerable repairs at the New Crane Wharf, Wapping, the vessel put to sea under Captain Bacon, who had become part owner. After leaving port it was found necessary to put in at Hartlepool, where, whilst the vessel was undergoing some repairs at the interior part of the bulkhead, 10,000 Spanish dollars were found secreted in a place purposely hollowed out for the reception of the precious deposit. The dollars, as our reporter was informed, are of an old mintage, and very pure silver. When or by whom the treasure was deposited, it is impossible to guess; but, at all events, Captain Bacon has reason to congratulate himself on the successful result of his first short voyage in the Carleton. The vessel, it is said, was originally engaged in the slave trade off the coast of Guinea, and the treasure so curiously discovered was probably the ill-gotten gains of some of the heartless wretches engaged in that abominable traffic.

HOW THE WORKING CLASSES LODGE.—A curious fact, and one worthy the attention of the sanitory reformer, came out before the borough magistrates on Thursday week during the examination of Holloway on the charge of killing his child. The house in which the man lodged, contains six rooms, which are occupied by no less than five families, and there is a small cottage in the yard occupied by another family. One of the witnesses, in answer to the mayor, named the weekly sums paid by each of the lodgers for rent, from which it appeared that the landlord realised about £26 per year from thus letting out his rooms, besides living himself rent free. The house is rated at about £9, and the houses in the same street (which however, generally contain one or two rooms less) average £10 per year for rent. In answer to a question by the mayor, Mr. Dusautoy said that, in the course of his professional duties, he found many such cases of a family allotted to each room in a house.—*Hants Independent.*

The atmospheric tubes are being removed from the South Devon line, preparatory to their being broken up and sold for old iron, after having cost the shareholders upwards of half a million.

A French innkeeper has opened an hotel and restaurant in the ruins of Pompeii, close to the barracks formerly inhabited by the Roman soldiers.

"Ma, that nice young man, Mr. Sauftung, is very fond of kissing." "Mind your seam, Julia; who told you such nonsense?" "Ma, dear, I had it from his own lips!"

"*It's very well,*" said Mr. Dobb's helpmate, "for the moral papers to keep saying, don't get in a passion; but for my part, when Mr. D. goes to bed with his muddy boots on, I kind of bile over!"

The *Philadelphia Galaxy* says, an artist in that city painted a cow and cabbage so naturally, that he was obliged to separate them before they were finished.

A SEARCHING WIND.—A writer in the *Louisville Journal*, describing the effects of a tornado at "Big Spring," gravely states that "this morning fowls of every kind are lying scattered over the fields, entirely stripped of their feathers."

THE BRITANNIA BRIDGE.—On or about the 20th of June is the period spoken of as a probable time when the floating of the tube may be expected to come off.

W. H. MITCHEL, brother of the Irish exile, John Mitchel, has been appointed a clerk in the Home Department at Washington, U.S.

PAINTERS SHOULD NOT SUCK THEIR PENCILS.—The *post mortem* examination of a young artist named A. F. West, who died lately, revealed enough to induce the jury to return a verdict, "That the deceased died from the effects of carbonate of lead." It appeared that he was in the habit of drawing his brushes through his lips.

TO PRESERVE THE TEETH.—When the natural enamel is destroyed, an artificial enamel should be supplied, which, being put into the cavity in a soft state, soon becomes hard, and shields the sensitive structures beneath from various causes of irritation. This is the true cure for tooth-ache. Brazde's Enamel has already given relief to thousands. One can scarcely make inquiry in any direction without learning of those who have been permanently cured by it.

ATMOSPHERIC CHANGES.—Although changes in the temperature are more prevalent in the temperate zone than in other latitudes, there is scarcely a spot to be found where such great differences exist as in Great Britain, varying in a few hours some twenty degrees or more. The effect of such rapid changes on the bodily health is very afflicting to many thousands of persons, especially those in the middle or more advanced ages of life, causing attacks of those painful disorders, Sciatica, Gout, and Rheumatism. Happily for those who are afflicted with those painful diseases, chemical science has produced that excellent medicine, Blair's Gout and Rheumatic Pills.

ANY BILIOUS COMPLAINTS, INDIGESTION, FLATULENCY, OR Affections of the Liver, cured by Holloway's Pills.—Symptoms indicative of these disorders are a feeling of nausea, distention and spasmodic pain in the stomach, sense of oppression and sinking after eating, want of appetite, heartburn, languor, dejection of spirits, and general debility. Holloway's pills possess such cleansing and renovating properties that, by their means, the action of the liver is speedily corrected, the redundancy of bile carried off, the stomach strengthened, the spirits revived, and the patient by their means is thus restored to perfect health even where every other treatment had failed.

Varieties.

The New York papers report the death of the American actor Cooper,—who had been for many years in retirement from his professional labours. In early life Mr. Cooper was a pupil of the philosophical novelist, Godwin.

The manuscript of Robinson Crusoe passed through the whole circle of the trade before it could find a purchaser. When at length accepted, the sale was so immediate and rapid that no less than four editions were published in as many months.

The Hungarian army is almost entirely clothed in English cloth, and armed with English muskets.

It is proposed to lay down an electric telegraph in the river Thames to communicate with a coast-line.

A POETICAL CORRESPONDENT.—Who is the eccentric individual who, under the title of "Rusticus" sends us so melancholy a lament over his stolen unmentionables? It is very moving, but, we regret to say, that, in our regard for the delicate feelings of our readers generally we cannot give it publication. We merely append the following as a fair specimen of the whole:

"With heaving sigh,
And moistening eye,
Upon that void I sadly gazed;
With burning words,
The sky towards,
My aching head I fiercely raised;
And then I cursed the cruel wretches,
Who sought my home with objects bad,
And stole the only pair I had,
My darling pair of buckskin ———."

That, we think will, do. We shall be very happy *never to hear from our* Correspondent in that style again.—*Province of Munster.*

ANIMAL FORMS OF GOVERNMENT.

The association of Beavers presents us with a model of Republicanism.

The Bees live under a Monarchy.

The Indian Antelopes furnish an example of a patriarchal government.

Elephants exhibit an aristocracy of elders.

Wild horses are said to elect their leader.

Sheep, in a wild state, are under the control of a military chief ram.

The extent of the debts of the Countess of Blessington, who is gone to Paris, may be judged by her owing two milliners upwards of £8,000.

A general order has directed that all recruits for the army are daily to attend the garrison or regimental school, and are to be subjected to a charge of 4d. per month for the instruction they receive.

SNOBS.—The mechanic who is ashamed of his apron, or the farmer who is ashamed of his frock, is himself a shame to his profession.

THE PEOPLE do not appeal to arms unless driven to it; not one drop of blood shed in the drama of '49, stains the soul of the people; it is on the heads of those who goaded them to madness.

CURIOUS FACTS.

Bees are geometricians—the cells are so constructed as, with the least quantity of material, to have the largest sized spaces and least possible loss of interstice.

So also is the Ant Lyon—his funnel-shaped trap is exactly correct in its conformation, as if it had been made by the most skilful artist of our species, with the aid of the best instruments.

The mole is a meteorologist.

The bird called the Nine Killer, is an arithmetician; so also is the Crow, the Wild Turkey, and some other birds.

The Torpedo, the Ray, and the Electric Eel, are electricians.

The Nautilus is a navigator. He raises and lowers his sails, casts and weighs anchor, and performs other nautical evolutions.

Whole tribes of birds are musicians.

The Beaver is an architect, builder and wood cutter. He cuts down trees, and erects houses and dams.

The Marmot is a civil engineer. He not only builds houses, but constructs aqueducts, and drains to keep them dry.

The White Ants maintain a regular army of soldiers.

The East Indian Ants are horticulturists; they make mushrooms, upon which they feed their young.

Wasps are paper manufacturers.

Caterpillars are silk spinners.

The bird Ploceus Texter is a weaver. He weaves a web to make his nest.

The Primia is a tailor. He sews the leaves together to make his nest.

The Squirrel is a ferryman. With a chip or piece of bark for a boat, and his tail for a sail, he crosses a stream.

Dogs, Wolves, Jackals, and many others are hunters.

The Black Bear and the Heron are fishermen.

The Ants have regular day labourers.

The Monkey is a rope-dancer.

MALTHUSIAN HORRORS.—The "marrying season in England" is in the last quarter of the year, which "follows harvest and includes Christmas." In the first quarter of last year there were but 28,303 marriages solemnised, whereas in the last quarter there were 41,972. As regards the general statistics, it may be said that transactions of this kind were very slack in 1842, that they made a sudden advance in 1843, and continued to improve till the spring of 1846, when they suffered a little decline, and at length, in the revolutionary winter of 1847-8, almost stood still, a little recovery being observable only in the last quarter of 1848.

CANDID—VERY!—"Gentlemen," said Mr. Anthony Henley to his constituents at Weymouth, "you know what I know very well—that I bought you; and I know what you very well know—that I shall sell you."

THE INFAMOUS "TIMES."—"Invent printing," says Carlisle, "and democracy is inevitable;" yes, and a people's press shall secure its speedy triumph. When our monthly press condescends to usher us into the presence of the "great," (?) in the chamber of luxury, it is that we may go down on our knees and plead for charity! bah! do us justice; we want not charity. Judge what our brothers abroad must think of us if they read our daily press, how they must loathe us for servile things, if they see the *Times*. This beastly panderer to crowned assassins pollutes the English name every time it is inserted in its pages. Windischgratz, Radetski, and Filangieri, those crimsoned worshippers of war, have slain the patriots, and crushed the life from the heart of empires; but the *Times* has fought the battles of kingcraft and absolutism more strenuously and more cruelly with the pen, than these tyrants' butchers have with the sword! Be they devils incarnate, at least they did their work outright, by killing their victims; but the dastard *Times* would have men to live, but live on in slavery, thus wounding the image of God in the apple of the eye. It has been proposed to burn the *Times* publicly, and the sooner this cancer is cut from the bosom of England the better."

Some idea may be formed of the extent of the London bookbinding trade in the nineteenth century, when we state that the weekly consumption of leaf gold, enriching the exterior of books, amounts to about 3,000,000 square inches: and that the weight of paper shavings sold annually by the London binders, cut off the edges of books, amounts to 350 tons!

ATROCIOUS CONSPIRACY!—As revolution is the order of the day, in this blessed year of forty-nine, and as the command seems to be "push on," it mattering little whether we go a-head or a-back, to this side or that, provided we only "go," we are prepared to believe in almost any change, without wondering. But scarcely any, we think, counted on the change that some daring spirits, in the metropolis of England, have evidently conspired to effect in the English tongue—a total and immediate revolution. Here is a blow to Conservatism! You may talk of phonetics and sneer, but phonetics never contemplated anything like this. We have often read of flexible organs, fine talents, depth and breadth of chorus, and what not besides, but here's a piece of musical criticism, from a London paper, that is a miracle in its way:—"Throughout the choruses were admirable; the *fugue points* everywhere seized with promptitude; and the *crescendos*, *pianos*, and *fortes* achieved with the utmost regard to *light and shadow!*" It was mere twaddle after all of the Avon Swan to tell us that the only men for "treason, stratagems, and plots," were those who had "no music in their souls;" for here is a musical conspiracy against the mother tongue, most melodious treason against common sense! We shall expect soon to hear of the counterpoint of colours, and the back ground of pictures being touched off with due attention to chords and octaves. A colonnade with fine soprano tracery, and contralto capitals, and basso pediments, will be an every day object, and a forte statue, with an excellent obligato drapery, and a good tenor attitude will be the rage among the future virtuosi. The musical world has already been startled with the announcement of the "respectable proprietary of a bass organ," (voice, not barrel); so it may in future be prepared to hear of wealthy owners in fee of an unincumbered counter-tenor, sturdy tenants of a treble, and good solvent leaseholders of a broad buffo.—*S. Reporter.*

The young ladies in America never wear rights and lefts, because they are so modest about the men, that they do not wish even their shoes to be fellows.

An American correspondent of *La Populaire* asserts that the Mormons, by the extraordinary ardour of their proselytism, are making rapid, unceasing, and considerable progress.

"Your whiskers remind me very much of old General Taylor," said a gentleman the other day to a young fop who was cultivating a very unpromising and sandy crop of hair on his face. "Why so?" eagerly asked the ambitious youngster, with a gratified tone and air. "Because they are *rough and reddy*," was the reply.

BRITISH EMPIRE FREEHOLD LAND AND BUILDING SOCIETY.

On an Advance your Rent is Saved,—you become your own Land and Householder.

Patrons.—T. S. Duncombe, Esq., M.P. T. Wakley, Esq., M.P. B. B. Cabbell, Esq., M.P. L. J. Hansard, Esq., M.P.
Bankers.—The Commercial Bank of London (Branch), 6, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden.
London Office.—No. 13, Tottenham Court, New Road, St. Pancras, London.—Daniel William Ruffy, Secretary.

Arranged in Three Sections.—Value of Shares and Payments for Investors.

Full Share	£120—payment of 2s.	5d. ℘ Week, or	10s.	6d. per Month.		
Half Share	60	—	1	2½	— 5	3 —
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. 6d. for any part of a Share. Price of Rules, including Postage, 1s.

OBJECTS.

1st.—To enable members to build Dwelling Houses.
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.

London Office.—13, Tottenham Court, New Road, St. Pancras (thirteenth house eastward from Tottenham Court-road).
Daniel William Ruffy, Secretary.

Patrons.—T. S. Duncombe, Esq., M.P. T. Wakley, Esq., M.P. B. B. Cabbell, Esq., M.P. F. O'Connor, Esq., M.P. L. J. Hansard, Esq.

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.

THE CHEAPEST EDITION EVER PUBLISHED.
Price 1s. 6d.,
A new and elegant edition, with Steel Plate of the Author, of

PAINE'S POLITICAL WORKS.

Now Ready, a New Edition of

MR. O'CONNOR'S WORK ON SMALL FARMS.

THE LABOURER MAGAZINE.

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;"

No. 10, the one containing Mr. O'Connor's Treatise "On the National Land and Labour Bank connection with the Land Company:"—

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, Nos. I., II., and III., Price Sixpence Each, of

THE COMMONWEALTH.

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

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.

Published by James Watson, 3, Queen's Head-passage, Paternoster-row, London, and sold by all booksellers in the United Kingdom.

Price, only Three Pence.

May also be had of the Secretary, James Grassby, 96, Regent-street, Lambeth.

N.B.—Parties residing in the country can have the Hand Book sent by post, by inclosing five postage stamps, to the secretary, and any number they may require free of carriage at the retail price. As many parties have written to know on what terms they can be supplied, we give notice that the above are the arrangements of the committee. Parties wanting them at trade price, can be supplied by any bookseller in town and country, James Grassby.

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		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.

THE CHARTISTS OF THE WEST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE are hereby informed, that a West-Riding Delegate meeting will be held in the Democratic School-room, Croft-street, Wakefield-road, Bradford, on Sunday, June 17th, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, for the purpose of preparing a Lecturers' plan for the ensuing quarter, and other important business connected with the movement.

ON SALE,

TWO FARMS AT MINSTER LOVEL; a FOUR-ACRE, and a TWO-ACRE.

All applications to be addressed to the Directors of the National Land Company, at their Office, 144, High Holborn, London.

NOW READY, WITH THE JUNE MAGAZINES.
Just published, No. I. of

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

Edited by G. JULIAN HARNEY.

CONTENTS:
1. The Editor's Address to the Working Classes.
2. Letter to the Trades.
3. Our Inheritance: The Land, Common Property.
4. The French Elections.
5. Political and Historical Review—Domestic and Foreign.
6. Louis Blanc and Armand Barbès.
7. Literature:—Prentice's *America*; Louis Blanc's *Appeal to Honest People*.
8. Correspondence:—The Sheffield Election, &c., &c.

FORTY PAGES—PRICE THREEPENCE!

London: 5, Wine Office-court, Fleet-street. To be had of all Booksellers and News Agents in Town and Country.

NOW PUBLISHING, PRICE ONE PENNY,

THE HOME JOURNAL, AND COMPANION FOR THE FAMILY CIRCLE. No. I. Amongst the principal original articles are—The Yeoman's Daughter, a Tale of English Country Life—The Conquest of Pride, by Madame Roybaud—China and the Chinese—A Traveller's Tale of Wonder—Position and Prospects of the National Drama—The Influences of Cheap Literature—The Famine, a Poem, &c., &c., &c. The contributors to the "Home Journal" are ladies and gentlemen of eminence in periodical literature. It contains sixteen large quarto pages of amusement and instruction for the family circle. Published weekly, at the office, 10, Red Lion-court, Fleet-street, and sold by all booksellers and dealers in periodicals. Price One Penny. The largest Weekly Literary Journal.

On Saturday, June 16th, will appear, No. 1 of

THE PENNY PUNCH, A CHIP OF THE OLD BLOCK, with all his Father's youthful strength and racy humour, devoid of that weakness and imbecility—the result of dotage—which has so recently characterised the conduct of his worthy Sire. For particulars see Prospectus.
For convenience of parties in remote parts, the Penny Punch may be sent per post, on receipt of two stamps, or two shillings and twopence per quarter.
W. Winn, 34, Holywell-street, Strand, and all booksellers.

TO TAILORS.

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

THE LONDON and PARIS 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.
READ and Co.'s new system of Cutting, just published, and will supersede everything of the kind before conceived. Terms, with particulars, sent post-free. Patent measures, 5s. the set, with full explanation; Patent Indicator, post-free, 7s.; Registered Patterns to Measure, 1s. each, post-free (Ladies' Paletots same); by Read and Co., and all Booksellers in the United Kingdom. Post-office orders and post stamps, taken as cash. Habits performed for the trade. Busts for fitting Coats on; Boys' Figures. Foremen provided. Instructions in Cutting complete, for all kinds of Style and Fashion, which can be accomplished in an incredibly short time.

FOR SALE,

ONE FOUR-ACRE PAID-UP SHARE in the National Land Company. Price, £4 10s. One TWO-ACRE SHARE for £2. And ONE SHARE for any reasonable price. Also, TWO FOUR-ACRE SHARES, 12s. being paid thereon, and ONE SHARE having 10s. paid thereon, both for 14s.
Apply (prepaid,) if by letter, to Mr. James Powell, Maddox-court, North-parade, Monmouth.

RUPTURES CURED WITHOUT A TRUSS. Dr. Guthrey having been eminently successful in the cure of Single and Double Ruptures without a truss, now offers his remedy to the public, never having known it to fail. It is easy and painless in application, is applicable to both sexes, and certain in effect. Sent free, on receipt of six shillings in postage stamps, or otherwise, by Dr. Henry Guthrey, No. 6, Ampton-street, Gray's-Inn-road, London. At home daily from ten till one.
"I am happy to bear testimony to your almost miraculous cure of my rupture, being of twenty-nine years' standing, I really never expected it.—John Clay, Tiverton, Devon."

FOR SALE,

AT O'CONNORVILLE, A FOUR-ACRE ALLOTMENT, desirably situated in the central part of the estate, with barn, stable, cart shed, pigsties, &c. The crops consist of one and a-quarter acres of wheat, half an acre of barley, three quarters of an acre of French wheat, three quarters of an acre of potatoes, quarter of an acre of clover, and the remaining portion peas, beans, carrots, parsnips, mangel wurzel, onions, &c.; the whole of the crops are in luxuriant growth, not to be surpassed by any in the neighbourhood. The occupant having entered into another engagement, will either sell or let the above excellent little homestead; the growing crops to be taken at a valuation.
For particulars, apply to Thomas Smith, 32, O'Connorville, near Rickmansworth. All communications to contain a postage stamp for reply.

TO BE SOLD,

THREE FOUR-ACRE PAID-UP SHARES in the National Land Company, at £2 5s. each share, or £6 10s. the three shares. The proprietor emigrates to Australia in ten days, which is the sole cause of his disposing of them.
All applications to be made, by letter, to Mr. James Jenkin, Land Office, 144, High Holborn.

PERSECUTION OF TRADES' UNIONISTS.

A PUBLIC MEETING OF THE TRADES OF LONDON, and of the Workmen of the Metropolis generally, will be held IN THE NATIONAL HALL, HIGH HOLBORN, On Wednesday Evening, June 13th,

To take into consideration the case of Messrs. Drury, Marsden, Bulloss, and Hall, the four Razor Grinders of Sheffield, incarcerated in York Castle, at the instance of the "Sheffield Manufacturers' Protection Society;" and to adopt such means as may appear best calculated to assist in enabling them to obtain all the Justice allowed by the laws of our country, and that may tend to restore them to society, and triumph over petty despotism and unmerited and unrelenting persecution.
Two delegates from Sheffield will attend, and afford full information of the particulars of this important case.
Doors open at half-past seven o'clock. The chair will be taken at eight o'clock precisely.
By order of the London Defence Committee,
William Chilton, Secretary.
Bell Inn, Old Bailey, June 4th, 1849.

PORTRAIT OF T. F. MEAGHER.

This splendid portrait will be issued along with our present number. Of its value we will not comment, as the patriot himself has said to Mr. O'Connor:—

"To many claims, however, upon my grateful esteem, you have lately added one more, which to my mind possesses a peculiar weight and value. You have 'brought out' the very best likeness that has appeared of me. All my friends are delighted with it. The execution of it, too, is very beautiful, and has been greatly admired."

Timely notice was given to our agents to forward their orders. About twenty of them have neglected to inform us of the mode of transit; consequently, those subscribers who are disappointed will know the cause.

We give a list of the towns to which we have this week sent, and trust that those agents to whom enclosures are forwarded will oblige by a speedy delivery.

THE PORTRAIT

Is sent to Mr. Robinson, 11, Greenside-street, Edinburgh, for our agents in Edinburgh, Alloa, Alva, Perth, Hawick, and Tillicoultry.
To Mr. Love, 5, Nelson-street, Glasgow, for that city, Hamilton, Falkirk, Paisley, Greenock, Kilmarnock, and Aberdeen.
To Mr. Simpson, Wellgate, for Dundee, and Arbroath.
To Mr. Lowry, Broad Guards, for Carlisle, Wigton, and Dalston.
To Mr. Turnbull, Side, for Newcastle, Chester-le-street, Seaham Harbour, Durham, Wingate Grange, Jarrow, Shotley Bridge, Crook, and Hartlepool.
To Mr. Wilson, Bishop-street, for Stockton, Darlington, and South Shields.
To Mr. Roberts, Peter-gate, for York, and Scarborough.
To Mr. Cook, 67, Meadow-lane, for Leeds, Bramhope, Woodhouse, Birstal, Millbridge, Heckmondwike, Cleckheaton, Barnsley, Wakefield, Dewsbury, Batley, Batley Carr, and Churwell.
To Mr. Cooke, Vicar-lane, for Bradford, Bingley, Keighley, and Thornton.
To Mr. Lord, North-gate, for Halifax, Ripponden, Elland, and Hebden Bridge.
To Mr. Clayton, 10, Kirkgate, for Huddersfield, Bradley, Dalton, Almondbury, Clayton West, Honley, and Holmfirth.
To Mr. Barraclough, 40, Far-gate, for Sheffield, and Rotherham.
To Mr. Heywood, 58, Oldham-street, Manchester, for Lancashire, and Cheshire.
Mr. Yates, for Shelton, and Walsall.
To Mr. J. Sweet, Goose-gate, for Nottingham, Carrington, New Radford, Newark, and Retford.
To Mr. G. Guest, Bull-street, for Birmingham.
To Mr. Plumb, for Sutton-in-Ashfield, and Ironville.
To Mr. Seal, for Leicester.
To Mr. Beddow, Bridge-street, for Merthyr Tydvil.
To Mr. Busby, for Grantham, Horncastle, Gainsbro', Lincoln, and Peterborough.
To Mr. Hosier, Much Park-street, for Coventry, and Kidderminster.
To Mr. Hornsey, Broad-green, for Wellingbro'.
Those agents in Northamptonshire, Worcestershire, Herefordshire, Gloucestershire, Sussex, Berks, Essex, Devonshire, Norfolk, Dorsetshire, and other southern counties, who have not received the portrait, must say how their parcels are to be forwarded.
Agents in town not named above, having weekly book parcels, and who have written to us, will find their instructions have been attended to.

NOTICE TO LAND MEMBERS.

The Directors of the National Land Company hereby give notice that the Bonus Fund for location on the Bromsgrove Estate will close on Thursday next, the 13th of June; and in the following week the names of the successful candidates will be published in the "*Northern Star.*"

By order of the Directors.
Thomas Clark, Cor. Sec.

To Correspondents.

J. Sweet acknowledges the receipt of the following sums, sent herewith, for the Victim Fund, viz.:—Mr. Dalton, 5d; Mr. Hall, 1d; From the "Balloon," 2s 6d; Mr. Caunt, 2d; Mr. J. King, 1d; From the "Colonel Hutchinson," 5s.—For Defence Fund.—Mr. Chipindale, 6d.
The Camberwell and Walworth resolution would be chargeable with advertisement duty.
Mr. E. Dunican, Dunfermline.—Your letter was properly addressed. We forwarded it.
Mr. Auchterlonie, Landernau.—Received.
W. Peel, Manchester.—Yes, we shall be happy to do so.
The Kirkdale Prisoners.—Thomas Ormesher has received the following sums:—Bacup, per James Wilson, 5s; Stockport, Thomas Woodhouse, 5s; Middleton, William Bates, 8s; Hull, H. Hancock, 7s; London Victim Committee, £2 10s; Rochdale, William Bake, 10s; Elland, David Hirst, 4s; Manchester, John M'Keown, 2s 6d; Stockport, Jones Silvester, 13s 7½d. The Manchester Victim Committee have decided upon sending the late victim, W. Nixon, through the following districts; North Lancashire, Yorkshire, Leicester, Derby, Nottingham, and the Midland Counties, Birmingham, Staffordshire, Cheshire, and all other localities desirous of his services as a lecturer, for the support of the Kirkdale prisoners. All correspondence must be addressed to the Secretary of the Victim Committee, Thomas Ormesher, 52, Bridgewater-street, Manchester.

THE NORTHERN STAR.

SATURDAY, JUNE 9, 1849.

THE COUNTRY'S DANGER.

We have proclaimed it to surfeit, that the ignorance of a people is the tyrant's best title to power, and we may add, that the ignorance of their rulers constitutes the country's greatest—nay, only danger. If the mind is the element to be represented in Parliament it is not only right but indispensable and politic that its true state should be conveyed to, and developed by, its presumed representatives; while the withholding of that mind not only induces but justifies a people in using other means of communicating the nation's will. The rulers of a nation are not only censurable, but highly criminal, if they are ignorant of the state of public feeling; while they are doubly so, if, cognizant of it, they withhold its true state or misrepresent it for one of two purposes; to justify oppression or withhold timely justice. When it is necessary to cater for Ministerial support, and to base confidence upon dire necessity, then the very air is hugged to bursting, and in every bubble blown by the imaginative genius of spies, informers, and detectives, the Minister sees danger in the distance, which, FOR THE TIME, not only justifies him in withholding timely and prudent concessions, but compels him to apply to Parliament for a temporary suspension of the Constitution, to produce that calm in which the law may be moulded to suit the real exigencies of the state, but which time never arrives. "It would not be prudent in him to divulge to the HOUSE the strong, the undeniable, and irrefutable evidence of the existing or threatened danger with which that RED BOX is charged to explosion, but relying upon the loyalty of that HOUSE, he felt it his duty thus faintly to foreshadow the coming danger; and, as to be forewarned was to be forearmed, he relied upon the loyalty and good sense of that HOUSE to arm her Majesty's responsible advisers with those powers necessary—nay, indispensable—to the preservation of the peace of the country, and to preserve her Majesty's loyal subjects against the plots, designs, and machinations of artful and DESIGNING DEMAGOGUES, who meditate treason and confiscation." (Hear, hear, and loud cheers.) This is the channel through which the House and her Majesty's Ministers receive their knowledge of public opinion, and the COUNTRY'S ONLY DANGER consists in the IGNORANCE OF PARLIAMENT, the HYPOCRISY OF MINISTERS, and the PROSTITUTION OF THE PRESS, all constituting rough elements of danger, which, if not corrected and controlled by sound popular judgment, will assuredly, and ere long, add this country to the melancholy catalogue of revolutionised states, and for which the Press will one day have to answer.

Let those who would base denial of right upon popular ignorance, visit the several towns of England, and behold the news-shops, the cheap publication stands, and the one thousand and one channels through which knowledge is disseminated; and it is no answer that those are, for the most part, marts for the dissemination of visionary and inflammable nonsense. They constitute the only source through which the working millions can acquire knowledge, or mental recreation, whether right or wrong; and, if wrong, the Government alone is responsible for the error, because, with an immense fund justly applicable to the instruction of the people, it is the duty of the Government to see to the just, the profitable, and national application of that fund, which could be beneficially applied to the sound education of the people, instead of being piously lavished in millions, as a FEUD FUND, upon the idle sons of those pliant gentlemen who receive the people's money, and in return aid the Minister in perpetuating misrule upon the plea of presumed ignorance. Of the many changes which may be brought—and unequivocally sustained—against the English Government, none is more heinous than that of popular ignorance. Schools have been established and colleges endowed with the people's money; but to those seminaries the people not only have not access, but in them are taught, fostered, ingrafted, and perpetuated, the strongest aversion and antipathy to the natural rights of the poor. And why? Simply because the ignorance of the people constitutes their rulers' best title to power, and upon the perpetuation of that ignorance depends aristocratic title to monopoly of the people's education fund, as well as all other funds. This class gleans its knowledge of men and things from the fanciful authors of exploded times, while the rising mind and rapidly growing genius of the age, are framed and modelled according to the necessities of the age. Which of those MENTORS, from whose fanciful genius the scions of aristocracy receive their education to qualify them as rulers of a great nation, has written upon steam navigation, railroads, the printing press, the electric telegraph, or steam power, as a substitute for manual labour? Was not the knowledge of all, of one and all, devoted to the adaptation of existing things to the existing and not to the anticipated state of society? And yet, in this revolutionary age of progress, when mind is upon every passing breeze, and when the genius of the morrow may turn the accepted wisdom of to-day into folly—is it, we would ask, rational to hope to govern, coerce, and control that mind by the exploded almanac of an exploded age?

Let us now point out the continuous and systematic error into which all Governments have fallen. They have invariably persecuted the pioneers of order, while they have as invariably been driven to accept their principles at a ruinous expense, and after a tyrannical opposition, thus goading the enraged multitude, until popular strength has assumed that commanding attitude which enables it to reject with scorn that which, if granted in time, would have been cheerfully, yea, gratefully, accepted as a boon. However, we glean no slight consolation from the assurance of Lord John Russell and Sir George Grey, both of whom, in their speeches upon Mr. Hume's motion, admitted the necessity of Reform, and a large extension of the Suffrage, while we derive no small pleasure from the progress of our DAY SCHOLAR OF PRINTING HOUSE-SQUARE, in political as well as in social science. From the following comment of our pupil, upon Mr. Hume's motion, the reader will learn that not only Russell, but the pugnacious "Thunderer" has abandoned all thought of FINALITY, and that our old opponents are preparing for a morning airing with their CHARTIST FRIENDS. Not that they will have the courage, constitution, or strength to go the whole journey with us, but they will condescend to accompany us a part of the way on our long and tedious journey. Well, our pupil says:—

> The division last night proved the danger felt by most sensible persons in a theoretical reconstruction of the Legislature. It did not commit the majority against practical and gradual reform; and, if we read aright the Ministerial speeches, such a reform is in contemplation. Of its nature we are ignorant, but as hints of this sort have the invariable effect of stimulating agitation and weakening resistance, we presume that no such hint would have been given but for some corresponding design. It is very certain that the last Reform Bill would never have been introduced into the House, much less passed into a law, but for the obstinate resistance made to reform for so many years, and by so many great men. It took a long time to fill up the measure of public indignation; and it did not overflow till it was full. The fatal obstinacy of Canning, of Peel, and of Wellington accumulated those arrears, which it took a "revolution" to discharge. Without going to the projects of Mr. Hume, Mr. O'Connor, or Mr. Bright, it is easy to point out various emendations and enlargements of the constituencies, purifications in the electoral system, and substitutions of the most populous for the most reduced boroughs, which would reform the House *pari passu* with the changing circumstances of the times. Unless some such gradual reform is early initiated by the government, it may possibly find itself deserted by moderate men, and left to fight its own battles with extreme and revolutionary reformers.

Reader, there is a mouthful of hope for you, and no small consolation for us, as we learn that we have not laboured in vain, when we have converted such a profligate old prostitute to the path of virtue. Let OUR READERS bear in mind, that while spouters and scribblers are NOW predicting that EMANCIPATION, REFORM, and FREE TRADE, might have been indefinitely postponed, if timely and prudent concessions had been made, we predicted the same of Emancipation and Reform twelve years ago, and of Free Trade nine years ago—in 1840. But let the reader also mark, and mark well, too, that there is no vengeance so great as that of the ruling power against those who, by continuous and unswerving resolution, extract changes, which otherwise would never have been conceded; and gaining wisdom from the past, we now warn the people that a coerced Government, no matter how pitiful its dole, will seek to wreak its vengeance upon those who extracted it from their fears, as justice is out of the question.

A word to the wise and we have done. "To be forewarned is to be forearmed," and we caution the people not to allow the Government to base its refusal or postponement of the promised boon upon popular folly. Beware of spies and informers; be steady; be resolute, but in God's name be wise and peaceful.

PRESS REFORM.

If we required any proof of the influence exercised by the Press over the Ministers of the Crown, or rather if we required proof of the presumption of such power, we need not go beyond the definition of Reform, as portrayed by our consistent Radical physical force Whig, Tory, Conservative, everything-and-nothing contemporary—the "*Morning Chronicle.*" As to politics the "*Chronicle*" may be considered a very imperfect reflex of the "*Times;*" as we generally find the opinions and policy of the latter constitute the theories of the former. Hence, while the "*Times*" of Wednesday rather chuckles over the anticipated Ministerial Reform, the "*Chronicle*" of Thursday treats us to a full, a powerful, able, and comprehensive developement of the means—the only means—by which our representative system can be based upon a sound, a solid, and satisfactory foundation. And to our mind the proposition of the advocate of Colonel Mazzaroni's system of street warfare, as the peaceful means of effecting reform, is the only one that would be accepted by the people;—Here it is:—

> "For our own part," says our contemporary, "we see no reason why he should not make a beginning at once, by finding a popular and wealthy constituency for the two seats vacated by the disfranchisement of Sudbury—a measure which no rational Conservative could seriously object to, and which far-seeing Reformers would hail as a fruitful constitutional precedent."

Now then, brave Chartists of England, what say you to the effect of progress upon the Press, when the enfranchisement of some "popular and wealthy borough," is recommended as a substitute for the Charter? Can you despair of all hope in Sir R. Peel and his party, when the organ of that party has the manly courage to propose such a sweeping measure of reform? The "*Times,*" with more prudence—being the organ of that party who are looked to for some organic change—surrounds hope with mist, upon the assurance that the liberal breath of Ministers will one day dissolve the mist, and present to the gaping multitude the anticipated model of a new and liberal Constitution, within the boundaries of which a sufficient amount of working class intelligence shall be admitted, to ensure a fair representation of labour. Nevertheless, the "*Times*" of to-day, like the "*Times*" of yore, regrets that the ignorance of the working classes would justify the application of very narrow limits, within which the new reform should be proscribed. We have frequently illustrated the fact, that neither danger nor an ignorant Parliament would be the result of conferring the franchise upon the most ignorant people—that is, when the body of electors was too large to be bribed, and when the selection of representatives might be safely trusted to the most ignorant, acting under the influence of the wisest and most discreet of their order. It is not to be supposed that Tom, and Bill, and Harry—all ignorant and illiterate—would vote for Mr. Snooks in preference to Mr. Goodchild, if Mr. Goodchild possessed those qualifications necessary for a representative, and in which Mr. Snooks may be wholly deficient. No; but, on the contrary, the votes of Tom, and Bill, and Harry, would be given upon the recommendation of Mr. Wiseman, one of their order, to the candidate best qualified to do justice to that order, and such a representative, apprehensive that future defeat may be consequent upon the misdirection of this ignorant mind, would turn his thoughts to the best mode of destroying that ignorance, the present pretext for disqualification and, perhaps, the means of his own future defeat. Let us most clearly and irrefutably illustrate the little danger that would be likely to result,—or, rather, the no danger, at all,—from the enfranchisement of a class wholly ignorant. We do it thus:—Suppose that the power was conferred upon every incarcerated criminal to send two or more members to Parliament, for whom would such criminals vote? Why, not one of themselves, nor for a man who had ever been suspected of crime, but for one wholly untainted by crime; if for no other purpose than to establish either their innocence or their love of virtue. So with drunkards; if all the drunkards of England were conglomerated into one electoral district to-morrow, with the power of returning two or more members, the best qualification for a candidate presenting himself to such a constituency would be confirmed teetotalism!—But if ignorance could be looked upon as a justifiable cause of disqualification, let us in justice ask, who is chargeable with the crime—nay, the sin of popular ignorance? Why, who but the privileged classes who apply the National Education Fund to their own sole use, behoof, and benefit. However, we see coming events in the distance, from the profession of Ministers and the etching in of the "*Times,*" although we are left in glorious uncertainty as to the extent and form of the animal which is to gobble up and for ever destroy the "quadruped" and the "sexipede." We cannot conclude this article without calling attention to the concluding portion of the speech of Mr. O'Connor, delivered at the Milton-street Theatre, and that of Mr. Page Wood, on the motion of Mr. Hume. Mr. O'Connor declared that he was a complete nonentity in the House of Commons, and that the very fact of his proposing a motion, which might otherwise have been unanimously adopted, would upon his proposition be as unanimously rejected, lest its adoption migh, give him additional influence with the people. Well, we do not think that it would be possible to furnish a stronger illustration of the fact than the speech of Mr. Page Wood supplies. That hon. gentleman not only admitted, but boasted, that he voted for Mr. Hume's motion merely from antagonism to that of Mr. O'Connor; and yet there are few more honourable or independent members than Mr. Wood; and hence the people will learn that an affrighted individual will jump from the top of a house upon the alarm of fire, and thus crack his neck to save himself from the flames. But we beg to assure Mr. Wood, that the best mode of saving himself from both jump and flames is, by putting his house in order in time, and then he need dread neither jump nor fire. "A stitch in time saves nine;" and we would now recommend to her Majesty's Ministers so to stitch and repair their old tattered constitution, as to render further patchwork unnecessary; and to rest assured, that this can only be effected by judicious use of the CHARTIST NEEDLE.

PARLIAMENTARY REVIEW.

The discussions on the Miscellaneous Estimates which preceded Mr. Hume's motion for Parliamentary Reform, were most appropriate, and forcible illustrations of its necessity. The scandalous and disgraceful character of many of the items in these estimates, made even the "*Times*" blush—a thing, by the way, which seems a moral impossibility, but which, on this occasion was nevertheless a fact. In two articles, it dwelt with as much unction on the enormities of *annual* charges for *triennial* silver trumpets, and similar specimens of Governmental swindling, and modes of "obtaining money upon false pretensions," as could the plain-spoken and candid Mr. Osborne himself, to whom the public are, in the first instance, indebted this year, for calling attention to a host of iniquitous charges.

These Estimates, in fact, exhibit more clearly the frightfully extravagant way in which these sums—annually wrung from the people—are squandered, than any other part of the yearly expenditure. The total amount included under the head of "Miscellaneous Estimates" is about four millions, but a large portion of the jobbing, corruption, waste, and rascality indulged in by the ruling powers, finds its record in them; and so multifarious are the items, that it is a tolerable safe speculation to print them, few caring to wade through the mass of figures and details which show how the money of which the people are plundered, is shared by the plunderers. It would carry us too far to enter upon any detailed comments upon the nature of these Estimates; one sample shall suffice for the manner in which the public money is wasted, and the spirit in which that waste is regarded by official members of the Government.

Most of our readers are aware that "Fum the Fourth" was, or considered himself, a great patron of the arts, and especially prided himself on his taste in architecture. In Windsor, Brighton, and London, he indulged his predilections for putting bricks and mortar together upon a large scale, which was all the easier to him inasmuch as he had not to pay the bills. It was only necessary to present them to an obsequious Parliament, and they were duly cashed. Of his architectural efforts, at Windsor and Brighton, it is only requisite to say, that his successor, William the Fourth, pulled down that at Windsor, and that the Chinese toy at Brighton has been disposed of as so much useless lumber. Buckingham Palace—the metropolitan residence of the Sovereign—cost an immense sum of money. It was intended especially to illustrate the taste and enlightenment of the Monarch, under whose orders it was erected—and it certainly did so. It was, in the first place, built in a swamp, and, in the next, was constructed in a style of architecture which added to, rather than neutralised, the disadvantageous appearance inherent to its bad site. There are now scores of streets in London infinitely superior to it in all that constitutes a claim to architectural beauty. To put the finishing stroke to this badly-situated and badly-constructed edifice, a marble arch, which cost nearly £100,000, was placed in the centre *of the opening in front, though* for what purpose we never could see, inasmuch as the exits and entrances were always by a side gateway. When the present Sovereign began to have a family rising about her, it was discovered that her uncle had built the house for a bachelor, not for a married couple, and two years ago more room was asked for. Some people said then, that it would be better to build a new house at once, than to throw more money away upon one that was incurable both as to its site and its original structural defects. It was suggested that Buckingham Palace might be appropriated to the purposes of a new National Gallery, which it is pretty certain we shall want ere long, and the people would thus get something in exchange for an additional expenditure on the article of Palaces. This view was not adopted. £150,000 was granted for additions to the old building, which even when completed will not admit of a drawing-room or levée being held in it, and which extending the whole length of the front formerly left open, will prevent that free access of light and air to the interior of the building so peculiarly required from its low and swampy position, and must materially increase the evils and inconveniences arising from its position. In the progress of these alterations it has become necessary to remove the marble arch, and this year the sum of £2,000 was charged in the estimates for that purpose. Mr. Osborne asked where it was to go to? Sir Charles Wood replied laughingly that he could not tell; but one thing was certain—that it could not stop where it was: whereupon other hon. members laughed also. No doubt this playing at ducks and drakes with the public money is very funny to those who pocket it, but we opine it is not so pleasant to those who have to pay it. In the words of the frogs in the fable to the naughty boys who pelted them with stones and enjoyed the fun amazingly—"It may be sport to you, but it is death to us." The *one hundred thousand pounds* thrown away upon this marble monstrosity, which is now to cost £2,000 more in pulling down, would have placed *four hundred families* upon three-acre freehold farms of their own, each with a comfortable cottage and outbuildings, and an ample supply of implements, seed, and capital to cultivate the soil for their own sustenance and the increase of the national wealth. Taking the four hundred families at an average of six persons here would have been twenty-four thousand men, women, and children rendered independent for life, and a source of continually increasing wealth to the community, by the money which was squandered by a profligate monarch upon a heap of useless rubbish.

It would be easy to extend our remarks, and multiply examples as to the recklessness with which the money wrung from an oppressed and suffering people is expended, but it is unnecessary; the two factions who share between them the powers of the Government, and who turn *out* and *in* when such changes appear to them to be required to cheat the people at large *into the belief that they have really some* control over Parliament, have, it is quite clear, made up their minds to back each other in maintaining a financial system which plunders the industrious classes for the sake of the aristocratic idlers of society. Any real retrenchment can only be effected by a radical reform of the so-called House of Commons. It holds the purse-strings, and by the exercise of that recognised, undoubted, and all-powerful privilege, could put an end to these abuses at once, no matter what might be the disposition of the monarch and the aristocracy.

It is the perception of this fact which rallies both factions, and makes them lay aside, for the time being, their selfish struggles to obtain the mastery of the public purse, in order to oppose any change which would really invest the people with the power of imposing their own taxes, and directing the way in which they shall be applied. Mr. Hume, in introducing his motion, forcibly showed the direct pecuniary bearing of the question, when he said that in 1792 the whole annual taxation of the country was but sixteen millions, of which one million was applied to the Sinking Fund—in other words, to the gradual extinction of the National Debt. Our annual taxation is now sixty millions, and we have apparently given up all idea of ever reducing the mighty mass of debt which hangs like a millstone round the neck of the nation. During the last half century, population has scarcely doubled—taxation has been quadrupled; so that taking the mere nominal money amount of taxation, each man, woman, and child, has to pay twice as much for the support of the Government, as they did in 1792. But this is an inaccurate test of the amount really paid. In the interim, a great change has been made in the purchasing power of our currency. Under the paper currency, which prevailed up to 1819, the producer could add the amount of taxation to the cost of new material and labour, and thus make the non-producer and consumer pay something like a fair price for the article. But Peel's bill at once inverted this state of things, and at least doubled the purchasing power of every sovereign in the pocket of the consumer, and of course took from the producer double the amount of labour for the same amount of money. In that way, therefore, it may be said that every man, woman, and child, is now paying four times as much in taxes as was paid in 1792. It is no wonder, therefore, to find that the country bristles with barracks, bayonets, and cannon, in order to repress the discontent caused by such a monstrous practical oppression and tyranny as this. The "*Times*" and "*Chronicle*" may sneer at motions for the amendment of our representative system, as being theoretical, ill-timed, uncalled for by anything in the present circumstances of the country, and so forth—but, as long as the tax-gatherer is thus seen to stand by the table and the bedside of every poor man, and filch away the bread, the meat, the sugar, tea, furniture, and bed clothes he would otherwise possess, no amount of brazen-faced, impudent assertion will make the people believe that they have not an interest in an immediate and sweeping reform of the House of Commons.

The debate on Tuesday was a triumph for Chartism. The members who supported the motion laid down principles, adduced facts, and brought forward arguments, all of which tend irresistibly to the conclusions which form the political creed of the Chartist body. When Mr. Hume and Mr. Bright complain that, out of the six millions of adult males in this country, less than one-sixth are enfranchised, and describe the remaining five millions as "slaves," they mean—if they mean anything at all—that every one of these five million political slaves ought to be emanci-

pated. There is no valid reason whatever that can be given for stopping short of that point; because, if you enfranchise, say two millions and a half of the five, you will only have made the chains of the unemancipated slaves more galling and more unendurable than before. But, in fact, all the arguments of the supporters of Mr. Hume's four-point Charter carry them beyond the point where they arbitrarily take their stand. Mr. Hume's elaborate exposition of the inequalities of the franchise, and his demonstration that a small minority of the nation, in consequence of that unequal distribution, return the majority of Parliament, is a direct and conclusive argument in favour of Equal Electoral Districts. Mr. Hume, however, halts, and contents himself with an indefinite proposition instead. In like manner, if the demand for an extension of the Suffrage be based upon the plain and intelligible ground, that taxation without representation is tyranny, and that every man, by the theory of our Constitution, has a right to be represented in Parliament, we cannot see why Mr. Hume and his friends should stop at Householders; why not adopt a Manhood, instead of a brick, plaster, and wood Suffrage? It is, however, an immense advantage to Chartism to have their principles and objects thus discussed, by the intervention of a "respectable" half-and-half party. The House is so constituted, at present, that a debate on the Charter itself would be difficult to raise. Either the House would be "counted out," or the motion shelved by a contemptuous and unreasoning majority, after a few brief words. But the motion of Tuesday night, while it failed in its immediate object, helped on immensely the Chartist movement. These repeated failures will make the middle-class Reformers more in earnest with their own agitation, and prove to them not only the strength of the resisting forces which they have to overcome, but, at the same time, that in order to succeed there must be a *national movement*. That can never be obtained until all pattering and compromises with principles are utterly abandoned, and a stand taken upon a broad, definite, and intelligible foundation. Sir G. Grey and Lord J. Russell did their best to drive Mr. Hume and his friends into this position. They plainly indicated that they regarded the motion as identical with the Charter, and gave the latter the preference, as being the most plain, honest, and straightforward proposition of the two; and we trust that mature reflection will convince the supporters of the new Reform movement, that their true policy in future is, to abandon their temporising policy, and come out boldly for a *just* Electoral system. Any change which excludes a single man of full age, sound mind, and untainted by crime will leave the injustice which taints the present system untouched, and its continuance we firmly believe the people of this country have resolved not to permit. Every debate and division in Parliament hastens the time when the monopoly of votes must follow in the train of other monopolies already destroyed. That this period is not distant may be inferred from the two articles that have appeared in the Ministerial organ since the division on Tuesday night. Echoing Lord J. Russell in the first, it endeavoured to show that there was no economical ground for change, inasmuch as this year the estimates for the naval, military, and other services are about £900,000 less than last year, and that really the House of Commons does represent the people pretty tolerably and reflects public opinion with considerable accuracy. Its pooh, pooh tone in the first article, however, subsided, when a more minute examination of the division list and sundry reflections thereon, brought out the uncomfortable fact that *eighty-three fewer members voted against Reform this year than last*. That is a huge body of waverers and waiters upon Providence, and if the defection continues Lord John will be left alone with his Tory allies to oppose the progress of constitutional Reform. For this task he is every way fitted. As years pass over his head, his "finality" propensities develope themselves more and more. The speech he delivered on Tuesday was a slavish copy of those in which Canning and Peel opposed him, when he was a Reformer. The same old rusty substitutes for arguments were brought forth, with this difference; that whereas Canning had wit, talent, and intellect, Lord John was incapable of infusing these elements into the *rechauffé* of sophism and insolence which he served up on the occasion. Mr. Osborne truly designated it "a melancholy exhibition," and with equal truth drew the character of the Whig aristocracy as having been at all times more anti-liberal than the real aristocracy of the realm. In the words of Swift, they

"Forget the dunghill where they grew,
And think themselves the Lord knows who."

But even the stunted intellect and purblind vision of Lord John discerns in the political hemisphere the signs of approaching changes, and therefore in a cold, hesitating, and vague way, he intimated that if the pressure became very strong, he might perhaps favour the country at some indefinite period with some small changes. We thank the little lord—little in all senses—cordially for nothing. Before that time comes the game will be out of his own hand, and will have to be played by bolder statesmen. Even the "*Times*" sees this, and counsels his Lordship to take time by the forelock, and follow up his damaging admissions by some practical measure. These admissions the "*Times*," with an engaging candour peculiarly its own, says, "are embarrassing, because they are founded in truth and justice." How long "truth and justice" are to be theoretically admitted and practically denied in Parliament, we must leave to time to determine. Meanwhile we repeat, that the debate has given an immense impetus to the question of Parliamentary Reform; and that everything which tends to promote full and fair discussion of the question, must inevitably accelerate the passing of the People's Charter as the law of the land.

RECEIPTS OF THE NATIONAL LAND COMPANY

For the Week Ending Thursday, June 7, 1849.

SHARES.

	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
Sleaford	0 2 0	Wigton	0 6 6
North Shields	2 0 0	H. Snell	0 10 0
Inverkeithing	1 19 0	J. Stevenson	0 5 0
Brighton	2 15 6	James Cuttris	0 10 0
Nottingham	0 18 10	C. Mowl	0 1 6
Preston, Brown	0 18 0	J. Vigurs	0 3 0
Brighton, No. 2	0 19 0		
Witham	2 0 0		£13 8 4

EXPENSE FUND.

Inverkeithing	0 1 0	Brighton, No. 2	0 1 0
Nottingham	0 1 0		
Newton	0 5 6		£0 8 6

TOTALS.

	£ s. d.
Land Fund ...	13 8 4
Expense ditto	0 8 6
Bonus ditto	621 5 0
Loan ditto	0 6 4
Transfers ...	0 5 0
Rules	0 0 4
Rent, Aid Fund, Loan Fund, &c., by Messrs. Walwork and Dent	58 5 0
	£693 19 6

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

EXECUTIVE FUND.

Received by S. Kydd.—Glasgow, £1 15s.; Hamilton, 10s.

FOR MRS. M'DOUALL.

Received by W. Rider.—A few Friends, Hawick, 5s.

DEFENCE FUND.

Received at Land Office.—Nottingham, per J. Sweet, 6d.

FOR WIVES AND FAMILIES OF VICTIMS.

* Received by W. Rider.—Dalkeith, per J. Lamont, 2s 6d.; Nottingham, per J. Sweet, 3s. 3d.; Charterville, per Chas. Arnold, £1 10s.; G. and W. Dixon, near Melton Mowbray, 5s.; Birmingham, People's Hall, per W. Rudhall, 6s. 6d.; Ditto, ditto, 1s. 6d.

NATIONAL VICTIM FUND.

Received by J. Arnott.—Ernest Jones Locality, per Mr. M'Veigh, 7s. 8½d.; part proceeds of Harmonic Meeting at the Argyll Arms, Manchester-street, per J. Boulton, 5s.; Westminster, per J. Grassby, 2s. 8d.; 28, Golden-lane, per Thomas Brown, 3s. 6d.; Mrs. Newley, 1s.; Miss Simmonds, 1s.; Mrs. M'Gee, 1s.; Mrs. Brown, 1s.; Mr. Rider, as per Star, £2 13s. 9d.; Crown and Anchor, per J. Pelteret, 8s.; Lecture-hall, Philpot-street, per G. Ramsden, 8s.—Total, £4 7s. 7½d.

* This sum is said to have been sent six weeks ago. Do not enclose cash in letters, as it may not reach us.

Dr. John Webster (*Medical Times*) remarks: How frequent is lunacy in Paris. During the last revolution a great number lost their reason; the *bouleversement* produced a most lamentable effect; and the same thing happened in former times. In Napoleon's reign there were at one time fifteen Louis Eighteenths in the Bicêtre.

CHARTISM IN THE CITY OF LONDON.

A densely crowded public meeting was held at the City Theatre, Milton-street, on Monday evening, June 4th. Dr. Brooks was called to the chair. On the platform we noticed F. O'Connor, Esq., M.P., and the members of the Executive Committee of the National Charter Association, Mr. Reynolds, &c. On entering the theatre the honourable member for Nottingham was received with tremendous cheering, waving of hats and handkerchiefs.

The Chairman called on all to keep good order and attend to that which might be submitted to them. Much depended on the course of conduct pursued. If they fulfilled their duty the gentlemen present, as speakers, would, without doubt, do theirs.

The Secretary (Mr. Brown) read letters from Mr. J. Smith, on behalf of T. S. Duncombe, Esq., M.P., who was confined to the house from illness; from Sharman Crawford, Esq., M.P.; and from D. Wire, Esq., who said he was not a Chartist, but was in favour of Household Suffrage, Ballot, and Triennial Parliaments; and from B. Osborne, Esq., M.P. The Secretary also announced that Mr. Reynolds had given one guinea towards the expenses of the meeting.

Mr. Reynolds then came forward to move the first resolution as follows:—

That as there are seven millions of male adult population in this kingdom, and but one million represented by the Commons House of Parliament as at present constituted, we, the inhabitants of the City of London and its vicinity, now present, protest against the right of that Assembly to enact laws which all must obey; and we earnestly call upon the Legislature, in justice to the whole people of the United Kingdom, to establish our representative system upon the following principles:—Manhood Suffrage—Vote by Ballot—Annual Parliaments—No Property Qualification—Equal Electoral Districts—and Payment of Members; as set forth in a bill entitled the "People's Charter," which, in the opinion of this meeting, will ensure a full and fair representation of the whole people.

He said: No one could possibly propose such a resolution with more pleasure than himself. How had they lost it? Not by any misconduct, but by a powerful oligarchy, amongst whom he classed not only the hereditary legislators but the landed interests, who were careless of driving you to desperation. What was the reason assigned for refusing you the suffrage—ignorance! But you are not too ignorant to produce them all the delicacies, excellencies, and elegancies of life. Mr. Reynolds referred to the Estimates, and drew down a burst of laughter at the expense of the Triennial Silver Trumpets; those things were kept up for the Queen, but she was not to blame, as she knew nothing of them. (Hear.) Ballot was necessary for protection. Even in America they did not like to act without it. Annual Parliaments were necessary to prevent men voting for suspension of Habeas Corpus, &c. How often had Mr. O'Connor stood alone in that House. (Great cheering.) But it would not be the case had we Annual Parliaments. The abolition of the Property Qualification was also necessary, as it was men not property that should be there; and as all men were not rich it was necessary to pay them, besides the present system led to hunting for places. In France the system had led to the representation of all classes, from the porter on the quay, and Labour now adorned the Legislature of France. (Much applause.) Now then for Equal Electoral Districts. Why should Harwich have as much influence as the Tower Hamlets? the constituency of which was too numerous to be made drunk, and too many to be bribed. There were 656 members in the House, and he thought it a fair calculation to say, that from a million and a half to two millions was spent in obtaining those seats, though, of course, there were exceptions. Was it not, then, high time that the Charter should be had? That taxation might be lessened, and the condition of the people be raised in the social scale. (Cheers.) Irish misery was caused by misgovernment, and he believed that neither Irish misery nor English wrongs would be redressed until the Charter became law. (Cheers.)

Mr. Dixon seconded the resolution.

Mr. Thomas Clarke in rising was loudly applauded. He said: Mr. Chairman and friends, it is my duty to submit to you the following resolution:—

That as it is averred by the leading Parliamentary and Financial Reformers—that Parliamentary must precede Financial Reform—this meeting would submit to that class of Reformers the justice and policy of adopting the principles submitted in the previous resolution as the basis of our representative system, as we believe, should the Elective Franchise be conferred as a *privilege* but to a portion of the people instead of as a *right* to the whole of the male adult population, not disqualified by crime or insanity, there must still be disaffection rankling in the minds of the unenfranchised, which will lead to agitation and other evils of civil warfare, which can only be avoided by dealing out equal justice to all classes in the state.

When I inform you that the resolution will be seconded by the hon. member for Nottingham, you will agree with me that I need not say much in its support. You will observe that we call upon our reform friends to accept the principles of the People's Charter as the basis of a combined movement; and unless they do so their movement will be deprived of much support which it would otherwise get, and their present object, if attained, will fall far short of that justice to which the people are entitled. (Cheers.) The essential difference between those moderate Reformers and ourselves is, that we, the Chartists, demand the suffrage as a right, and they seek its extension merely as a matter of expediency. (Hear.) This difference was made apparent by the hon. member for the West Riding, who, on the occasion for the last motion of Mr. Hume in parliament, for the extension of the franchise, argued that with respect to the suffrage there was no such thing as *right*, but that its limitation depended entirely upon expediency. Now, we broadly assert that to tax us without our consent—and our consent can only be obtained through direct representation—is to rob us of our property, and in the language of the hon. member for Derby (Mr. L. Heyworth), those who practice upon us in such a manner are thieves. (Loud cheers and laughter.) Indeed, the present House of Commons is, to the six millions, of unrepresented men, nothing either more or less than a complicated piece of thieving machinery—(cheers)—and all the members of that "*honourable*" House partake of the honour of this doubtful morality. (Laughter.) Perhaps I ought to except the hon. member who is at present on the platform. (Cheers.) If one man were to take the property of his neighbour as the Parliament takes ours, would not the law treat him as a thief? (Hear, hear.) Well then, what is dishonesty in one man surely cannot be honesty in six hundred and fifty-eight men. (Cheers.) I, therefore, think that all political movements ought to be based upon right, and, accordingly, have much pleasure in moving the adoption of the resolution. (Cheers.)

When Mr. O'Connor rose, he was received with several rounds of most enthusiastic applause. He said: Mr. Chairman and my friends, I have left the other House, where your Ministers are voting supplies out of your pockets, and I am come to this house to consult with you as to the means of converting those supplies to a more useful and profitable purpose. (Cheers.) There is no resolution that I could more cheerfully support, or with more consistency, than that submitted to you, and for this simple reason—because it proclaims the only means by which the end that we seek can be accomplished. The means are the People's Charter, whole and entire, and the end is an equitable distribution of that property created by the industry of the country—(cheers)—and, however they and their class may be juggled by anticipations of social benefits, arising from any other political measure, he was determined, if he stood alone, to persevere in the advocacy of those principles, which alone could confer substantial benefit upon the toiling millions. (Cheers.) He would now recall their minds to a few simple facts—namely, to the social changes anticipated by the people as the result of the political changes in the struggle for which they were enlisted, and for the achievement of which many lives were lost, but from not one of which have the working classes derived one particle of benefit. The first was Catholic Emancipation, and that was resisted until the field officers, with whom the Duke of Wellington placed himself in communication, informed his grace that reliance could be no longer placed upon the loyalty of the army. (Cheers.) Well, that was a sufficient proof that the acts and measures of government were based upon reliance on brute force, rather than upon justice or wise policy. The Irish, a Catholic nation, thus achieved what they *foolishly* considered religious liberty, while the Catholic people still recognise the conqueror's trophy in every church steeple, and the conqueror's representative in every Protestant parson. (Cheers.) The impoverished Catholic saw the conquering Protestant go to his comfortable place of worship, while his own chapel was dilapidated or unroofed; and this in a Catholic country, that had achieved its emancipation from Protestant bondage. But as he had explained, it was achieved through *fear*—from the apprehension that it was dangerous longer to withhold it; and from this they would learn the important fact—that measures extracted from the fears of the ruling power, may be rendered null and void by the administrators of that power, while measures based upon the united will of the whole people, would be carried out with fidelity, and would confer equal justice upon all. (Cheers.) Let them bear in mind, that the task which he had undertaken, was to prove to the working classes, that all promised social changes were based upon the hope of transferring political power from the hands of one party to those of another, and that was a view which they had never yet taken of the question. Well, next came Reform, and could any—the most enthusiastic Chartist, picture to his own mind, more complete social changes than were anticipated from that measure? (Cheers.) And was it not by the popular strength enlisted by anticipation of those social changes, that reform was carried? There was no "gagging bill" then; and what did the people do? Why they carried a full-length portrait of their king, with his head twisted, and the bloody executioner threatening it with the axe, if he resisted that political change from which the people were led to expect those social benefits. (Loud cheers.) There was no loyal resistance upon the part of the Whigs to this democratic insanity; but, when they had achieved political power, then, to prove their constitutional loyalty, they hung and transported the very parties whom they had roused to furious madness by hope of a better social condition. (Cheers.) Let him illustrate the popular notions of Reform. He sat upon an Election Committee for eight days in the year 1833. The contest was between Mr. Pugh, a Tory, and Colonel Edwards, a Whig, then changed into a Liberal. A Welsh carter, who stated that he was made drunk by Mr. Pugh's party and voted for that gentleman, was examined. He, Mr. O'Connor, asked him, "For whom did you vote?" He replied, "For Mr. Pugh, because I was made drunk." He then asked him, "For whom would you have voted had you been sober?" He replied, "For Eddards, to be sure!" "Why for Colonel Edwards?" "Because he is a Reformer, to be sure!" "Well, are you a Reformer?" "Yea, to be sure I am!" "Well, now, what does reform mean?" "Reform, reform, why, I don't know." (Loud laughter.) "Well, but if you stop there for a week you shall answer me. Now, what does reform mean?" "Reform, reform; why roast beef and plum pudding to be sure!" (Roars of laughter.) Well, but let them observe that according to the present franchise, the votes of a few such incapable drunkards may turn the scale; while, if it was open to all, the ignorance and beastiality of the few would be controlled by the discretion of the many. (Loud cheers.) Well, next came free trade. (Laughter and "Ay.") Ay! and although that promised the social benefit of "high wages, cheap bread, and plenty to do," yet, nevertheless, the people were politically enlisted to support it. They were told that none but Liberals could carry it, and that none but Tories opposed it. Well, they had that political change, but did they derive the social benefit of "high wages, cheap bread, and plenty to do? (Laughter, and "No.") Well, then, (said Mr. O'Connor) are you now going to be juggled for the fourth time, and again to be caught in the Financial Reform trap, which is based upon political change? (Cries of "No, never.") Well, now he would show them the difference between House of Commons liberalism and platform liberality. Colonel Thompson—(Groans and hisses)—stop, stop, he (Mr. O'Connor) was not about to make a single comment upon the question, that he would leave to them; but, when the question of reducing the salaries of Ministers was submitted to the House of Commons, by Mr. Henley, a Tory; Colonel Thompson and Mr. Brotherton—two platform financial reformers—not only voted against the reduction, but spoke against it, declaring that Ministers were the last parties whose salaries should be reduced. (Continued groans and hisses.) Now, then, he had shown them—and he hoped pretty clearly—how all hope of social change through transfer of political power from one party to another, had been disappointed in their own day; and now he would show them, that it was but in strict keeping with the policy of former times. Seventy years ago, when Charles James Fox, and his Whig associates, were looking for political power, they discovered that the force capable of achieving it for them could only be recruited from the popular ranks, and they baited the popular trap with every single point of the People's Charter. Well, what was the consequence? Why, that when Fox and his party achieved power, through democratic influence, he brought in a bill to disqualify government contractors from sitting in the House of Commons, and when it was passed he triumphantly said, "There is your Charter, now be quiet." (Loud cheers and laughter.) Well, they cheered, but they should not laugh, for the admission was a censure upon their order. (Hear, hear.) Well, then, having been thus deceived in ancient and modern times, would they allow themselves to be caught in the financial trap? (Cries of "No, never.") He had, and he hoped clearly, expounded the social changes that had resulted from political changes, and he would conclude that part of his subject with an assertion, that the toiling millions would never derive any, the slightest, social benefit from any political change save and except the People's Charter, whole and entire!—(loud and long-continued cheering)—a measure to which he had devoted the best days of his life, and in the struggle for which he would continue if all deserted it. (Renewed cheering.) Let him now call their attention to the manner in which odium had been heaped upon the social and political principles which he and millions advocated. In 1793, when the French Revolution had affrighted this isle from its propriety, the Radicals of that day, who, though but few, were active—were designated "Jacobins," their opponents well knowing that, although "a rose by any other name would smell as sweet," that a name given to a political party may confer upon it general odium and reprobation. Thus they designated Radicals as Jacobins, and many an honest man with this name affixed to him was ducked and otherwise ill-treated. Well, some time after, Radicalism became a little more fashionable, and we adopted the hated appellation, those who competed with us calling themselves "Liberals," the odium still remaining attached to the term "Radical." Well, when the progress of the age had wiped the stain off Radicalism, they gave us the name of Chartists, and now they call themselves Radicals, and knowing the importance attached to a political name, which the Press of faction can cover with odium, they seek to attach to us the new appellation of Republicans, while, if we accepted it, they would designate us as Devils; they would accept the name of Chartists themselves, but not our principles, and upon this fallacy they would enlist the opposition,—nay, the deadly antagonism—of shopkeepers, middle-class, and traders. (Loud cheers.) Well, then, were they prepared, thus warned, to cut their own throats, and being driven to the necessity of dragging another political name through the gauntlet of persecution? (Cheers, and "No.") Let him now illustrate the legal consequences attached to a political name, it is always taken as the representation of a social principle; thus, when Lovett and Collins were tried at Warwick (and mind, before a jury of farmers) Mr. Justice Littledale, most unconstitutionally, unjustly, and untruly, told the jury of farmers that the social object of the Chartists was to take the land from its present owners, and divide it amongst themselves. (Shouts of "Shame!") Yes, it was shame to the judge to tell such a falsehood, but was it not a perfect confirmation of his argument, that even the law attached a social meaning to a political name? (Cheers.) Now, he would draw their attention to the social odium that was sought to be attached to Chartism, —every man in that meeting was a Socialist—("no, no,")—yes, yes,—I am a Socialist, and you are all Socialists, in the true acceptation of the term, which means the adaptation of things to the existing state of society. (Cheers.) Well, then, see the construction that the writers put upon the term Socialists. They, without any, the slightest distinction, characterise all Socialists as Infidels. (Hear, hear.) Now he (Mr. O'Connor,) was not prepared to interfere with the religious opinions of any man,—(hear, hear,)—no man had a right to interfere with his, and if there was a fair adjustment of the labour question, then all those religious heart-burnings would be altogether lost sight of, when the industrious millions had some better occupation than preaching religious antagonism. (Cheers.) Now, he had no objection in a happy community to see Protestants going to the same church as Catholics and Dissenters. The Protestant minister, developing his notions of Christianity at one hour, the Catholic minister at another hour, and the Dissenting minister at another hour, while the Socialists may devote their hour to recreation; but in the long run all would come to the same conclusion, that God created all and the earth for all, but not one thousand and one religions to constitute antagonism and deadly feuds amongst all. (Loud cheers.) He would now show them how a new social principle was sought to be attached to the political principle of Chartism: some most enthusiastic fools were endeavouring to gain popularity by proclaiming and preaching the fascinating doctrine, that the land is national property. Well, he (Mr. O'Connor) had often declared that God gave us land but the Devil gave us landlords; but then see the worse than folly of trying to win the public mind, or divide the public mind, by reliance upon such moonshine. It is the very thing that has always destroyed the popular party. The very moment we are ripe for moral action, that moment some egregious or enthusiastic fool causes dissension in our ranks, by tickling the mind with the hope of attaining an impracticable object. Now, will those preachers, who proclaim the land to be national property, have the honesty or the courage to admit that muskets, bayonets, swords, petards, cannons, bombshells, forts, fortresses, ramparts, men-of-war, sailors, and soldiers, are also national property; and that such national property, like land national property, is not at the command of the people, but at the disposal and beck of those who possess land property, money property, and all property, wrung from the sweat of the poor man's brow, and accumulated from a depreciation of wages in consequence of the monopoly of class-representation, based upon this monopoly of this physical force, which enables them for a time to resist the progress of mind, until the British minister has discovered that the voice of knowledge has silenced the cannon's roar? And although now a mere cipher, a nonentity in the House of Commons, belonging only to the people, who are not represented in that House, then the minister will say: "Mr. O'Connor, is there anything else the people wish for? let them ask and they shall have." (Loud and long continued cheering.) Let the people bear in mind, that it was more easy to predict the coming events of one, two, or even six years, in olden times, than it is now to predict the events of six weeks, yea, or six days. We live in the age of progress, and the news of to-day, will be stale upon the morrow; and yet, in the midst of this progress of mind, our silly rulers hope to rock their little cradle in the midst of surrounding convulsions and revolutions! (Loud cheers.) Let them contrast the dogged stolidity of English rulers, as compared with the onward march of other countries. Prussia, a despotism eighteen months ago, has proclaimed Universal Suffrage, no Property Qualification, and four years' Parliaments, with many other vital and important changes, as the basis of its constitution, while our stupid rulers doggedly resist any, the smallest concession to the popular will. (Cheers.) Well, then he would ask whether ministerial acquiescence to the principles of the People's Charter, would be as great, or as liberal a change in this country, as the change from despotism to a free constitution in Prussia? (Loud cheers.) Did England hope much longer, even under a policy based upon fear of the progress of mind, to remain at peace, while her allies were at war all over the world? and were they not aware, that the first shot fired abroad would be followed by the proclamation of the People's Charter at home? (Loud cheers.) Well, then it was to prepare the English mind for those coming changes, that he once more resumed his position as demagogue upon the platform. And now to make a summary of this branch of his discourse, he would tell them, that faction's only reliance, for resistance to the Charter, was based upon that odium which the industrious Press could attach to the social ends to be achieved by our political means. (Cheers.) Once let the middle classes, the shopkeepers, and all who have property to lose, understand that our political principle is, to convert their properties to the use and benefit of those who have no property; and then, my friends, they can marshal under such a cry, a sufficient amount of special constable force as would enable them to spare their military strength for foreign purposes. (Loud cheers.) What, but the odium attached to the social objects of Chartism, has filled their dungeons and their transport ships? While, so far from preaching revolutionary doctrines or spoliation, he would now faintly sketch his scheme of Financial Reform, by which he would make the rich richer, the poor rich, making compensation to all, for the losses they have sustained by misgovernment and a misappropriation of the national funds. (Cheers.) Had they any property? (Shouts of "No!") Yes, he would show them that they had more than would pay the national debt. The land, or rather the encumbrance upon the land, termed poor rates, was their property. It was the first encumbrance upon every estate, and no estate could be sold discharged from that liability. Lord Brougham stated, that last year it amounted to £8,140,000; but, take it nakedly at £8,000,000 and at thirty-three years' purchase, which was much under the value, as it was to the land what ground rent was to the house, the first charge that must be paid. Now, in order to destroy antagonism, to do justice to all, and injustice to none, he would reduce those poor rates to make compensation to the landlords for free trade to five millions a-year, and which at thirty-three years' purchase, your property,—always mind yours!—after generously giving nearly one-half to the landlords, would produce one hundred and sixty-five millions. (Loud cheers.) Wait a minute; this is the labour question—my hobby—the question to which I have devoted my past life, and to the realisation of which I will devote my whole life, if necessary, but I hope it will not. (Loud cheers.) Now with one hundred and fifty millions of your own money, I would constitute half a million of a yeoman class national militia. And what could I do with them? Why the one hundred and fifty millions would give to each of the half million eight acres of land, averaging £25 per acre, and £100 in cash; £70 or £60 to be expended in a cottage, which could be added to from year to year, according to the requirements of the family, and £40 in cash to commence agricultural operations. (Loud cheers.) Now mind, I am not like a visionary theorist, applying other men's money to labour purposes, but by the proper application of the labour fund I am conferring a large boon upon the landlord and farming class. Well, each of those 500,000 tenants should pay £15 a-year for their eight acres, and £100 capital, and that would produce a revenue of seven millions and a half per annum, and leave not a pauper in the land. Perhaps the currency gentlemen may tell me that there is not a sufficient amount of floating capital to purchase this land. My answer is,—that I do not want a guinea, as every landlord would be but too happy to give up a slip of his property, getting his share of three millions a-year as his reward; while all house property subject to the poor rates would, even at the present standard, sell like a debenture in the market, and fetch the amount of ready money required. And now, he would ask, whether any plan projected by the Financial Reformers would, or by any possibility could, confer so great a boon upon every class in the state, from the manufacturer himself down to the humblest tradesman, operative, or labourer in the country? Where is the man, then, of any trade that would be out of employment? Where is the shopkeeper that would be without customers? Where is the man that would dare allow his child, or where is the child that would dare allow his father or mother, to become a pauper or a beggar? (Cheers.) So much for poor rates property; and now he would deal with church property, which he would also contend was the property of the state, and that the labour of the industrious constituted the main prop of the state. Well, that property, throughout the empire, with its appendages, contingencies, ecclesiastical courts, &c., may be lowly estimated at £10,000,000, but he would make the landlords a present of £2,000,000, thus reducing it to £8,000,000, and that, at thirty-three years' purchase, would sell for £264,000,000! but of that fund he would give £40,000,000 to the present incumbents—that is, he would give to each five years' purchase as compensation for the loss of tithes; so that a man with a living of £1,000 a-year, would receive £5,000—the men with £500 would receive £2,500, and each should pay his own labourer, who does his work—his curate—ten years' purchase upon his salary, as his education has cost him as much as that of his master, and the curates, according to class, are the worst paid set of men in the community. (Cheers.) Now, he hoped they were following him through his solution of the labour question. (Cheers and "Yes.") Up till now he had only presented the miniature of his plan, but now he believed the mind was prepared to receive the full-length portrait. Well, he had dealt with the property of the people thus:—He had given the landlords five millions a-year; he had given the parsons forty millions of the money of the people, and he had located half a million upon eight acres each, with a cottage, and £40 to begin, leaving a rental of seven million five hundred thousand pounds to be paid by this yeoman class, and after thus dealing with the several interests, it left him a surplus of fifteen millions from poor rates, and two hundred and twenty-four millions from church property, thus supplying a capital of two hundred and thirty-nine millions. And now I come to its application, namely, to the reduction of the national debt. Now, for every £60 borrowed, you, the taxpayers of England, are paying the fundholder £100; while—curious to say—that £60 would purchase more of your labour than £100 would purchase when the £60 was lent. Well, then, who can say that we commit an act of injustice if we repay the fundholder now the exact amount he lent to keep "Bony" out, and save his own property; and especially mind, when the £60 now would purchase more of the produce of your labour than £100 would purchase when he lent the smaller sum. (Hear, hear.) Well, then, paying the fundholder at the rate of £60 to the £100, which is a handsome dividend for a bankrupt nation to pay, and then see how we stand: the two hundred and thirty-nine millions saved from church and poor-rate property would reduce the national debt to little more than two hundred millions, while from the five hundred thousand small farmers we receive seven millions and a half of rent, which, after paying £3 per cent., or six millions a year upon the two hundred millions of national debt, would leave us a million and a half a year for education, hospitals, and comfortable provision for the old and infirm who may require it, though then they would be but few, as the neglect of parents would then be a national disgrace. (Loud and continued cheering followed this statement.) Now, (continued Mr. O'Connor), there is my financial budget: I save the nation twenty-seven millions a year, as interest of the national debt—ten millions in tithes, and eight millions in poor rates, making forty-five millions a year, and a million and a half to the improvement and comfort of the people; every curate may become a schoolmaster, and every parson a preacher of his own creed upon the voluntary system; then they would be loved instead of being despised; then cruelty and drunkenness would be banished from the land; the condition of every class would be benefitted, and although he had made no calculation of the abandonment of our war force, yet he ventured to predict, that such a community would not require a soldier, or a policeman, to preserve peace, and that no government need then apprehend the invasion of a foreign force. But (said Mr. O'Connor), I live before my time, the speculators will tell you that it would be impossible to find money to effect these gigantic changes, while the speculators found no difficulty in extracting nearly three hundred millions, in a few years, to speculate in railroads and other fascinating jobs. (Loud cheers.) And, be it remembered, that every farthing applied to those monster speculations, has been wrung from the sweat of the labourer. (Cheers.) But although every scheme of theirs is not only practicable but patriotic, any, even the most feasible, plan suggested for the improvement of the poor, is visionary, speculative, absurd and impracticable. And why? Because the capitalist control of the labour market allows the speculator to jump from his clogs into Spanish leather boots—from the dung cart into the splendid carriage. (Loud cheers.) Mr. Reynolds, Mr. Clark, and Mr. Dixon, who had preceded him, had made very able speeches upon the labour question, and the question of governmental expenses. Mr. Reynolds had called their attention to the gross amount expended upon royal palaces, and other regal requirements; but, as was his (Mr. O'Connor's) custom, he considered it his duty to analyse those several sums, in order that the working classes may be perfect masters of the subject, and with that view, he would analyse the several expenditures, and apply them to the labour question. In twelve years, one million and a half of money had been spent, not on building, but improving Windsor palace, and that money if expended for the benefit of those from whose pockets it was filched, would locate fifteen thousand persons, upon four acres of land each,—or, at five to a family, would provide for seventy-five thousand people, and each of those would give profitable employment to another family, making a total of one hundred and fifty thousand people! (Loud cheers, and "Shame.") Well, not only would those fifteen thousand small farmers give employment, each, to another family, but all would be better customers to every branch of trade, and to the manufacturers. (Cheers.) Well, now, it was boasted that twelve hundred thousand pounds of English money was expended upon Irish workhouses; and as, ere long, every Irish landlord, farmer, and shopkeeper will have to take refuge in these domiciles, you have three hundred thousand pounds more expended upon the decoration of one palace than upon the erection of habitations for a whole nation. (Shouts of "Shame.") I tell you (continued Mr. O'Connor,) that it is no shame to those who did it, but it is a shame to those who paid for it, to have tolerated it. (Cheers.) Well, as he never was tired of expounding this labour question, let them now understand that there were two hundred and sixteen thousand pounds expended upon furnishing that palace, and that sum at twenty-five pounds to the acre, would purchase eight thousand six hundred and forty acres of land! There were guts for a palace. (Cheers, and laughter.) And that quantity of land would furnish two thousand one hundred and sixty families with four acres each, or provide for ten thousand eight hundred people, who would give constant employment to ten thousand eight hundred more; and thus there has been expended upon the mere renewal of the furniture for one palace, as much as would give constant and remunerative support to twenty-one thousand six hundred people, all of whom would be excellent customers to every trader, and not one of whom would require a fraction of relief. (Cheers.) Well, he believed there were, last year, one thousand seven hundred pounds spent upon additional kitchen furniture for Buckingham palace. (Shouts of "Shame.") Well, he thought he had now clearly expounded the labour question, and he would recall their attention to a prophecy he had made with regard to the effect that free trade would have upon the English labour market. He told them that the Irish labourers would come here to compete with them. Well, what was the fact? Why that he had the permission of a gentleman, cultivating three hundred acres of his own land in Lincolnshire, to state here, or in the House of Commons, that whereas last year he was paying his labourers 2s. 3d. per day, or 13s. 6d. per week, he is now paying them one shilling per day, or six shillings a week. (Cries of "Oh, oh, oh.") And this reduction was solely consequent upon the competition created by Irish famine. But wait until the regular harvest influx of Irish labourers came here; then they will neither emigrate nor return, but will work for any amount here that will preserve their existence;—(hear, hear)—and they had a perfect right to do so, as they were presumed to be governed by the same laws. But what effect would that have upon the shopkeepers of Lincoln, and the other towns in that county? (Hear, hear.) Why, simply this. It would teach them that labour was not only the legitimate source of all power, but the only source of wealth, and they would very speedily discover that there was very little difference between a landed aristocracy and a monied aristocracy; with this trifling distinction, that the landed aristocracy have not the same power, if they had inclination, to establish fortunes upon a reduction of wages. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) Mr. Reynolds has stated—and truly stated,—an occurrence which took place in Ireland, with respect to a man having extracted the heart and liver from a human being and eaten it. (Shouts of horror.) And he stated that Lord John Russell denied the assertion. Well, what was the fact? Why, that the denial was a mere quibble. His lordship stated that the circumstance occurred not lately, but last November—(laughter)—and that the Irish cannibal was not aware that the body was that of a human being. Now there was a state of ignorance, for a Christian Minister, in a Christian country, to ascribe as justification for such a horrible act. (Shouts of "It's too bad.") Well, was there ever such an anomaly as unhappy Ireland now presented? Idle land—idle money—idle and starving people—while the English consumers are not only compelled to look to foreign countries for their provisions—which might be produced under their nose, but are further compelled to submit to taxation, to preserve the miserable existence of millions of Irishmen, who are ready and willing to procure food for both countries. (Hear, hear.) Nothing delighted him so much as the conversion of opponents, and he sincerely trusted that every man at that meeting had read—or would read—the article in last week's *Dispatch*, upon "The capability of the Land, and the distribution of the Royal Forests into Peasants' Allotments." (Cheers.) Although he mentioned this triumphantly, let it not be supposed that he mentioned it tauntingly. No, no; he rejoiced in it; as he courted the co-operation—however late—of every man in developing the value of labour, when applied to the cultivation of the soil. (Hear, hear.) The *Dispatch* informed them that Hounslow Heath, not many years since the haunt of thieves and footpads, and then a bleak wilderness, is now, by the application of labour worth £3 a year rent per acre. Now he wanted them all to read that article, and all other articles from all other papers in connexion with this Land Plan; for depend upon it, that the solution of the question of labour is now puzzling all nations. Well, he would ask if it was possible for the British Minister to rock his little cradle in peace, while all foreign countries were convulsed—by not being able to solve the labour question? But, as he detested cruelty and drunkenness more than any other two crimes, he was not prepared to commit an act of aggression or injustice, much less an act of cruelty, in the practical solution of his labour question; he would better the condition of all, and thus, when all were comfortable, it would be the means of destroying that blasting, blighting envy and jealousy, which now create such horrifying and injudicious antagonism. (Cheers.) Yes, he did not want to spare one of Nature's children from Nature's board, as Nature's breast was ample and sufficient to sustain Nature's family, if properly and beneficially applied. (Loud cheers.) The mind of this country would achieve that for the accomplishment of which the people of foreign countries were compelled to resort to physical force, and if ever the English people should be forced into such madness or folly, the blame would be upon the head of the servile press, that catered falsehoods to sustain the ascendancy of faction, by withholding the enlightenment of the people from those who should be governed by public opinion and live upon the public money. (Cheers.) Let them look to the position into which the withholding of rights has driven the Hungarian people. (Tremendous cheering and waving of hats, &c.) Ay, he heartily responded to the joyous acclamation of the triumph of the Hungarians, and if blood was to be shed in a contest for liberty his hope and fondest aspiration was, that the brave Hungarians would commemorate their triumph by a pyramid of Cossacks, capped with their Tsar! (Tremendous applause.) And that the brave Romans would imitate their noble example, and commemorate their triumph by an Austrian pile capped with their Autocrat! (Renewed cheering, and clapping of hands.) But, thank God, he spoke to a people who wielded a mind that would never be driven to such sad alternatives to make the acquisition of legitimate power. Let them understand how the acquisition of that power altered the policy and tactics of faction. Not long since the Monarchists and Legitimists in France expressed their horror of physical force while they governed by the sword—while the very same parties now are trying to force the people into another revolution, in the hope of destroying that infant mind which time will mature into national liberty, contentment, and peace. (Loud cheers.) But not that liberty, contentment, and peace in which the gorged few luxuriate upon the dependence of the plundered many. (Cheers.) Let him, in conclusion, caution them against giving ear to the enthusiasm of the "POOR GENTLEMEN," but to go on steadily and resolutely in their own beaten track. But in order that they may not make a miscalculation of his parliamentary influence, let him assure them that, at present, he was a mere nonentity in that House. But he still cherished the fond hope of being able to unmask such a battery of popular mind, and discharge such a volley of popular will, as would convince his opponents of popular influence when wisely directed. (Loud cheers.) He would explain his position in that House. If any party was about to propose a measure which was likely to receive the all but unanimous assent of the legislature, and if he proposed the same measure one day before, it would be as unanimously rejected. And why? Simply lest its adoption should add any, the slightest weight, to his name, and thus give him more influence with the people. (Cheers, and "Yes, that's it.") Yes, he was glad it was it, and having suffered every description of martyrdom, persecution, and obloquy, and eighteen months of incarceration, he was, nevertheless, resolved that while dread or threat of persecution should not turn him from his purpose, neither vanity, ambition, nor wounded feeling should ever goad him or recklessly hurry him into a course which would be destructive to their cause. For it he had lived, and rather than forsake it, so help him God! he would rather perish; and to repeat his oft-told tale, the fondest aspiration of his mind was to open Nature's breast to Nature's children, and thus promote the happiness and contentment of all and secure the peace of all. [Mr. O'Connor resumed his seat amid prolonged cheering, waving of hats and handkerchiefs.]

After a few observations from Mr. Flaxman, the resolution was put and carried unanimously.

The Chairman then called upon Mr. M'Grath to move the petition, who, on coming forward, was loudly cheered. Having read it, he said, they had that night given a convincing proof that there was some vitality yet in metropolitan Chartism. It was still living, notwithstanding the efforts of Grey, Jervis, Powell, and Co. to crush it. (Cheers.) Even Lord John Russell, who thinks that the people are indifferent to politics, and satisfied with things as they are might doubt the soundness of his opinion, could he witness their numbers, spirit, and enthusiasm that night. (Cheers.) They had assembled once more to launch the bark of the Charter, and if they would resolve to stick to the ship and never to furl a sail, they might rest assured of being speedily able to anchor their bark in the haven of liberty. (Cheers.) The time had come for shaking off inactivity, and resuming the great work of national deliverance once more. Liberty was on the passing breeze, it was wafted from the centre to the remotest extremes of Europe; and surely its invigorating influence must be imparted to the British mind. England would not, he hoped for her honour, consent to remain a laggard, while other nations were, by a single effort, rising from the prostration of despotism to the dignity of freedom. (Cheers.) They found financial reformers and parliamentary reformers now upon the alert, which circumstance he hoped would stimulate the real reformers to real and unmistakeable exertion, in the sacred cause of liberty and justice. Just as he recognised liberty of speech in every man, so he recognised liberty of agitation in all parties; but while they saw others going for measures of reform, which fell short of universal justice, his advice was to raise highly and proudly the bright banner of the Charter, and to bear it over every obstacle till they placed it in triumph over the ruins of oligarchical usurpation. (Cheers.) They had the power to be free, but wanted the will to exercise it. The purpose of these meetings was to incite them to an exercise of that power. Did they want stimulants to urge them on in their demands for justice? They would find them in the impoverishment and degradation which were overwhelming the whole industrial population, without a shadow of hope, so long as the curse of Whig and Tory domination hung over them. Mr. M'Grath having addressed himself to several other interesting topics connected with the petition, concluded his address amid the unanimous approbation of the meeting.

Julian Harney seconded the adoption of the petition. His speech, which was of considerable length, excited enthusiastic applause.

The petition was then put and unanimously adopted.

It was then moved by Mr. Brown, "That it be presented by Lord J. Russell."

Carried unanimously.

A vote of thanks was given by acclamation to the chairman, also to the Cripplegate locality for getting up the meeting, after which the meeting separated.

A LIST OF THE MINORITY WHO VOTED FOR MR. HUME'S MOTION FOR PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

AYES.

Adair, H. E.	Lushington, C.
Adair, R. O. Shafto	M'Gregor, J.
Aglionby, H. A.	Marshall, W.
Alcock, T.	Martin, S.
Anderson, A	Milner, W. M. E.
Armstrong, R. B.	Moffatt, G.
Bass, M. T.	Molesworth, Sir W.
Berkeley, C. L. G.	Mowatt, F.
Bouverie, Hon. E. P.	Muntz, G. F.
Bright, John	O'Connell, J.
Brotherton, J.	O'Connell, M.
Callaghan, D.	O'Connell, M. J.
Clay, J.	O'Connor, F.
Clay, Sir W.	Osborne, R.
Cobden, R.	Pearson, C.
Cockburn, A. J. E.	Pechell, Capt.
Collins, W.	Pilkington, J.
Currie, R.	Reynolds, J.
Dashwood, G. H.	Salwey, Col.
Devereux, J. T.	Schofield, W.
D'Eyncourt, Rt. Hon. C. T	Smith, J. B.
Duke, Sir James	Smythe, Hon. G.
Duncan, G.	Somers, J. P.
Ellis, J.	Strickland, Sir G.
Evans, Sir De Lacy	Stuart, Lord D.
Ewart, W.	Tancred, H. W.
Fagan, W.	Thompson, Col.
Fox, W. J.	Thompson, G.
Freestun, Col.	Thornely, T.
Gibson, Rt. Hon. T. M.	Trelawny, J. S.
Granger, T. O.	Villiers, Hon. C.
Greene, J.	Walmsley, Sir J.
Hardcastle, J. A.	Wawn, J. T.
Harris, R.	Westhead, J. P.
Headlam, T. E.	Willcox, B. M.
Henry, A.	Williams, J.
Heyworth, L.	Willyams, H.
Hodges, T. L.	Wilson, M.
Humphery, Mr. Aldn.	Wood, W. P.
Jackson, W.	TELLERS.
Keogh, W.	Hume, J.
Kershaw, J.	Berkeley, H.
King, Hon. P. J. L.	

Channel Islands and Isle of Man Newspapers.—General Post-office, May, 1849.—Henceforward the undermentioned newspapers printed and published in the Channel Islands and in the Isle of Man respectively, may be transmitted through the post from these islands to Great Britain and Ireland on prepayment of a postage of one penny; but this privilege is not to be extended to them if posted in Great Britain or Ireland for circulation within the United Kingdom. *British Press, Jersey and Guernsey News, Mona's Herald and Faryher's Isle of Man Advertiser, Jersey Times, The Manx Sun, The Manx Liberal, Isle of Man Times, Star, Comet.* These newspapers, though unstamped, may be sent by post to the colonies and to foreign countries upon the same conditions as those which apply to newspapers, similarly addressed, forwarded from Great Britain and Ireland. The existing rules contained in instructions No. 13, 1849, in regard to the transmission by post of newspapers other than the abovementioned, printed and published in the Channel Islands or in the Isle of Man, are still in force, it being, however, understood that such newspapers as are printed in these islands in the French or in the Manx language shall in no way be affected by the restrictions imposed in this notice, or by the instructions, No. 13, abovementioned, but shall continue to enjoy all the privileges, so far as their transmission by post is concerned, which they formerly possessed.

A new machine has been invented for making printing types. The ordinary mode of casting is superseded, and the letters are cut out of a hard and durable metal, by means of powerful pressure and the use of steel dies.

A hitherto unknown race of people has, it is said, been discovered in the interior of Africa. They occupy the kingdom of Bari. They are black in colour, and very tall, but destitute of the usual negro features.

Another H.B.—The London correspondent of the *Liverpool Albion* speaks of a noble and unaccountable H.B., who is always drawing his own caricature, and then burlesquing that.

[library stamp]

The Metropolis.

Health of London during the Week.—The 895 deaths registered in the week exhibit a satisfactory decrease of 68 on the weekly average of five springs. The mortality from the zymotic or epidemic class of diseases continues to fall, the deaths in last week having been 209—those in the preceding week 233; the average is 198. Scarlatina has now declined rather below the average, and numbers 29 fatal cases. Typhus, which during the previous 13 weeks ranged from 33 to 46, was fatal in the last week to only 23, an unusually small number for this disease, and hardly exceeding one-half of the average. Small-pox, also, is fatal to few at the present time; the weekly numbers during last *month* were respectively 12, 6, 8, 6 whilst the average is 21. The mortality from hooping-cough declines, though it is still above the average. Measles appears on the increase, and has last week nearly doubled the average, which is 21 deaths. The deaths from diarrhœa and dysentery were 19; the average of *the season is 10*. Cholera is slightly increasing, for though one death forms the weekly average of former springs, the fatal cases registered during the 1st four weeks have been 3, 1, 5, 9. Of the last nine cases, five occured in public institutions, namely, *two in the Dreadnought Hospital*, one in the Holborn union, one in the Chelsea, and another in the Battersea workhouse. Both bronchitis and pneumonia grow less fatal, though the former is still above the average, while the latter is below it. A woman, in the Leather-market, sub-district, Bermondsey, died at 54 years of age of "bowel complaint and debility, hastened by want of sufficient nourishment, no application having been made to the parish authorities." A boy of two months, at Somers Town was "found dead in bed, suffocated from inhaling impure air." A woman of 52 years died from "vomiting blood, caused by excitement." Inquests were held on the above three cases. A man of 36 years died "suddenly after illness, probably from intemperance, but the cause of death is not attested either by coroner or medical man. The mean reading of the barometer was above 30 in. on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday. The mean of the week was 29.978. The thermometer was highest on Thursday, when it reached 74 deg. 9 min.; the mean of the same day was 64 deg. 3 min. The mean of the week was 60 deg. 3 min. On Thursday the mean temperature was higher than the average of the same day in seven years by 7 deg. 4 min., though it was below it on the first two days of the week. The mean of the week exceeded the average by 1 deg. 3 min.

Accident on the River Lea.—Two Lives Lost.—On Sunday evening an accident occurred on the river Lea, near Clapton, by which two young men lost their lives. It appears that six young men all of whom are employed at Perry's *Gazette* office, in the city, engaged a small boat at the Jolly Anglers, adjoining the river Lea, for the purpose of fishing. They had not proceeded far, when by some accident, which is at present unexplained, the boat upset, and they were all immersed into the water. Two of them succeeded in clinging to the boat until assistance was rendered, two were drowned, and the other two swam to the shore. The names of the unfortunate youths who lost their lives are, Benjamin Oliver, of Murray-street, Hoxton, and Charles Sanderson, residing in the neighbourhood of Ball's-pond.

Mysterious Death of a Young Female.—An inquest was held on Wednesday before Mr. Wakley jun.,—by adjournment—at the Lord Hill public-house. Paddington, on the body of Margaret Fitzgerald, aged twenty-four years, who died from injuries she received under the following circumstances.—On the first meeting of the jury it was stated that the deceased was a milliner, and resided in Lisson-grove. On Friday evening, the 25th ult., she left home for the purpose of visiting some friends in Paddington, and on the following morning she was seen by a police-constable in Maida-hill disputing with a cabman about his fare, and directly afterwards she was lying upon the ground in a state of insensibility. She was removed to the surgery of Mr. Gurwood, where she died in a few hours afterwards. The inquest was adjourned, to enable the police to produce the cabman; and on the jury reassembling on Wednesday, John Cantling was examined. He said that on Saturday morning, the 26th ult., he took up the deceased in the Haymarket; she appeared as if she had been drinking, and desired him to drive her to Oxford-street. On arriving there she said she wanted to go to the Edgware-road, and he accordingly drove her to that place. She then directed him to drive to one street and then to another, refusing to give the number of the house where she lived. He stopped near Maida-hill, and again asked her where she lived, but she refused to tell him. He drove on, for the purpose of taking her to the station-house, when he felt a jerk in the cab, and on turning round saw the cab door open, and the deceased lying upon the road. She was quite insensible, and he assisted in removing her to Mr. Gurwood's, where he left her.—Mr. Stevenson, surgeon at Mr. Gurwood's, said the deceased had a bruise on the left knee, and also under the left ear. She was brought in soon after ten o'clock, and she died about half-past three the same afternoon. He had made a *post mortem* examination of the body, and discovered a simple fracture of the skull, which had caused death.—Verdict: "That the deceased died of a fracture from the skull, but whether she jumped from the cab, or fell, there was no evidence to prove."

Fatal Steam-boat Accident.—An inquest was held at St. Martin's Workhouse, on Wednesday, before Mr. Bedford, on the body of C. Chipps, aged forty-six, who was drowned at the Hungerford Steam-boat Pier. William Moody, the pierman, said that on Tuesday, the 29th ult., the Sunflower, river steamer, came alongside the pier for the purpose of disembarking passengers. He put the stage across from the pier to the boat for the passengers to get out safely, but as usual a great many jumped from the boat on to the pier. Amongst these was the deceased, who in jumping fell backwards into the water, and immediately sank. His body was not found until Saturday last. It was a very dangerous, but yet a very common practice for the passengers to leap ashore, even before the boat stopped, and it was wonderful that many more accidents did not happen. Verdict:—"Accidental death."

Steam-boat Explosion off the Custom-house.—On Wednesday morning, at a quarter past ten o'clock, the Waterman steamer, No. 8, left the pier, at Fishmonger's Hall, for Woolwich, with a good freight of passengers, and immediately afterwards an explosion took place, followed by volumes of smoke, steam, and dust, from the gangway of the engine-room. The engineer and stoker rushed on deck, and the greatest alarm prevailed amongst the passengers and crew. The vessel was making great way at the time. The engine-room proved to be on fire, and as the engines continued to operate, the vessel was steered to the north shore, and run aground off the Custom-house pier. Boats put off from the stairs, and the Dr ad, Woolwich steamer, immediately went alongside Waterman 8, and the passengers were landed without injury, but the engineer and stoker were much scalded, and they were conveyed to St. Thomas's Hospital. The explosion, it is stated, arose from some defect in the boiler. The fire was extinguished almost immediately after the vessel ran ashore.

The Provinces.

The Murder of the Policeman at Bristol.—We understand that the Home Secretary has issued an order to the Commander-in-Chief, directing, for the ends of justice, the recall from Ceylon of the two men of the 15th Regiment, M'Farlane and Daly, against whom a verdict of wilful murder was returned at the inquest recently held on the body of John Pyno, a police constable of this city.—*Bristol Mirror.*

The Charge of Housebreaking at Leeds.—On Monday, William Burns, Benjamin Wooller, and Mary Lucas, the three persons who had been apprehended on the 27th of May, charged with having stolen a quantity of silver plate and gold coin from the house of Mrs. Musgrave, in Park-square, Leeds, during the hours of divine service in the forenoon of that day, were again brought up for examination. Some evidence was given which went far towards identifying the two men as the parties who were seen on the premises at the time of the robbery, and also to prove that the woman was the wife of the man who called himself Kaye, who was last week committed for a burglary in the house of Mr. B. Gill, stonemason, of Leeds, on the 26th May. After several witnesses had been examined, the prisoners were further remanded.

Burglary.—Mr. Munyard's house, Terry's Lodge, Ash, was broken into on the night of the 1st inst., by five men. Mr. and Mrs. Munyard were awakened about eleven o'clock by hearing the glass of their window rattling in their room. They got up, and found the burglars were attempting to enter their bedroom by means of a ladder. Mr. Munyard, being a powerful man, collared two of the thieves, and struck a third, but the others overpowered and seriously injured him. They made Mrs. Munyard, who is far advanced in pregnancy, accompany them over the house, and point out the articles of value. It is said they were in the house two hours, and, in addition to £12 in cash, they stole all the plate.

Wales.

Fatal Coach Accident.—Last week an accident attended with loss of life occurred to the Cardigan mail coach on its journey from Carmarthen to Cardigan, when a short distance beyond Newcastle Emlyn, at a place called Pomprengwyddon. When the coach left for Newcastle Emlyn, two persons, Mr. Morgan Jenkins, a respectable draper residing at Cardigan, and his daughter were the only inside passengers. When near the post-office, a drunken man got up behind, and refusing to go down or pay his fare, the coachman, William Evans, endeavoured to get him off by a pretty free use of the whip. Eventually, when near the old turnpike gate, the man got off, and commenced running after the coach, catching hold of it behind. The coachman went down to make him let go his hold, which having succeeded in doing, he again took his seat on the box, whipped the horses so as to get away from the man, and then looked back. This occured as the coach was going down a steep hill, and while the coachman was looking back the coach ran up against a wall at the side of the road, and was upset. The outside passengers were all thrown off, but were not materially injured. Mr. Jenkins, who, as it has been stated, was inside, cried out for assistance, and as soon as the outside passengers got up, the coachman and another man proceeded to extricate him, but could not until the coach was righted, and this having been done, he was taken out and placed with his back against the hedge, but it was found he was dead. An inquest was held, and the jury returned the following special verdict: "That the deceased, Morgan Jenkins, being a person subject to fits, accidentally died in consequence of the overturning of the Cardigan mail, and that the evidence does not satisfy the jury that the coachman was in a fit state to be entrusted with the lives of persons, and that there was a great want of care in not using the drag on the hill on which the accident occurred."

Death of a Poacher.—On the evening of the 1st inst, a party of three persons, whom a fourth joined on the road, left Welshpool for the purpose of netting in the river Verniew, a rapid and dangerous one, near the village of Meifod. Shortly after midnight, while pursuing their illegal amusement, one of the party, named Robert Davies, aged twenty-four, whose parents reside in Welshpool, was suddenly missed by his companions, the first intimation of his fate being the floating of his hat down the stream. The immediate cause of the catastrophe is not known, for not a sound was heard by his fellow-poachers. The body was found some hours afterwards.

The Britannia Bridge.—On or about the 20th of June is the period spoken of as a probable time when the floating of the tube may be expected to come off. A party of Jack tars from the Sailors' Home, Liverpool, have reached the locality, and are barracked on the banks of the Menai, and these will be under the direction of Captain Claxton, to whom the arduous task of floating the tubes has been confided. The scientific world looks forward to this grand operation with much interest, not unmixed with anxiety, but yet with confidence; and it is expected that numbers will personally satisfy them selves of the success of this certainly Herculean task. *North Wales Chronicle.*

Ireland.

Dublin, Saturday, June 2.—The Harvest.—Potato Crop.—"The potato," says the *Leinster Express*, "the last sheet-anchor of our struggling hopes, seems determined to retrieve its character." The *Newry Telegraph* says:—"In this neighbourhood there has not been, so far as we have heard, any appearance of taint on any tubers hitherto examined." The *Dublin Mercantile Advertiser*, as the result of vigilant inquiry, declares that there has been no well-ascertained case of disease, and that "the alarm is yet totally groundless." The only positive case mentioned is one by the *Freeman's Journal*, of three new potatoes, taken from among some exposed for sale in the Dublin market, the place of their growth unknown, but likely to have been imported, but which are pronounced to be distinctly affected with the disease that prevailed in 1846.

The following gratifying letter has been addressed to the editor of the *Dublin Evening Post*, by Mr. Allman, Professor of Botany:—

"30, Trinity College, May 31, 1849.

"My dear Sir,—The more careful examination which I have just given to the case of suspected potato disease fully bears out the opinion I formed at first sight in your office, namely, that it is not an example of the disease. The plants are certainly injured, and I feel convinced will never bring their tubers to perfection; but I have no hesitation in considering the specimens examined as free from the peculiar specific affection which has now for many years laid waste our potato crops, and whose repeated recurrence must convince the most sanguine that no reliance ought any longer to be placed on a vegetable so eminently precarious."

"Believe me, very faithfully yours,

"George J. Allman."

The State Prisoners.—Decision of the Government.—I have learned that a letter has been this day received from Sir Lucius O'Brein, now in London, announcing that the decision of the Cabinet, on the case of the State prisoners, has been officially communicated to him. The sentence pronounced at Clonmel, on Messrs. Smith O'Brien, Meagher, M'Manus, and O'Donoghue, has been commuted to transportation for life, and Van Diemen's Land will be their destination. It is stated that a first-class transport-ship, the Australasia, is now fitting up at Portsmouth, for the conveyance of convicts to that settlement. She is expected in Kingstown harbour in three or four weeks, to embark 300 ordinary convicts from Ireland; and it is understood that the state prisoners will proceed to Van Diemen's Land by this vessel. As directions have been given to fit up five separate cabins, it is considered likely that another State prisoner, probably Mr. John Martin, now under sentence of transportation, will be sent out by the same vessel. —*Morning Chronicle.*

Increase of Destitution.—There are some parts of Ulster in which considerable distress has prevailed all through the famine. In Donegal, which more resembles the south or west than the northern counties generally, there is great destitution. The *Ballyshannon Herald* states that the poor in that locality are in "the most wretched state of starvation," and that they stand in need of a rate in aid. The *Northern Standard* gives an account of the increasing destitution in Monaghan, where the gentry are unable to sustain the charitable institutions. The southern and western journals repeat the same melancholy tale of want and misery.

The *Tipperary Vindicator* has fresh accounts of the clearance system, and, on the other hand, of the voluntary surrender of land, either for the purpose of emigration, or to qualify small holders to obtain out-door relief. During this week fifty families have been evicted in the parish of Clonrush, county of Tipperary.

The state of things in the Ennis union continues as bad as ever. The guardians are in debt to the amount of £17,500 sterling, and about one half of the population of the union are receiving in-door and out-door relief. Such a state of things in an Irish union is truly miserable. The guardians have applied to the poor-law commissioners to help them. They calculate that in this union of 200,000 statute acres there has been a depopulation to the extent of 12,240 souls.

County of Limerick Election. — The election for a representative, in the room of Mr. Smith O'Brien, took place yesterday in the Court-house of Limerick. In consequence of the retirement of Mr. Fitzgerald, Mr. Samuel Dickson was returned without opposition. His policy is, "measures, not men."

Lord Wallscourt died at Paris on the 27th ultimo, of Asiatic cholera.

Lord Glengall has 1,500 acres of land in the vicinity of Cahir, for which he formerly received £3 an acre. He proposed recently to a Scotchman with capital to take the tract, and he was offered by the Scotchman only 15s. an acre for it.

Mayoralty of Dublin.—Mr. John Reynolds, the M.P. for the city, is a candidate for the mayoralty of Dublin. It appears that some of the liberal party in the corporation are extremely anxious to elect Alderman Kinahan, a member of the conservative party. It is supposed that the Queen will come to Ireland next year, and there would be a chance of the Mayor of Dublin being made a baronet, an honour of which some persons say Mr. Reynolds is most ambitious. There was a long discussion yesterday in the corporation upon the whole subject, in which Mr. Reynolds made a speech, for the purpose of damaging Alderman Kinahan's pretensions. The hon. gentleman avowed himself a friend to Universal Suffrage, and the repeal of the union. The contest for the mayoralty is likely to cause much interest.—*Daily News.*

The mail communication with England is to be changed. The evening mail will be despatched from here two hours later than at present, so that afternoon letters will be sent round to Liverpool with the first delivery of letters the next morning. The morning mail for London will be despatched as usual. These changes will take place after the 20th inst.

The Rev. William Higgin, Dean of Limerick, and of Ardfert and Aghadoe, is appointed to the bishopric of the united dioceses, vacant by the death of the Hon. and Right Rev. Edmund Knox, D.D.

The Toomevara Evictions.—These evictions have caused a great sensation here. At first the public were incredulous, because the account in the popular prints are often as overcharged as those in the interest of the ascendancy party. But it appears that there was no exaggeration in the horrible details which were forwarded to you. It is said, in defence of Mr. Massey Dawson, that the ejected persons were tenants of middlemen, who did not pay the rents due to the reverend proprietor. But the *Tipperary Vindicator* sets forth facts to show that a number of the tenants driven out by Mr. Massey Dawson were hard working and industrious persons. Copies of receipts are exhibited in the handwriting of Mr. Tevers Wilson, the agent of the Rev. Massey Dawson, proving the fact that rents had been paid in October last, but the amount paid does not appear. The *Evening Post*, of last night, contrasts the conduct pursued at Toomevara with what was done on the estates of Sir Charles Coote, where a portion of the middlemen were ejected, for non-payment of rent, but the industrious under-tenants allowed to remain.

Monday, June 4.—Cholera.—The correspondent of the *Daily News* states that the cholera has been in Dublin for several days, and very bad cases of it have occurred. The fact has been kept concealed from the public, in order to prevent needless alarm a policy which is of a very dubious utility. It has appeared on both sides of the river, and has been worst in the low situations, as has always been remarked of it. There is much alarm felt about it, in consequence of so many respectable persons having fallen victims to it at Limerick and elsewhere. In Kerry it has been very bad. The parish priest of Dingle and several of his best parishioners have died by it. On going through a long list of respectable names of persons dead from cholera, I find that, with scarcely an exception, they were either old or very young persons.

Poor-law Rating. — The very unequal rating in different electoral districts of the same union is now become very remarkable, according as employment is given or withheld on drainage, land improvement, and farm labour. In the union of Limerick, Cappermore has a ten shilling rate, whilst Doon has but two and Patrick's Well three shillings in the pound. In the Nenagh union the rates varies from sixpence to five shillings.

The Land.—The *Limerick Chronicle* asserts that 'in the county of Clare 10,000 acres of land, arable and pasture, may be had for only the payment of the poor-rate from one to five years."

The Clearance System.—At the meeting of the Limerick board of guardians, on Saturday, a letter was read from the Poor-law Commissioners relative to the eviction of seventy-five persons at Donoughmore, contrary to the act, no notice having been served on the relieving officer. An immediate inquiry was ordered, with a view to a prosecution for felony, if it should be found that legal notice had not been given.

The Irish Banks.—The last return of the circulation of the Irish banks show a further contraction of £89,000.

The Harvest.—The *Northern Whig* states that some cases have occurred in Antrim, Down, and the neighbouring counties, where potatoes are extensively planted, which "leave little doubt that we are again threatened, to some extent, with a recurrence of the disease; but the instances are not very numerous, fortunately, so far." The *Galway Mercury* builds its hope of revival of the country upon the safety of the potato crop. However, in that western county there is a great breadth of other crops, proving that "the efforts of the peasantry must have been almost superhuman in putting down, amid all their privations, such extensive sowings this year." That journal adds—"For years past there have not been witnessed finer crops than those now growing throughout a district of ten miles round Galway."

"NOTES FROM THE WEST."

Tuesday.—Under the above head, an intelligent writer in the *Newry Telegraph* continues his sketches of the condition of the province of Connaught:—

"In my last paper I observed that a retributive Providence was punishing the parties that had contributed to the poverty and degradation of these countries. The heartless and improvident proprietor has to pay up by rack-rates what he formerly took away as rack-rents, and is made to support the poor he helped to impoverish. The bigot priest, who lived upon the superstition of the people, feels his system of the dark ages unsuitable for the age of light, and is frowned upon as the adherent of a sinking and hopeless cause. As equity prevails, the fox-hunting, card-playing aristocrat is made to suffer, and as light prevails the men of beads and crosses, and relics, are deserted. Both are paying the penalty of former misdeeds, and the spirit of the age will certainly overthrow them.

"I fear you will not believe me when I state a few facts concerning the social state of the country. One union boasts of a staff of paupers to the amount of 27,000. The Union of Ballina has on out and in-door relief not less at present than 32,000. A gentleman writes me from another place, 'We have 19,000 on out-door relief, and 2,000 in the workhouse—21,000 in all, and our union £15,000 in debt, and an execution this moment in the house for £90.' The High Sheriff of the county is——missing. So is the county treasurer. Society is thoroughly dissolved, and the government, even in the administration of their relief, do not know whom to trust or employ. Strangers have to come in to support the people, and strangers have to administer the support. The righteousness which 'exalts a nation,' teaching mutual dependence, and leading to the discharge of respective duties, is wanting. The material with which the government have to build is bad, and no matter how benevolent their designs or careful their construction, the fabric crumbles again and again among their hands. In the midst of this dreary state of things evictions go forward, and if the poor things do not clear off as soon as ordered they are denied relief. Wherever God has designed they shall live, it is clear the proprietors do not design that they should encumber their property; so they drive them off in hordes to the fever shed, the workhouse, or America. On the road from Ballycastle to Killala I counted from one eminence thirty-seven unroofed houses. The number of these is rapidly increasing."

The Cholera.—Within the last few days there have been several fatal cases in and around the metropolis, the mortality, however, being almost wholly confined to the lowest classes, the residents of the courts and lanes, which are rarely free from disease of some type or other. It is also reported that the pestilence has again broken out in the Queen's Royals, now lying encamped in the Phœnix-park. The Barracks in Ship-street have been fitted up as a temporary hospital for the reception of military patients.

Wednesday, June 6.—The State Prisoners.—Reply of the Lord Lieutenant.—Yesterday, the deputation appointed to present the memorial to the Lord-Lieutenant on behalf of the state prisoners waited on his Excellency at the Vice-Regal Lodge, Phœnix Park. Amongst the gentlemen who formed the deputation were the Lord Mayor of Dublin, the Mayors of Cork, Limerick, and Waterford, Sir Colman O'Loghlen, Bart., Mr. Butt, Q. C., Mr. W. V. Leslie Foster, &c. His Excellency returned the following reply to the memorial:—"My Lord Mayor and Gentlemen.—From the moment when the sentence of the law was pronounced upon the prisoners on whose behalf you have addressed me, I have felt bound to give the most anxious consideration to the unhappy condition in which they were placed, so far as I could pay regard to their condition consistently with the obligations imposed on me in the exercise of those powers and prerogatives of the Crown with which I am invested. I have felt deeply concerned for the unfortunate situation of men whose lives are forfeited to the offended laws of their country, but an imperative duty compels me to look to the nature and character of the crime of which they have been convicted—to the circumstances preceding and attending it, and above all, to the consequences which might have resulted from its temporary success. I cannot diregard matters unfortunately too notorious; the disturbance of the public peace—the dislocation of society for many weeks throughout an extensive district—the armed opposition to the constituted authorities of the realm—the serious loss of life among the poor, misguided followers of the prisoners—the utter havoc which seemed, for a brief time, impending over many parts of the country from their wild and desperate proceedings—their avowed rebellion and treason against her Majesty, and her rights to the Crown and sovereignty of Ireland. I fully appreciate the motives of humanity which have prompted this appeal, but in reply to it I have at present only to assure you that the government, in the performance of its duty, can have no other desire than that justice should be adminis tered without any severity beyond that which the interest of society demands."

The *Freeman's Journal* of this morning contains the following:—"Yesterday, Mr. Marquis, the governor of Richmond Bridewell, received a notification from the Lord-Lieutenant that the sentence of death which had been passed on the state prisoners, Messrs. Smith O'Brien, Thomas Francis Meagher, Terence Bellew M'Manus, and Patrick O'Donohoe, had been commuted to transportation for life. Up to a late hour yesterday evening the governor had not received any notice for the removal of the state prisoners from the gaol, although rumours were afloat through town that they had either been removed, or were about to be removed, to a steamer, which was said to be in readiness at Kingstown to receive them."

Increase of Destitution.—Out-door Relief.—The guardians of the Fermoy Union, by a majority of 13 to 6, have determined to apply to the Poor-law Commissioners for a sealed order, authorising them to grant out-door relief for two months, under the second section of the Poor Law Act. Already out-door relief is given, in certain cases, under the first section. The number now receiving in-door relief in the workhouse of Fermoy is 4,929; and those receiving out-door relief amount to 7,591; total, 12,520. It was stated by some of the guardians, that destitution had latterly increased to such an extent, that four thousand more would require relief, being a total of 16,500 out of a population of about 90,000. The Earl of Mountcashel vigorously and perseveringly opposed a further extension of out-door relief, and moved an amendment that increased workhouse accommodation should be provided. His lordship remarked at length upon the abuses of the out-door relief system, and stated that "the landlords would be compelled, where they did not get their rents, and where the people were all to be indiscriminately supported, to eject the holders of land—to thin down the small farms and make large farms of them. If that system were carried out, he should commence doing it him elf in self-defence. They do not (continued the noble earl) calculate what the result of that system would be; and he believed that the entire of Ireland would be in a very short time, much sooner than they imagined, and themselves included, be involved in one general insolvency." The amendment of Lord Mountcashel, however, was rejected by a majority of two to one; and it is remarkable that his son, Lord Kilworth, voted with the majority against him. Lord Mountcashel, however, read a formal protest against out door relief. In accounting for the great mortality in the workhouse, he attributed it to the "too good food given to the paupers," after destitution outside. The expense of this luxurious feeding, for each pauper, is exactly sixteen-pence a week!

The Cholera.—There have been since yesterday several cases of cholera reported in the city and suburbs, one or two of which terminated fatally. A competent medical authority gives it as his opinion, founded upon considerable experience, that the present pestilence is of a much more malignant type than that of 1832, but that it is scarcely, if at all, epidemic; and that, although the disease has been hovering about the metropolis for a period of six weeks, the numbers attacked have been comparatively few. If not taken in time death is in four cases out of five the inevitable result, as the collapsed stage immediately follows the first symptoms, and the recovery is then all but hopeless. By the adoption of timely precautions, on the contrary, dangerous consequences have been almost invariably averted.

THE CHOLERA.

Keynsham, Somerset.—A correspondent says:—The painful feelings existing at Keynsham, in consequence of the breaking out of the cholera in that village, have been greatly increased owing to a dispute which the vicar, the Rev. G. R. Harding, has originated with the board of guardians. It would seem that the reverend gentleman having taken umbrage at what he conceived to be a slight in his name not being put upon the sanitary committee, not only refused to bury the corpses of the poor people until a peremptory order for his doing so was served upon him by the bishop, but he has since insisted on an inquest being held upon some of the bodies, contending that the guardians had not taken sufficient care to prevent the extension of the disease, and that a medical staff had not been provided for that purpose.

It would seem that upon the first breaking out of the epidemic a resident guardian was appointed to act in the nature of a committee, with power to associate any other parties with him, and in pursuance of that power he obtained the aid of two physicians, who were remunerated for their services, and who joined with him in making a perfect examination of the houses in the parish, a proceeding which occupied four days. At the end of this time it was not deemed advisable to continue the paid assistance of the medical gentleman, and a committee was formed, a member of which was a retired surgeon. The vicar subsequently applied to be placed on this committee, but it being understood that he had imputed to that body a falsification of the returns of cases, the chairman refused to act with him, and his name was not added, a circumstance which is believed to have given great offence.

The vicar then refused to bury any corpses, and put himself in communication with the coroner, Mr. Uphill, with a view to induce that officer to hold inquests upon the bodies. A great deal of feeling and alarm was excited by these proceedings, many of the parishioners considering the inquiry wholly uncalled for, an dall of them regarding the detention of the choleraic corpses above ground as highly dangerous to the public health. An application was consequently made to the Bishop of Bath and Wells, and his lordship, with great promptitude wrote to the vicar, peremptorily ordering him to bury the body, and to offer any explanation he might have to make subsequently. In consequence of this interments took place on Saturday night.

On Monday, Mr. Uphill, the coroner, arrived, and held an inquest on the body of a young woman, named Louisa Long. It appeared from the evidence adduced, that the deceased was one of about fifty inmates of the Keynsham union workhouse, who at the time when the cholera first broke out in that establishment, became so much alarmed as to leave the house, and place themselves upon the list of out-door paupers. After quitting the union she went to reside with some poor persons named Godward, who resided in a small and ill-ventilated dwelling, in a portion of the parish which is known as Swan River. There seemed to be nothing particular the matter with the deceased until the evening of Whit-Sunday, when at about eight o'clock she was taken ill with a relaxed state of the bowels, but did not complain of any pain. The woman of the house, Mrs. Godward, went that night to Mr. Edwards, medical-officer of the union, to inform him what was the matter with Long, and that gentleman immediately prescribed a mixture and powder for her relief. The medicine was given to her, but as, at about half-past five o'clock the following morning, the unfortunate young woman became worse, Mrs. Godward again went to Mr. Edwards to inform him of her condition, and he went down to the house almost immediately to see her, and found her in a state of collapse. He used the treatment which he considered best, and ordered brandy and arrow-root, seeing her himself two or three times in the course of the day. The disease, however, obtained the mastery, and at about half-past four o'clock in the afternoon, the young woman expired.

The examinations in reference to the cause of death, and the treatment pursued, extended to a considerable length; but Mr. Edwards gave it unhesitatingly as his his belief that the deceased had died from malignant cholera, which he had little doubt had been produced by her leaving the workhouse, where she had been living upon full diet, and going to reside in ill-ventilated premises where probably she was half-starved.

The jury ultimately returned a special verdict, "That the deceased, Louisa Long, died from cholera, produced by the visitation of God; but, at the same time, the jury are of opinion that the state of disease prevailing at Keynsham requires additional medical assistance, and they also recommend the owners of the cottages at Swan River to adopt some means to improve the ventilation."

Our correspondent adds, that "as far as the evidence went, the medical officer of the parish appeared to have fulfilled his duties with promptness and consideration."—*Daily News.*

Inquests on the Bodies of Two Seamen. — On Tuesday Mr. Baker held inquests on the bodies of two seamen, who died from the effects of Asiatic cholera on board ship. The first inquest was held at the King of Prussia, Cartwright-street, Smithfield, on the body of William Tyler, aged twenty-nine years. It appeared that the deceased was cook on board the barque Alterhop, on a voyage from this port to the West Indies and back. The deceased frequently complained of pain in his stomach, and was ill nearly all the voyage. On the ship returning home, the crew experienced very bad weather, and the men were lashed to the pumps to prevent their being washed overboard. The deceased was very ill at this time, and was compelled to work at the pumps for upwards of forty hours at a time. The cargo was thrown overboard to save the ship, and all the clothes belonging to the crew were washed into the sea. The ship after some difficulty arrived in Cork, a complete wreck, and the men were all paid off. The deceased and several of the crew embarked on board another vessel, bound for London. On Thursday, the 30th ult., the deceased was attacked with all the symptoms of cholera. He became worse, and died on Saturday night last, when the ship was near Gravesend. Mr. Brown, a surgeon, said he had no doubt that the deceased died from Asiatic cholera. Verdict in accordance with this evidence.—The second inquest was held at the Cannon public-house, Cannon-street, St. George's-in-the-East, on the body of Joseph Cresay, aged 52 years, a seaman on board the ship Wigram, lying in the London Docks. On Saturday morning last, the deceased was attacked with cramp all over his body, while engaged on board the ship. He was removed to his berth, and, when Mr. Brown attended, he said it was a decided case of Asiatic cholera. The usual remedies were applied, but the deceased died shortly afterwards. Verdict—"Death from Asiatic cholera."

New League.—The men of Manchester have now set to work in earnest for the promotion of Parliamentary and Financial Reform. An association on the basis of the late League has been formed; and upwards of 200 of the leading reformers of this and other counties have given in their adhesion to the new movement. The agitation will be conducted by means of public meetings, the efforts of the press, and the extensive enfranchisement of 40s. freeholders; and its primary object is the attainment of the points included in Mr. Hume's motion for Parliamentary Reform. It is evident from the do-nothing disposition of the present government that vigorous measures must be resorted to by the people, for reducing the burdens of taxation, and securing to those who bear the greatest portion of that burden a share in the control of the national expenditure. If anything were wanting to prove the necessity for such measures, we could point to two recent instances in parliament for the purpose. On Thursday week Lord John Russell, with Sir George Grey and other ministeralists, voted against the Ballot. On a previous evening, when Mr. D'Eyncourt brought in his bill for abridging the duration of parliament even to five years, Lord John Russell opposed the motion in another finality speech, in which he distinctly says:—"My opinion, based upon my experience of this House since the passing of the Reform Bill, is, that there is that general attention paid to the wishes of constituencies which you would desire—that public opinion has fully as much influence as it ought to have on the votes and transactions of members of this House." These instances, coupled with the fact of the national expenditure, with all its abuses, being obstinately kept up to the maximum point, afford a sufficient justification for the people combining to obtain another important advance upon the Reform Bill. —*Preston Guardian.*

THE WEATHER AND THE CROPS.

Wales.—The late favourable change in the weather has materially improved the appearance of the growing crops. Hay will be in abundance, and every other agricultural produce, to judge from present prospects, far beyond an average return.

Tipperary.—The country never looked so magnificent. All the crops, owing to the extremely favourable weather that has prevailed, are looking in first-rate condition, and promise, with the blessing of God, an abundant harvest. Seeing that some failure in the potato was noticed in the papers, we caused a strict inquiry to be made, and we are delighted to say that we have the assurance of experienced agriculturists, and gentlemen who, from personal inspection, are made aware of the fact, that no disease whatever has as yet made its appearance in this neighbourhood.—*Tipperary Free Press.*

South Staffordshire. — The past month has been remarkable for two changes in the weather, and consequently in vegetation. Cold and ungenial, with severe frosts for the first fortnight, spring did not appear to be coming; indeed, we had less grass, seeds, and green crop generally than in April, or even in March; and now all is changed—grass and seeds in abundance—the appearance of the country rich and luxuriant in the extreme. The wheat crop, of which we may now pronounce an opinion, looks well, and is most promising on the light soils, especially where they are properly cultivated. There are some complaints of want of plant upon the cold and stronger soils. This may be accounted for when we call to mind the very unsatisfactory manner in which the seed was deposited in the ground, and the sharp frosts experienced in the early part of the present month. Still, the improvement of the wheat crop upon all lands is most remarkable; and, speaking generally of this district, we may express ourselves well satisfied as to the prospect for abundance in the coming harvest. The spring crops are also looking well, and as the turnip crop was generally good, we may expect, especially with the early sown, a good yield of barley. The winter or Russian beans look well, are now in blossom, and will be ready to cut, in most instances, before any other grain. The present year's clip of wool is more than usually heavy, and good in quality—thanks again to the turnip crop and the increasing use of oil cake and corn. Prices of agricultural produce remain without much change, and so must our opinion of the future, except that we should just ask the alarmist to consider one or two facts—that in spite of the present unsettled and unsatisfactory state of Europe, and the importation of foreign grain and flour to this extent, in the last three months—wheat 1,474,422 quarters, flour 1,216,549 cwt.—we can sell home-grown wheat in our local markets, of average quality, at 50s. per imperial quarter. Prices of other produce, as beef and mutton, are nearly the same; if any change, in favour of the seller. The demand for wool is slack, and prices rather lower. We must not close this report without a remark upon one particular branch of husbandry in which this district is lamentably deficient—we allude to the state of the fallows, the preparation of the land intended for root crops. The rain, which has in such an extraordinary degree promoted vegetation, has also retarded the operations necessary for making clean fallows. Is not this, then, a good reason for the farmer to seize every opportunity afforded by the weather to work his land intended for fallow, whatever be the time of the year? If the autumn season be neglected, and the spring prove wet, delay must be the consequence, and may be fatal. The course of husbandry pursued in this district is, generally speaking, the four-course system. The foundation of success is the fallow. If this be foul, the prejudicial effect is seen and felt in every crop throughout the course. The remedy is plain: every exertion should be made to work down and clean in the autumn the land intended for root-crops. The ridge system, with wide intervals, should be more generally adopted, the advantages being so manifest, viz., economy in the application of manures, facility for continuing the operation of fallowing the land, and thus remedying the evils of a wet and unpropitious season, and in addition, giving to the growing crop the benefit (how little understood!) of inter-cultivation. We will only add, by way of parenthesis, that if considerable exertion be not used in weeding the wheat crop, much loss will be occasioned by such neglect in the ensuing harvest. We may appear to have dwelt upon these points in rather a tedious and unreasonable manner; but we must plead guilty to the conviction that he is the real farmer's friend, who, by useful suggestion, enables him to overcome some of the many practical difficulties which beset his path in the daily pursuit of his noble occupation. —*Staffordshire Advertiser*, June 2.

Yorkshire.—After three or four very sultry days, the weather underwent a very satisfactory change on Monday night. Shortly after dusk repeated peals of thunder, accompanied with lightning, passed over Leeds, and various other parts of the West Riding, which was followed by heavy rain, that continued at intervals nearly the whole of Tuesday. The rain has fallen very opportunely for the grain, potato, and turnip crops, and will prove highly serviceable to most other descriptions of produce. The prospects of a good harvest begin to look very encouraging.

The Orchards.—The *Hereford Journal* says:—"We do not remember a season when the apple blossom was more abundant; indeed the orchards and gardens present remarkable luxuriance in this respect, but we cannot give so very favourable an account of the pear trees. Wall fruit, too, has suffered severely from the ungenial season. What is of most importance, the rains have advanced both the grain and green crops, and potatoes are coming on very kindly. Appearances here are as favourable as we ever recollect, and this is the more gratifying, as the cold and the excessive damp in the substratum of the ground had caused an apprehension in the minds of some country people that the plant would not make its appearance at all. From the Taunton and Devonshire papers we gather that the above description applies pretty accurately to those districts."

Destructive Hail-storm.—At an early hour on Monday, Brighton was visited by one of the most furious and destructive hail-storms which has occured in this vicinity for some time. It began about a quarter past six o'clock, and lasted half an hour; but the mischief that it did in that short time was very great. The hailstones were many of them the size of a walnut; they were very hard—pieces of hard ice, in fact, with jagged sharp edges. A credible person told the writer that two which he picked up, covered the palm of his hand. It is fortunate that the storm occurred so early in the morning, before many persons were out, for the shower was like a furious pelting with shingle, and it would have been dangerous for man or beast to have been out in it. The hail was preceded by thunder and lightning. In the western part of the town the storm was furious indeed, and, as might be expected from the large size of the stones, great damage was done to windows, especially skylights and conservatories. The conservatories and green-houses belonging to Baron Goldsmid at the Wick were broken almost to pieces, some thousands of panes of glass being smashed. The conservatories and green-houses of his neighbour, Bright Smith, Esq., were likewise much injured; about 400 pieces of glass being broken. Six thousand were broken in the green-houses opposite Montpellier-crescent. The green-house at Mrs. Steer's Silwood-house, had about 3,000 panes of glass broken. Mr. Dobie, Western Cottages, had about 4,000 panes in all destroyed in his conservatories. In one of these a quantity of grapes were growing in marketable condition. About 500lbs. of these were spoiled. The selling price was 7s. or 8s. per lb. The property belongs to Sir David Scott; it was not insured. The roof of the conservatory at Hampton Lodge, the residence of Sir Ralph Darling, was at least one half of it destroyed, as was also the skylight at the top of the house. We shall not attempt to give a list of the persons who sustained damage to a lesser and comparatively small amount, suffice it to say that skylights innumerable were smashed, and such was the violence of the storm that in many cases the hailstones after lighting on the window-sills rebounded against and cracked or broke the lower panes of the windows.—*Brighton Guardian.*

London.—Miraculous Escape.—During Tuesday morning the weather was intensely hot, the thermometer rising to upwards of eighty in the shade, with clear bright sunshine, up to half-past two p.m., when suddenly the sky became overcast, and the metropolis was visited by a heavy shower of hail. Some of the hailstones were of an immense size. A few claps of thunder were heard at the same time, followed by a slight shower of rain, when the weather cleared up, and the day became again perfectly fine. In proof of the violence of the storm, the following fact may be stated:—As the prison van was about to start from the yard to the Thames police-court, the man who was opening the gate was suddenly struck down; the vast plankage, to the extent of two feet in diameter and more than twelve feet in height, with bolts and bars attached, was torn to pieces, and the van, with its inmates, had a most miraculous escape. The roof was slightly injured.

The Dover Harbour of Refuge Works.—These works having progressed far enough to cover the entrance of the harbour, the commissioners have decided on deepening the entrance, so that the packets may be enabled to land passengers at all times of the tide, and also that shelter may be afforded to steamers in stormy weather, instead of their being compelled to retreat to the Downs. This undertaking, so important to the interests of Dover, was commenced on the 1st inst.

It is said that the Hungarian leader Kossuth, has appointed his sister general superintendent of the military hospitals, and that she has published an address, calling on all ladies to join her in her work of charity.

DESTRUCTIVE FIRES.

Southwark.—On Monday morning, about eight o'clock, a fire broke out on the premises belonging to Mr. Cropper, a mattress-manufacturer, in John-street, Southwark. The fire originated from some unknown cause in the lower floor of the workshop, and very few minutes elapsed before every portion of the building became enveloped in flames. The engines were quickly on the spot, and a plentiful supply of water was procured, but it was not until Mr. Cropper's premises were burned out and their contents consumed, that the fire could be subdued. Unfortunately, Mr. Cropper was not insured.

Newington.—A fire broke out on Monday morning upon the premises belonging to Mr. W. Pates, a builder, &c., at No. 1, Monmouth-place, Newington. The flames originated in one of the workshops, and before assistance could arrive the flames had extended to the stock-in-trade in the open yard, and afterwards to another workshop belonging to the same party. The engines were soon at the spot, but the flames continued to rage until the whole of Mr. Pates's workshops and stock-in-trade were destroyed. The total loss is very considerable, but Mr. Pates was insured in the Phœnix fire-office.

Bermondsey. — On Wednesday morning a fire broke out on the premises belonging to Mr. Claggett, an oil and Italian warehouseman, at 152, Bermondsey-street. The flames were first discovered by Miss Claggett, who whilst lying in bed was nearly suffocated with smoke. She aroused the other inmates, Mr. Charles Claggett, her brother, and the shop boy. A fire-escape was taken to the house, and having been raised to the second floor, Miss Claggett was placed in the canvass bagging, when the carriage of the escape shot outwards and the top ladder struck the front wall with such force as to break the machine, and the unfortunate lady fell upon the ground a distance of nearly thirty feet. Tanner, the escape man, to save his own life was obliged to jump from the second floor, and he was severely hurt in consequence. Mr. Thomas Claggett succeeded in getting out of one of the back windows, and in so doing he was frightfully cut over the body. The conductor again raised his escape, and he succeeded in saving the lives of Mr. Charles Claggett and the shop boy. The engines quickly attended, but the parish engineer had barely entered the shop when a fearful explosion of gunpowder took place, which blew the front of the shop out. The fire was extinguished in time to prevent its extending beyond the shop. Miss Claggett was removed to Guy's Hospital, where she remains without the slightest prospect of recovery. How the disaster occurred has not been ascertained. Mr. Claggett, it seems, passed through the shop at twelve o'clock at night, when everything appeared perfectly safe and free from fire.

Loss of Life.—On Thursday morning, between twelve and one o'clock, the metropolis was visited with two dreadful fires. The first happened at No. 7, St. James's-place, Hackney-road, in the occupation of Mr. Duncan, a solicitor. The flames, when first perceived, were raging in the first floor back, used as a bedroom, and in which a child of Mr. Duncan's was in bed asleep. The mother of the infant, on going to the apartment, found the whole of the bed furniture in a general blaze, and so fiercely did the fire progress that she could not enter the room to rescue the child. The flames spread with such swiftness, that before the inmates of the upper rooms became sensible of the outbreak, the fire had extended to the stairs. By dint of great exertion they, however, succeeded in gaining the road. When the firemen arrived there, they found the whole building, from the base to the roof, enveloped in the flames. The fire continued its ravages until every room in the premises was burned out, the costly furniture, and wearing apparel of the owners and servants, reduced to ashes. The total loss must be considerable, and, unfortunately, Mr. Duncan was not insured. The body of Mr. Duncan's child has not been discovered, but from the state of the premises, there is no doubt that it has been burned to a cinder.—Whilst the above fire was raging, an alarm was given that another had occurred near the Britannia Saloon, Hoxton Old Town. The firemen there found the premises of Mr. Summers, boot manufacturer, in the High-street, in flames. The constable who was on duty succeeded in alarming the residents. Plenty of water having been procured, the engines were set to work, and the houses on either side were saved from devastation. The premises of Mr. Summers continued to burn with the greatest vehemence until past two o'clock, and it was not until almost every part of the building was destroyed, the stock-in-trade reduced to ruins, and the furniture of the various occupiers burned, that the conflagration could be extinguished. Mr. Summers was partially insured in the Sun Fire Office.

Incendiary Fire near Nottingham.—A fire of a most disastrous nature was discovered on the 1st instant, in the King's Meadows, near Nottingham. The property destroyed consisted of a stack of hay, containing about fifty tons, the property of a highly respectable firm, the Messrs. Fothergill, slaters and bone merchants. The fire was discovered at three o'clock in the afternoon by some persons who were passing at the time. Assistance was speedily procured, and the Nottingham fire-engines sent for. After the most indefatigable exertions the flames were extinguished, but not before the great mass of the property was destroyed. There appears not the least doubt that the fire was caused by an incendiary.

Incendiary Fire near Sheerness. — At half-past ten o'clock on Friday night, the 1st instant, two stacks of straw were discovered on fire in the farm-yard of Borstall-hall, near Minster, in the occupation of Mr. J. Farrell. A stack of wheat had been threshed out on the previous day by a threshing machine. Several labourers had been engaged on the farm during some days previous to the fire, but at present the incendiary has not been discovered. The farm labourers, assisted by Lieutenant Gale, R.N., and his men, from the coast-guard station at East-end, with other neighbours, succeeded (by using blankets, sacks, &c., well wetted) in preventing the thatched roofs of the barns, outhouses, &c., from being ignited. Mr. Farrell, jun., came to the Royal Dockyard for assistance, and the Captain-Superintendent, D. Price, ordered two fire engines to be sent up immediately, with all the available force of the police then on duty. There was no other property than the straw destroyed. A strong feeling was shown against the threshing-machines, and the labourers were very reluctant to save them from the fire. This was, however, effected, much to the discomfiture of a few of the labourers, who were quietly looking on.

A Fire Occured at Shawdon Hall, the seat of W. Pawson, Esq., on Sunday last. About ten o'clock, a light was seen in the stables, which immediately burst through the windows, and ascended to the floor above, on which were several combustible materials. The keys not being found, the groom broke through the doors, and at great risk to himself succeeded in bringing out the horses. By this time the alarm bell was rung, and the neighbouring tenantry and villagers of Glanton quickly assembled and rendered assistance. The coach-house doors were broken open and the carriages drawn out. An express was sent off to Alnwick for the fire engines, but before it arrived the fire had in a great measure been got under. The fire is believed to have originated from a drunken servant smoking in the stable, the ashes of his pipe having ignited the hay.

Poulton, near Fleetwood.—An inquest was held at this place on Wednesday, on view of the bodies of four women, who lost their lives under the following shocking circumstances. A widow, named Kirkham, with four daughters and two nieces, occupied a shop in Church-street, near the market-place. Between two and three o'clock on Tuesday morning, one of the daughters (Agnes) perceiving a smell of burning, went down stairs to ascertain the cause, when she found that flames were issuing from an unoccupied room on the second story. She immediately alarmed the family, and some of the neighbours were attracted to the spot by her cries. Before a ladder could be raised to the house, she threw herself from the window on the third story, and being caught by a man below, happily escaped with but little injury. The premises were entered with as little delay as possible, when one of the daughters and two nieces were found dead, having been suffocated whilst endeavouring to escape from the flames. Another daughter expired in the course of the day. Mrs. Kirkman lies in an insensible state, and fears are entertained that she will not long survive. It would appear that the sufferers, on being aroused, stayed to dress themselves, and thus perished. The names of the deceased are as follows:—Elizabeth Kirkham, aged 47; Sarah Kirkham, 30; Eleanor Ball, 14; and Margaret Ball, aged 6. The cause of the fire is at present enveloped in mystery.

The late Rear-Admiral Sir Nisbet J. Willoughby, K.C.B.—This officer was a singular instance of an individual escaping the most imminent dangers. He was thrice shipwrecked; once upset in a boat, and kept himself afloat on an oar for nineteen hours. He was two years in slavery at Tripoli, and escaped by beating out the brains of two Moors, and swimming on board a French ship in the bay, lying two miles from the shore. He entered the harbour of the Isle of France with a single frigate, and cut out two rich ships, though opposed by sixty pieces of cannon. He was eleven times wounded with balls, three with splinters, and was cut in every part of his body with sabres and tomahawks; his face was disfigured by explosions of gunpowder, and he lost an eye and had part of his neck and jaw shot away. When unemployed he joined the Russian army under Kutuzoff, and was made a colonel; he was thrice wounded, and at Leipzig had his right arm shattered by a cannon shot. He had pensions from the Russian government. Among sailors in his day he was called "The Immortal;" at any rate, he seems to have possessed more lives than a cat, with all the courage of a British lion.

Imperial Parliament.

MONDAY, June 4.

HOUSE OF LORDS.—The House resumed its sittings on Monday.

During the recess the reporters' gallery has been temporarily advanced six feet further into the House, but as far as the experiment could be judged of from the generally conversational nature of the proceedings of that evening, the object for which it was intended, that of giving additional facilities for hearing, has not been attained. Further experience is, however, required before definitely pronouncing an opinion. In the meantime, we incline to the belief that its structural acoustic defects are incurable.

Navigation Laws.—In consequence of a request made by Lord Redesdale, on the part of the Bishop of Oxford, who was absent from indisposition, the Marquis of Lansdowne consented to postpone the third reading of the Navigation Bill till this day week.

The order of the day for the third reading this day was then discharged, and the Lords were ordered to be summoned for next Tuesday.

National Education.—Lord Stanley asked whether the correspondence between the Committee of the Council on Education and the heads of the Church had been brought to a conclusion, and whether the terms which had been agreed on were such as to remove the objections of the members of the Established Church.

The Marquis of Lansdowne was sorry that the correspondence had not yet terminated. He thought it proper that the correspondence should be brought to a conclusion before it was presented to parliament, but, if he should find that any considerable time was likely to elapse before it was finished, he would lay it upon the table as far as it had gone, as he was most anxious that the attention of both Houses of Parliament should be called to the subject.

After some discussion on a petition from certain shareholders in the Caledonian Railway, who complained of the misapplication of the funds of the society,

Lord Portman moved the second reading of the Landlord and Tenant Bill, which was agreed to on a division, when the numbers were—

Content 9
Non-content 5
Majority.. .. .. —4

Their lordships then adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Mr. Hume, whose health appeared to be completely restored, took his usual seat, amidst loud cheering. The hon. gentleman gave notice of bringing the affairs of Ceylon and British Guiana before the House on that day week, in the event of a motion for going into committee of supply being then made.

Parliamentary Reform.—Mr. F. O'Connor begged to ask the hon. member for Montrose, whether he would bring forward his motion relative to parliamentary reform on Tuesday. His object in putting the question was this: if the hon. member for Montrose would submit his motion on Tuesday, then he (Mr. F. O'Connor) was authorised to withdraw the amendment of which notice had been given by the hon. member for Rochdale (Mr. S. Crawford), who was at present labouring under indisposition. That amendment was to the effect that the suffrage be extended to every adult male of legal age, of sound mind, and not disqualified by conviction of crime, and who has resided for a fixed period, and been duly registered in one locality.

Mr. Hume said it was his full intention to submit his motion for parliamentary reform on the following day. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. F. O'Connor.—Then I beg leave to withdraw the amendment of the hon. member for Rochdale.

Mr. Bright.—Is the hon. member for Rochdale indisposed?

Mr. F. O'Connor.—I said he was.

Encumbered Irish Estates.—The order of the day for the third reading of the Encumbered Estates (Ireland) Bill having been read,

Sir L. O'Brien moved by way of amendment that the bill be read a third time that day six months.

The speakers in favour of the latter proposition were Colonel Dunne (the seconder), Mr. Grogan, Mr. Napier, and Mr. Henley.

Mr. Sadleir gave a qualified assent to the provisions of the bill, but expressed his intention of voting for the third reading.

After some observations from the Solicitor-General the House divided, when the amendment was negatived by a majority of 105, the numbers 12 to 117, and the bill was read a third time and passed.

Supply.—The House then resolved itself into committee of supply on the Miscellaneous Estimates, when various votes were agreed to without comment, that for Polish Refugees originating a discussion, but no other result. On the question of the Dissenters' Regium Donum an animated debate arose in opposition to the grant, in which Mr. Wyld, Mr. C. Lushington, Mr. Bright, Mr. W. J. Fox, Mr. Kershaw, and Mr. J. B. Smith took part, the first-named hon. member moving its rejection. Lord J. Russell defended the grant, stating that the government could give no list of the recipients because they did not know who they were. On a division the amendment was negatived by a majority of 19, the numbers 33 to 52. After various other votes had been agreed to, the Chairman reported progress, and the House resumed.

The report of supply of Friday last was then brought up, the votes discussed being those for the Military Knights of Windsor, the Ecclesiastical Commission, that for education, and the grant for the National Gallery.

The Protection of Pupils (Scotland), and the Sheep-stealers (Ireland) Bills, were read a second time, and ordered to be committed.

Australian Colonies.—Mr. Hawes then moved for leave to bring in a bill for the better government of the Australian colonies, which, he said, was framed with a view of meeting the wishes of the colonists, and the proposed scheme of government for those colonies was based, as far as possible, upon that of the existing constitution of New South Wales. One object of the bill was to make Port Philip a distinct colony, to be called Victoria, and the new constitution would be conferred upon all the Australian colonies, New South Wales, South Australia, Van Diemen's Land, Victoria, and Western Australia, upon the latter colony conditionally, provided it fulfilled the necessary condition of supporting its own government. Another great object of the bill was to create a federal union of all the colonies, for certain defined general purposes. Each colony was to be empowered to elect certain members of a general assembly for the whole union, whose legislative functions were to be limited to objects which affected the collective interests of all the colonies. Mr. Hawes explained the details of the measure, the constitution and powers of the assemblies, which would possess a control over the civil lists, which they might alter by bill, except the salaries of the governor and judges.

Mr. Gladstone was friendly to the general purposes of the bill, which promised a material advance in our colonial legislation. Mr. Hawes had, however, overlooked a principal difficulty, namely, the franchise, which was essential to the proper working of the new colonial system. As regarded district councils, although he agreed that it would be well if something of the kind could be organised; yet, as the principle had been tried in New South Wales, and had failed, these councils would not possess much favour with the other colonies. Another important question was, whether the legislative bodies should consist of a single or a double chamber. The evidence of the public sentiment in the colonies was scanty, but it was not unfavourable to a double Chamber, and he feared it would be difficult to work a federal legislature except upon the principle of a double chamber, which form had been recommended by the experience of the United States.

After observations from Mr. V. Smith, Mr. M'Gregor, and Mr. E. Denison,

Lord J. Russell suggested that the discussion should be reserved until the bill was regularly under consideration. With regard to the question whether the legislative bodies in the colonies should consist of one assembly, or a council and an assembly, Mr. Gladstone, he thought, had not allowed sufficient weight to the objection urged in New South Wales that the advantage of a council must depend upon the elements of which it was composed; that in the United States the senate consisted of men of high and independent character, whereas in the colonies the members would be mere nominees of the crown, relieving the executive from the responsibility of the veto. He thought the question, therefore, depended much upon the state of society, and that the double chambers had not worked well in all our American colonies.

Captain Harris was of opinion that the measure was premature.

Leave was given to bring in the bill.

Sir W. Somerville obtained leave to bring in, and brought in, a bill to abolish the gaol of Newgate, in Dublin, and for other purposes, and another bill to make temporary provision relating to the collection of county cess in Ireland.

The House adjourned at a quarter to twelve o'clock.

TUESDAY, June 5.

HOUSE OF LORDS.—Lord Brougham presented several petitions in favour of the Bankrupt Law Consolidation Bill, and called the attention of the House to the benefits which the mercantile community would derive from the measure should it become a law. After entering at length into certain alterations in the details of the bill, and passing a high eulogium on Mr. Miller, of the Bankruptcy Court, who had drawn up the digest on which it was founded, the noble and learned lord moved the recommittal of the bill.

After some observations from Lords Campbell and Wharncliffe, the bill was recommitted.

The Marquis of Lansdowne expressed himself much pleased at the alterations proposed by Lord Brougham, and promised to use every effort in order to secure the passing of so important a measure during the present session.

The report on the Leasehold Tenure of Land (Ireland) Bill was then brought up, and the third reading fixed for Friday.

Their lordships then adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Parliamentary Reform.—Mr. Hume moved for leave to bring in a bill to amend the national representation, by extending the elective franchise to all householders, and by enacting that votes shall be taken by ballot, that the duration of parliaments shall not exceed three years, and that the proportion of representatives to the population be rendered more equal. He premised that the reform act, although it had produced great benefit, had fallen far short of what he had expected from the measure, and it was because of its shortcoming that he proposed to carry it further, by enactments which, so far from being fraught with danger, as alleged, would tend to realise an object of the utmost moment, in which all classes, from the crown to the peasant, were interested, namely, good government, by improving its main instrument, the representation of the people in parliament. No proposition of his or of any other man's could make parliament perfect; but everything which tended to improve it should be supported by the House, and, above all, by the ministry. How could they lay their heads on their pillows, and think that they had discharged their duty to their country in the terms of the oath which they had taken, or were acting as honest and faithful councillors to the crown, when they reflected on the discontent which they allowed to exist among the people to such an extent as but recently to threaten alarming consequences? But it was a hard matter to push reform. He remembered Mr. Canning declaring he would stand against all reform, and would defend Gatton and Old Sarum, because England had been more prosperous than continental states—as if Gatton and Sarum were the reasons for her greater prosperity. But that time had gone by—Gatton and Old Sarum, and all the other rotten boroughs, to the credit of this country, were removed for ever. After the passing of the Reform Bill, England stood at the head of popular representation. The condition of affairs had, however, changed since then, and we were now called on to consider whether we should not adapt ourselves to altered circumstances. His hon. friend (Mr. T. Duncombe), whose return to the House he rejoiced at, in 1847 brought in a bill to repeal the ratepaying clauses of the Reform Bill, but the noble lord at the head of the government stated that he should like to have a little more experience of their working before he consented to the introduction of that measure. He said at the same time, however, that he was not against reform, but was for a gradual progressive reform. What had been the noble lord's progress towards reform since? (Hear.) He gave notice of a motion to bring in a bill to repeal the cesspaying clauses as far as regarded the assessed taxes—it was put off from day to day, week to week, month to month, till at last it finished in "the slaughter of the innocents" at the end of the session. ("Hear, hear," and a laugh.) Next there was notice of a bill for better registration in Ireland. No part of the empire required it more. A more discreditable state of representation could not be imagined than existed in that country, and yet the noble lord and his colleagues—such earnest reformers were they—allowed that bill to drop also. (Hear, hear.) Their desire for reform, then, was a makebelieve and a mockery. He called it so because, if they were honest and intent on reform, they would make any small reforms as an advance, but he believed all their promises of reform were delusive, and he had made up his mind that the noble lord and his colleagues—those ardent and useful reformers—had come to the conclusion to stand fast and do nothing. (Hear, hear.) England, instead of being at the top, was now at the bottom of the ladder of representation—that liberty which had been pronounced to be dangerous for Englishmen to possess had been conferred on Frenchmen, and on almost every other continental power. (Derisive cheers and laughter.) Yes, he heard their cheering. What did they gather from it—what had been the result? (Loud cries of "Hear," from the Ministerial and Opposition benches.) The result they had all witnessed arose from the gross misconduct of their rulers, who, having agreed to reform, had then attempted by force to set it aside. He appealed to any one who had marked the progress of events in France whether any injury had arisen from Universal Suffrage? (Hear, hear.) Had not the people returned a large majority of a most conservative character? and had they not shown—unaccustomed as they were to the exercise of representative privileges—that they could make a fair and honest use of them? (Hear, hear.) Yes, hon. gentlemen on the opposite side might cheer as they pleased; and the noble lord (Lord J. Russell), he observed, was the first to cheer; but what was there to raise it? If the noble lord looked to Russia or Vienna—where his two dear and darling Sovereigns were, who had betrayed their trust and broken their promises—he would see that it was not the people who should be blamed for any excesses, but those who misgoverned them—the people were honest; by the by, he no longer heard it argued that it was unsafe to trust the people of this country with power; and, feeling that they were honest, it was with the greatest regret he saw the present condition of England; for in former days the Sovereign could trust in her subjects, and the military were maintained for the protection of the country from foreign enemies. Then their whole military establishments in the united kingdom was only 25,000 or 26,000 men, and so late as 1816 Lord Palmerston declared he wanted no military for the internal protection of the country. In 1792 Pitt, the arch traitor of reform, reduced his establishment to 25,000. There was not one barrack in the kingdom except in a garrison town, and the whole expenditure was limited to £12,000,000 or £13,000,000 annually. What was the difference now? There were barracks in or near every town. Last year they spent £100,000 to build one at Preston; another large sum was expended for the same purpose at Manchester. The whole country, in fact, was starred with barracks. They had batteries of cannon now, of which they had not one in 1792. For what purpose were all these men and artillery? To frighten the people. Let not the government try to conceal the fact. Instead of reposing on the affections of the people, they were taking measures not to yield to them their constitutional rights, and to coerce them to a system which was unjust. (Hear, hear.) Was such a state of things to continue? Instead of the country bristling with bayonets, and instead of barracks and planted artillery, they should give the people their rights as the true way of maintaining peace. All these preparations arose from the fear of reform. He did not deny that there were unfortunately ardent and wild reformers, but that was no reason why the House should not calmly and quietly consider, while peace existed, what had led to such a state of things, and to the enormous military establishments which were weighing down the country, and beneath which it must eventually sink. In 1792 the whole taxation was £16,000,000; £9,000,000 for the national debt, £6,000,000 for civil and military expenditure, and £1,000,000 for the sinking fund. In 1848 we had in round numbers £60,000,000 of taxation. Let any one think of 4,000,000 of fellow-subjects in a state of destitution in the workhouses of England, Ireland, and Scotland, and compare with it this expenditure of £325,000 on the gold lace and trumpery of the court. Why, the plainness of "Windsor grey" in former days did more credit to the sovereign of England than all the tawdry gold lace and trumpery stuffs they had taken in imitation of Napoleon. (Hear, hear.) It would be more to the honour of the sovereign to see the simplicity which prevailed again in vogue. Last week he dined with an old friend of his—the Lord Mayor. (A laugh.) There were also present the ambassador from Constantinople and an English ambassador about to proceed to the United States, and he declared that if he wanted to put his finger on the cloth of their coats he could not do it for the gold lace upon them. (A laugh.) When he was a boy he recollected going to see the state trumpeters, on state occasions, in their golden coats. They were a sort of show. And, really, to look at our ambassadors—at our Court—ay, and at our Ministers, they were just as bad. (A laugh.) Look at the tawdry manner in which they went to court. (Laughter, in which Lord J. Russell and several members of the government joined.) Was that the state in which they should appear when their fellow-countrymen were dying in scores every day? and should the public money be spent on such useless, vain, and gaudy trumpery? ("Hear, hear," and laughter.) He often thought £60,000 not enough for the Sovereign,—liberal as he knew her to be to all charities; but the rest of the money so uselessly spent would go far to relieve distress. He did not expect any Minister to step forward in reforming those abuses; they all required not a gentle but a strong pressure to make them stir at all. Other countries had set them an example. In Belgium the government granted reform as soon as they heard of the events of February in France. Every Minister and every public officer at once reduced his establishment one-third. The Duke of Wurtemburgh, when he succeeded his father, who was over head and ears in debt, immediately reduced every establishment one-half, and in that way won the love and admiration of his subjects. After admitting that great differences of opinion existed among his own friends as to the exact kind of suffrage they would give, Mr. Hume proceeded to show the inequalities and injustice of the present franchise. Taking the population of England, Wales, and Scotland, in round numbers, at about 20,000,000, he found by a return dated June 5, 1841, that the number of adult males was 8,000,000. There were 3,500,000 houses; the number of electors at present registered was 820,000. In Ireland there was no registry such as would allow an exact estimate to be formed; but so far as he had succeeded in attempting to ascertain what was the extent of the suffrage there he could not make out that there were 40,000 electors to the 8,000,000 of population in Ireland. The proportion then of electors to non-electors was as one to five and a half. What was now the state of matters? The population had increased, and the proportion of electors to non-electors was now nearly one to ten. Where had that increase taken place? In the manufacturing towns, not in the agricultural districts. While the population had been increasing at the rate of 34 per cent. in the manufacturing districts, it had increased only 7½ per cent. in the agricultural districts. The disparity, therefore, between the former proportion of electors to non-electors, namely, one in five and a half, and the present proportion, had occurred in the manufacturing districts. Every year the disproportion was increasing between the electors and the non-electors, and in those districts where it made itself observed, namely, in the manufacturing districts, intelligence would be found wide-spread, schools everywhere existed, associations had been formed and meetings were held which were calculated so to train the people as to fit and prepare them for the exercise of those rights to which they would be admitted, if the changes he proposed were introduced. The aristocracy of the country were far more interested than any other part of the community in having this question effectually set at rest. For what was the value of their property unless it could be employed, if it were necessary to have bayonets to protect them against their nearest neighbour? In no disturbance which had taken place had the working classes shown any disposition to plunder or appropriate the property of their superiors—(hear, hear)—there were innumerable examples which showed that such was contrary to their disposition; and was it to such men that rights enjoyed by the Lazzaroni of Italy ought to be refused? In what did the inequality of representation consist? Instituting a comparison between great and small constituencies, he found that there were sixteen boroughs containing 2,917,000 persons, being one-half of the borough population of England. Those boroughs, including Birmingham, Bristol, and other great towns, returned thirty-two members. He would compare them with twenty-three English boroughs which, with only 100,000, returned as many members as the other sixteen boroughs. The great towns, then, containing half the borough population, had one member to 88,000 inhabitants, and twenty-three small towns, returning an equal number of members, had one member to every 10,000 inhabitants. Would any one say that this was a fair participation in the elective franchise? It was not a favour, but as a constitutional right—natural right was out of the question—that he sought an extension of the suffrage under the circumstances he had stated. While those small boroughs returned one member for every 10,000 persons, and the other boroughs returned only one member for every 88,000. 23,000 in Scotland sent nine members, and the remainder of the population was divided among the other members. The Chartists had created an alarm which had been turned to account as a ground for making military preparations; though it seemed as if the government had become alarmed for nothing at all. But what in the end would be the consequence of allowing matters to remain as he had described them, to allow the disparity between electors and non-electors to go on increasing? The inequalities that existed ought to be put an end to. There were eighty-three kinds of franchise or qualification, from potwallopers to ten-pounders—an expensive absurdity which none but an English House of Commons would suffer to exist. Then there were twenty-eight English boroughs, each returning two members, which had less than 500 registered electors, while there were fifteen other boroughs returning two members also which had more than 5,000 registered electors. Boroughs which could only reckon 600 electors among them returned as many members as the city of London. It was impossible to make absurdity appear more absurd, yet country gentlemen, and those who were connected with the aristocracy, seemed to flatter themselves that nobody knew anything of these facts. If they were to oppose his motion, he trusted they would take the manly course of Canning, and say "We want no more reform at all." It was also of great importance to bring out the fact that the majority of the House of Commons represented less than 1-8th of the population of the country. Of the 658 members, 330 represented 3,127,000; 328 represented 23,800,000. The majority included all the small boroughs, and those under the influence of landlords; the minority, the greater proportion of the counties and large cities. Such was a description of the people's house. Who would not say that there was not fallacy on the face of such a system? The aristocracy had one house to themselves, but had both Houses at their disposal under the existing mode of management. Democratic principles had advanced throughout the world. Were any men so blind as to suppose the march of those principles was to be stopped by the perpetuation of so great an injustice? One in every eight only was within the pale of the constitution. All the rest were excluded as unworthy. There was a certain class in that House which was regarded as particularly attentive to the interests of the community, and especially anxious to be esteemed as the friends of the working classes, standing forward to advocate measures for their relief, whether by the institution of baths and washhouses, or of ragged schools, or the improvement of dwelling-houses. Yet those very parties refused to the working man that which would elevate him as a member of the community, which would elevate his social state, which would do ten times more than any other measure to advance his welfare. What ought to be done was to extend political rights to the working man, so that he should be able to take his part in directing and controlling public affairs, in putting down bribery and corruption and extravagance; but any gewgaw which might be held up to catch popular applause was preferable to such a measure. At a meeting of working men held in Exeter-hall with reference to a reward which had been offered for the best essay on the question how best the Sabbath-day could be sanctified, Lord Ashley, in acknowledging a vote of thanks, bore testimony to the extraordinary talent and good conduct of the working men. He attributed the stability of the throne to the steadiness, piety, and intelligence of those men; and yet Lord Ashley would not come forward and say he would give them the elective franchise. After examining the different bases upon which the suffrage might be extended, whence it appeared that the result of population or of property would be the same, Mr. Hume pronounced in favour of the former, as the easiest, and thus concluded, a speech of about two hours' duration. Seeing the causes of discontent which existed, seeing the desire that prevailed among the working classes to acquire the suffrage, seeing that it was just and right before God and man that they should have it, for there was no principle which could be stated to justify their exclusion, he would implore the House coolly and calmly to enter on the consideration of the measures he proposed for their adoption. If Ministers were dissatisfied with the terms in which he proposed to carry out his object, let them prepare a measure such as they might deem less open to objection; if they thought there was anything dangerous in his proposition, let it be removed; or anything defective, let it be supplied.

Mr. H. Berkeley, in seconding the motion, took occasion to censure some of the occupants of the Treasury bench for having voted against his motion for the ballot on a recent occasion. The Secretary for the Home Department, who voted for the Ballot in 1842, voted against it in 1849; that was to say, he voted white on one occasion, and black on another. The right hon. gentleman was bound to apologise for one of those votes. Surely the right hon. baronet would not assert that intimidation, corruption, and bribery had ceased to exist since 1842. The Master of the Mint made an emphatic speech for the Ballot in 1842, but when he was asked to vote for it the other night, he replied that he was sitting on the Treasury bench, and he did not think that the people were as desirous of having the Ballot as they had been formerly. (A laugh.) As to the noble lord at the head of the government, the people were more disposed to look up to the right hon. baronet the member for Tamworth as a leader than to him. He hoped that the noble lord would not again pursue the disreputable course which he followed lately with regard to the Ballot. (A laugh.) Of course, when he used the word "disreputable" he applied it in a political sense. The noble lord ought, at least, to attempt to offer some measure against the present motion, for, as to a majority to negative it, he was sure of that, supported as he was by the Tories.

Sir G. Grey said, this identical motion had been brought before the House last session by Mr. Hume, and after two nights' discussion had been rejected by a large majority; and, after a year's experience, he was ready to put the question upon the contrast, which Mr. Hume had invited, between the internal condition of this country and that of the continent of Europe. Mr. Hume had said that Universal Suffrage and other changes on the continent had led to happy results; but he (Sir G. Grey) declined to accept those results in conjunction with such an armed force as existed in Paris, and with other incidents found to be the invariable accompaniments of great political changes. He asked Mr. Hume, who professed to go "slowly and surely," whether this change was to be considered as an instalment only, and whether, upon the forthcoming motion of Mr. O'Connor, he meant to concede two more points of the Charter. Before we gave up the Constitution we now enjoyed, the House, he observed, should know distinctly how far it was proposed to proceed. The propositions of Mr. Hume, and the opinions of those who supported these changes, were vague; the statistics of Mr. Hume were not always correct; the number of adult males was 4,000,000, not 8,000,000. Sir George avowed that he had never held the doctrine of finality; but felt the House dealt with the subject as reasonable men, and not blindly rush upon undefined courses. Mr. Hume had chosen population as the basis of his extension of the suffrage, but he had at the same time repudiated Equal Electoral Districts. Why, then, not prefer property? He had asked whether the House represented the people. The same question might be asked if he stopped short of Mr. O'Connor's scheme. Sir George acknowledged that he believed the House, since the Reform Act, fairly and adequately represented, under the constitution of parliament, the feelings and wishes of the nation, and he urged the House to shun the great danger that would be incurred by entering upon the course recommended by Mr. Hume.

Mr. O'Connor said: If it had not been for the allusion made to him by the right honourable gentleman, it was not his intention to have spoken upon the proposition of the honourable member for Montrose. But as the right honourable gentleman had entertained the House with a political tragedy and farce,—with a French tragedy, and an American farce, he might be permitted to introduce his interlude. (Hear, hear.) When the right honourable gentleman referred to the melancholy transactions which had recently taken place upon the Continent, he appeared to be ignorant of the fact, that the cause of those calamities was the vain attempt of despots and tyrants to stop the mind's progress, and withhold the legitimate rights of the people by brute force. (Hear, hear.) Whereas, by a timely and prudent concession of those legitimate rights, they might have still maintained their positions, but, like other countries, they waited until they were compelled to surrender to fear what they denied to justice. (Hear, hear.) But as the right honourable gentleman had endeavoured to awaken the fears of that House, by reference to those foreign convulsions, he (Mr. O'Connor), would use them as a warning for the future, and tell the House, that the progress of mind in this country was farther advanced in knowledge than in any other country in the world, and what arms and revolutions achieved abroad, that mind would assuredly achieve at home. (Cheers.) But, as the right honourable gentleman had triumphantly referred to the present state of France, he was prepared to join issue with him; and although far-seeing gentlemen may attempt to augur the future from the present, he would ask whether it was possible that a more perfect state of tranquillity could exist, than that which characterised the recent French elections? (Hear, hear.) Well, what did that prove? But that the voice of knowledge had silenced the cannon's roar, and that a warlike people, trained to arms, had now abandoned those arms for the stronger force of mind—(hear, hear)—and were now determined to fight labour's battle in the representative assembly instead of in the field; and although they may be taunted with some men *en blouse*, and two sergeants, sitting in that Assembly, who, he would ask, was so fit to represent labour, and to instruct that House—wholly ignorant of the labour question—as the labourer himself? His (Mr. O'Connor's) greatest attachment to the Charter arose from the hope that it would introduce proper and legitimate instructors into that House—(hear, hear)—and although some presumed that he was about to oppose the motion of the hon. member for Montrose, so far from it he begged to tender him his thanks for marching so far with him and the people on the road of political progress, as by the achievement of political power only could they hope to acquire their social rights. (Hear, hear.) But as he wished that every act of his, and every vote of his, should be susceptible of defence, after the minutest scrutiny, he felt himself bound to point out the incompetency of the proposition of the hon. member to ensure a legitimate representation of labour in parliament. The hon. gentleman omitted two vital points of the People's Charter, namely, "No Property Qualification," and "Payment of Members;" while, without these two points, the other four points would be incomplete, inasmuch as the honest labourer—honoured by his class, intellectual, of good character, and respected in his locality—would not be able to show a qualification of six hundred pounds a-year for a county, or three hundred pounds a-year for a borough; and even if that propertied qualification was done away with, if he was not paid for his services, how could he abandon his profession? (Hear, hear.) Noble lords, and right hon. gentlemen who sat opposite, were paid for taxing him, and why should he not be paid for defending himself? (Hear, hear.) The right hon. gentleman had very triumphantly taunted the hon. member for Montrose with the great discrepancy of opinion that existed upon every single one of his points, and he had called their attention to the fervid and dramatic speech of the hon. and learned member for Reading, delivered last year, upon a similar motion, in which he reminded the House that it was impossible to draw the distinction between the man that holds the house and the house that holds the man, and that the gipsy under his tent might be considered as included in the hon. member's definition. (Hear, hear.) Well, it was because he (Mr. O'Connor) would not multiply those stalking horses of the minister and the opponents of the measure, that he had resolved not to criticise too minutely the distinction between his own proposition and that of the hon. member for Montrose. (Loud cheers.) But, let him ask whether these fine-drawn distinctions would reconcile the millions to the rejection of a measure as to which they were agreed, however those who undertook to represent them may base their opposition upon such a flimsy pretext? (Hear, hear.) But, did they hope successfully to resist the progress of mind in this country? As English loyalty had been boasted in the midst of these continental revolutions, let him explain that they had mistaken quietude, arising from the hope of the mind's triumph, for English loyalty. (Hear, hear.) In this country free discussion was permitted, and however the people may be taunted with ignorance, he boldly asserted that there was not a people on the face of the earth who were better instructed as to their rights, and that reliance upon that instruction, and not upon physical force, was the cause of their boasted loyalty. In other countries, the people were not allowed to meet and discuss their grievances, and in the moment of excitement they betook themselves to arms. In France, with a population of thirty-six millions, there were little more than two hundred thousand voters—whereas, now there are millions, and henceforth her battles will be fought in the National Assembly, and not upon the battlefield. (Hear, hear.) And, however the right hon. gentleman may use the present state of France, as demonstrative of the result of the proposition of the hon. member for Montrose, he appears to have forgotten that the acts of ages of despotism and tyranny cannot be all at once superseded by any better system, and that a time must be allowed for the fervour and excitement by which that change was accomplished to subside, before a new state of things can be organised. (Hear, hear.) But he would ask the noble lord opposite (Lord J. Russell) whether, with a knowledge of the fact that Prussia, a despotism eighteen months ago, having now granted a freer constitution than the English constitution—whether in the face of such a fact, he would attempt to resist the progress of mind in this country? (Hear, hear.) In Prussia they had all but Universal Suffrage, and four years' parliaments, and was not such a jump as that, from unmitigated despotism, a greater constitutional change than the concession of every point in the Charter to the enlightened people of this country, would be? (Hear, hear.) In order to multiply those differences of opinion which exist upon the several points of the People's Charter, the right hon. gentleman had asked him (Mr. O'Connor) for his definition of Manhood Suffrage, and whether he like some others proposed to extend it to females? His answer to the question was No; that he confined it to every man of twenty-one years of age, of sound mind, and untainted with crime. (Hear, hear.) But still relying upon conflicting opinions with regard to his (Mr. O'Connor's) proposition, and that of the hon. member for Montrose, the right hon. baronet has declared that he sees advantages to be gained from my definition of Equal Electoral Districts, while he recognises complication and imperfection in that of the hon. member for Montrose. Well, all he would say upon that point was, that he was happy to have made a convert of the right hon. gentleman to one of his propositions, which inspired him with hope that ere long he would convert him to the whole animal. (Loud cheers and laughter.) The right hon. gentleman would find ample excuse for his conversion from the precedent established upon his vote for the Ballot in 1842, when he sat upon this side of the House, and against the Ballot in 1849, when he sat upon that side of the House. (Cheers and laughter.) Well, he did not use it as a taunt to the right hon. gentleman, as seven years were fixed as the standard of man's mental consistency. But he would remind the hon. baronet and the House, that the progress of mind had reduced their standard from seven years, to seven days; and that whereas in the good old Tory times, seven—yea, seventy years tranquility may be relied upon, as the result of *legislation*, whereas no man, not even the gifted prophet, can foretell the events of seven days in this age of progress. Within the last twenty years that class, to whom you now deny the right of freemen, has been enlisted as the army to fight for what they were taught to look upon as great political changes,—as the means to insure social benefit. Emancipation—Reform—and Free Trade were the three great measures of that time, and dear-bought experience has taught the people that they have not achieved one particle of benefit from any one of those measures. But as sly allusion had been made to the reviled Chartists, he stood there as their representative, and defied the House to say, that even to accomplish their own object they had set Bristol in flames—burnt Nottingham Castle—carried the portrait of their king, amid the cheers of the boasted loyalty of Englishmen, with the executioner represented with the bloody axe prepared to decapitate him, if they refused the noble lord and his friends the Charter, by which they achieved power and dispensed patronage. (Loud cheers.) Now he defied the House, the country, and the world, to charge the Chartists with any such acts of violence to obtain their Charter; and he was there as the representative of that body, to tell the House that he never had been, nor he never would be, any party to a physical revolution, because he saw, and felt convinced, that the mind of the country, if wisely, actively, and judiciously directed, was capable of conquering all that the country required. (Cheers.) And his greatest boast was, that in spite of slander, and in spite of all attempts to seduce the people into a course which would be their ruin, and the triumph of their enemy, he had consistently persevered against fearful opposition, in one resolute line of policy, and as long as life and strength remained he would persevere in the same course, and would only abandon it when his object was achieved, or when he ceased to live. He would not hold a seat in that House upon the condition that he was to give a single vote at variance with his feelings and opinions, although he would not offer any obstruction, but on the contrary would support the proposition of the hon. member for Montrose. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) This he would do for two reasons; firstly, as far as possible to disarm the right hon. gentleman of the charge of discrepancy of opinion; and secondly, because the hon. gentleman stated that his measure was to be considered but as one step—an assurance which gratified him (Mr. O'Connor,) inasmuch as the hon. gentleman explained to the House that, while there were eight millions of male adults, Household Suffrage would but enfranchise three millions and a half of that population, thus leaving four millions and a half—a majority of the whole—unrepresented in that House. He merely mentioned these facts, lest his support of the present motion should be construed into his acceptance of it as a substitute for the six points of the People's Charter. No part of the right hon. gentleman's speech had given him (Mr. O'Connor) greater satisfaction than his expression of joy at the triumph of foreign nations over their despots. But what would England's old allies say, when they read these congratulations in our English press; and what would the English people say, when they found an English minister rejoicing in the acquisition of popular principles abroad, and resisting the same principles at home? (Loud cheers.) He (Mr. O'Connor) had always expressed his opposition to the Ballot with the present standard of franchise. ("Hear, hear," from Lord J. Russell.) Yes, but he voted for that, lest his opposition to it may be urged as further proof of the difference of opinion of those who advocate the four points, and those who advocate the whole of the six points; and he was determined that no factious opposition of his should create discord in the popular ranks. (Cheers.) The noble lord, in his speech delivered at Bristol in 1840—an able speech—adduced excellent arguments against the Ballot with the present franchise. He said,—"The electors are but the trustees of their votes, and if you adopt the Ballot you release them from popular vigilant control, and constitute them the owners, rather than the trustees, of that sacred property." ("Hear, hear," from Lord J. Russell.) Well, but surely if they had a right to exercise that control over the trustees of their property, they have a perfect right to exercise it for themselves without any such control. (Cheers.) It was because he believed that what had been done by physical force in other countries could be done here by moral force that he should advocate the Charter. But the right hon. gentleman, in referring to the hon. gentleman's having presented no petitions on this subject, had furnished him (Mr. O'Connor) with the strongest reason for not proceeding with his own motion that evening. He had presented no petitions upon the question, but he had received applications from nearly every town in England to postpone his motion until they could send up petitions to that House in order to show that they were still determined to persevere. They certainly would not have a monster petition like last year—(a laugh)—but the several members of the boroughs and cities who presented the petitions would have to vouch for the signatures attached to them. There was a mind in this country looking to progress, and he would tell the right hon. gentleman and the noble lord not to hug themselves with the belief that, because foreign countries had made an evil use of the powers that had been conferred upon them, that would be justification for refusing to grant such powers in England. He should vote most cordially for the motion of the hon. gentleman, assuring him, in his own words, that it was but the beginning of the end, and that, even if the motion were carried, it would not prevent him (Mr. O'Connor) from supporting the principles of the Charter, or bringing forward his motion on that subject, as soon as he was backed by the expression of public opinion, which would be conveyed in petitions from all parts of the country, and then he was sanguine enough to hope that the hon. member for Montrose would dismount from his quadruped, and mount his (Mr. O'Connor's) sexiped—(cheers and laughter)—a measure which he never would abandon in that House or on the platform so long as life remained, for, however slow its progress, like the snow-ball, it would continue to increase, until, at last, the whole rational mind of the country would adhere it. (Cheers.)

Col. Thompson was of opinion that the present government at a former period had achieved the most glorious, because the most successful triumph in parliamentary reform with which this country was acquainted, and he trusted that the House of Commons would be enabled once more to advance to victory under their old and distinguished leaders.

Mr. Campbell made a finality speech in favour of the Reform Bill, "Go thus far, but no further," and with respect to the present motion said, that even if it had the sanction of the noble lord at the head of the government, he must meet it with a firm and indignant denial.

Mr. Locke King, in a speech which was interrupted during its delivery by loud cheers, energetically supported the motion, expressing his belief that whether in this year or in the next, another Reform Bill must come, and when it did come it would be productive of the greatest good, by bringing a vast number of men fully fitted for the exercise of the responsibility within the pale of the constitution, and would raise them to their proper rank as freemen and citizens.

Mr. Newdegate followed in opposition to the motion, his main attack being made on the new mode originated at Manchester of enfranchising forty shilling freeholders. He might remind the House that the hon. member for the West Riding (Mr. Cobden) had, in the most emphatic manner, assured them that when the corn laws were repealed, the League, with its organisation for corrupting the constituencies—for it was nothing less than a wholesale system of corruption—(cheers from the Protectionists)—even worse than the old rotten borough system—(renewed cheers)—would be dissolved. He was aware that there was some difference in the tactics now pursued by these gentlemen. There was something too glaring in importing strangers by wholesale into the constituencies. There was some danger that such a system might be met by that House. The system now pursued was to facilitate by companies the purchase of freehold land, but not in the honest and straightforward manner in which the purchase of land was promoted by the land companies established by the hon. member for Nottingham. ("Hear," from Mr. F. O'Connor and laughter.) Some of the hon. gentlemen opposite professed to be great purists when anything like corruption was mentioned, and he (Mr. Newdegate), although he might be called a corrupt Tory, was somewhat irritated at seeing attempts made to disfranchise or swamp constituencies by those who always had the cry of "Purity of election" on their lips. (Hear, hear.) He felt indignant on the part of his constituents, and he thought he should be wanting in his duty to them, if he did not warn the House and the public against the organisation directed by hon. gentlemen opposite.

Mr. Bright gave a counter explanation of the system of enfranchisement referred to by Mr. Newdegate, and observed that it was fortunate for the country, after the avowals of Lord J. Russell and Sir G. Grey, that there was a mode by which industrious and intelligent members of the working-classes could place themselves within the pale of the Constitution. In all civilised nations there was a movement in the direction of a government more under the control of the people, and more in accordance with their interests. The measure proposed by Mr. Hume was consistent with the theory of the Constitution; the existing mode of representation was not consisten with that theory or with the interests of the nation; it excluded masses of the community, qualified by knowledge and moral culture for the franchise, from just privileges and rights. The working classes had made great progress of late years, as was evidenced by the ably-written newspapers and the cheap and moral literature which circulated among them, their energy in seeking employment, and the efforts they made to educate both themselves and their children. (Hear, hear.) There was no doubt that the artisan of 1849 was a different being from the artisan of 1832, and yet in the last-named year his help in the way of petitioning and assembling for carrying the Reform Bill was not despised. (Hear, hear.) If it should be said that the working classes were so vicious that they ought not to be admitted to political power, he could give some striking proofs that the working classes—he spoke of the manufacturing classes, whom they all seem to be afraid of—were not so vicious that they ought to be excluded from their fair share of political power. The hon. member here referred to a report of the commission sent down to Stockport, in which the working classes were described as being persons of great intelligence and industry, avoiding as far as possible dependence on the poor-rate, and availing themselves, when in a state of prosperity, of provident institutions, in order to preserve their savings. He also quoted from a report of the chief constable of Stockport, with the view of showing the peaceable disposition of the working people, and the improbability, on account of their advance in moral knowledge, of their being drawn into insane projects of physical force. He believed that to be the true character of the whole manufacturing population. The hon. member then proceeded to review the circumstances under which the principal measures of reform have been passed, and showed that force, or the fear of civil war, had, in almost all instances, influenced them. Take the agitation of the Anti-Corn Law League; it was not an agitation of force, but of conviction—("Oh, oh")—it was an agitation which did not so much conquer opponents as convert them—("Oh, oh!")—but he right hon. baronet (Sir R. Peel), strong as his convictions had become in 1845, was not able to propose the alteration of the corn law until he saw famine coming upon Ireland; and it required the sacrifice of one of the most potent and able Ministers the country ever had—(hear, hear)—before this boasted "constitution" would permit the people of this nation to purchase their bread freely at the world's market price. (Hear, hear.) Take the question of economy; the House legislated as if there was no British nation—as if tax-paying was unknown; whereas, if the House at all represented the British people, no subject would be so carefully and constantly discussed. (Hear, hear.) Ireland presented another great trial of our "constitution." The noble lord (Lord J. Russell) and the right hon. bart. (Sir R. Peel) must both of them have been aware for years that the laws with regard to land in Ireland were in a most defective and mischievous state; but it was not in the power of the Minister to propose the changes he had proposed, until calamities were imminent or had happened which shut the mouths of the cavillers at every good proposition submitted to the House. (Hear, hear.) He had to wait till half a million of the Queen's subjects were underground, perished in the nineteenth century by a calamity which could only overtake a barbarous or ill-governed nation. (Hear.) He (Mr. Bright) had no respect for a constitution—("Oh!")—or a system or state of parliamentary representation—(hear, hear)—which required civil war menaced in order to get Catholic Emancipation, brickbats to pass the Reform Bill, an insurrection in Jamaica to abolish slavery, a famine to repeal the Corn Laws, half a million of men and families perished of hunger to improve the laws with regard to the tenure of land in Ireland. (Hear, hear.) But, perhaps, the noble lord would say, the system worked well out of doors. From 1836, when the people began to feel that they had been cheated of the influence they expected to acquire by the Reform Bill, there had been an incessant movement in favour of an extension of the suffrage, out of which had come the frightful thing called Chartism (a laugh), not frightful because of the "six points," but because of the passions stirred in the discussion, and the animosities engendered among a population believing themselves excluded from their fair share of political rights. (Hear, hear.) He (Mr. Bright) had seen some of the fruits of that agitation—not an agitation all evil by any means—for whenever the people were stirred up to the contemplation of political questions, there was an admixture, often large, of good. He had seen them at torchlight meetings—(hear, hear);—he had heard of them since in small, and it might be miserable, but not wholly to be despised conspiracies—(an ironical cheer);—he had seen incipient insurrectionary movements—(cheer renewed);—and we all knew that there was a wide-spread discontent among a large and intelligent class, and a hatred of the law which those who sat in that House ought to be the last to encourage. (Hear, hear.) Did the government deny it? Ask the judges—the Attorney-General; go to the prisons now, and you would find not a small number of men incarcerated who had been foolish and wicked to a great extent, but with whom a great many sympathised to no inconsiderable degree. (Hear, hear.) If the Home Secretary was alarmed on the 10th of April last year—unless he was he practised great hypocrisy on the country—it was because he knew that there existed great political discontent, and causes for it. (Hear.) Of the 6,000,000 of adult men in the united kingdom, 5,000,000 were not electors; a very large portion of them were not very much below the members of that House in information upon important subjects; they were men who stood about the hustings at an election and longed to participate in it. (Hear.) The noble lord said, the other night, in the debate on triennial parliaments, that the country had sufficient influence in that House; if he meant by "the country" his own order, what he said was true; but not if he meant what others did, all below the titled class. (Hear.) Look at the composition of the Cabinet; if the House represented the nation, was it likely that the members of the government would all be chosen from one class—that the Cabinet would consist of peers, and relatives of peers, and baronets? (Hear.) Hon. members had been accustomed to this from childhood, and no doubt believed it to be right; the winning side always believed itself in the right—(a laugh);—but there was another side that would win some day, and that was beginning to find out that this was wrong. (Hear, hear.) If the House was a fair representation of the grown-up population of the country, or even of the middle classes, it would be impossible that the Cabinet could be so uniformly composed of one privileged class; the Cabinet was aristocratic and not popular, because the House was aristocratic and not popular. (Hear, hear.) The five-sixths of the population that were excluded from political power and influence in that House—were they a body in whom they had no confidence? What would the country be if they were excluded from everything else? All the virtue, industry, ingenuity, morality, religion of the kingdom, were not to be found in the one-sixth represented in that House. Are your schools to go for nothing, your chapels for nothing, your churches for nothing? Is that great mass of the people which is between pauperism at the bottom and privilege at the top to be considered nothing? And can you conceive that your constitution is good, or that your institutions are worth preserving, if you are afraid that this class, if once admitted, would overturn them? I am not the friend of disorder or of violence, at any time or in any cause. I believe in my conscience that we who advocate the proposition of my hon. friend (Mr. Hume) are truly the conservative party in this House. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) I am satisfied that whatever is valuable in your institutions would be consolidated by the passing of the measure which he proposes for your adoption. (Hear, hear.) Do not think that I am unmindful of the liberty we enjoy. (Hear, hear.) I honour the memory and revere the character of those who have gone before us, and who gained for us the personal and political liberty which we possess. But, in proportion as I honour them, am I anxious that we should not leave the world without having done something to repair and to amend the institutions which have been left to us; and I vote for the measure of my hon. friend on this ground,—that I believe if it became the law of the land we should leave to our children and our posterity the priceless heritage of a renovated and enduring constitution. (Cheers.)

Lord J. Russell paid a tribute to the moderation which had marked the speech of Mr. Hume, the obscurity of whose scheme—for he still had not defined the term "householder"—had been cleared up by Mr. Bright, who, whatever might be the intentions and wishes of Mr. Hume, informed the House that the franchise must be extended to every adult male, and that only the six points of the Charter would content him. In considering the motion Lord John thought it necessary briefly to explain the intentions of those who framed the Reform Bill, which was to amend the defects in the representation in the spirit of the ancient constitution. With regard to the franchise, if the electors were not independent and intelligent the object in view—namely, the good government of the country—would not be secured, and much of the corruption of the unreformed parliament arose from the want of these qualities in the electors. He was of opinion that the country, as a whole, was far better represented by a mixed and varied representation, than if large counties returned only agricultural members, and large cities members who represented manufacturing interests; and that, if the whole country were to be divided into districts, so far from the representation being more complete, it would be less so. Mr. Bright had admitted that the working classes had now the means of buying a franchise; but he (Lord John Russell) repeated that he saw nothing in the Reform Act, or in any opinion he had expressed, that should debar him from adopting any plan by which the base of the suffrage might be w[illegible] in

avour of the working classes. The people of this country, he observed, had no animosity against the aristocracy, which, on the contrary, had a strong hold upon their opinions and affections. The aristocracy of to-day was the democracy of fifty years' ago, and he lamented that, upon such a subject as this, Mr. Bright and his party exhibited a narrowness of mind. He then showed that, in addition to measures of great public utility passed by the reformed Parliament, a large amount of taxation had been taken off, which pressed mainly upon the working classes. With regard to the gist of the motion to admit every male of full age to a vote, he frankly avowed that he objected to the proposition, because, although he gave credit to the great bulk of the working classes for virtue and integrity, and believed that the suffrage might from time to time be enlarged, he thought at present they would be liable to be misled by artful and designing demagogues, and a House so formed would not conduce to the welfare or good government of the country. His lordship thus concluded: So far as I see, there are but three great countries which appear to stand, each according to its constitution, in a firm and unmoved position—the one where is a complete democracy, namely, the United States, where none of the people wish to change their constitution—where it is evidently suited to them; another in the opposite pole, the empire of Russia, where the law is fixed by the sole will of the monarch, but where order is preserved and general security for life and property afforded under the strict means adopted by the supreme authority; the third is the constitutional monarchy of Great Britain—(cheers)—and, so far as I can see, the people of this country are as much attached to the constitutional monarchy as the people of any country have ever been attached to the constitution of their own state. My belief is, that it is the form of government suited to this people. My belief is, that not a balance of forces, but a combination of powers brought about by monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy acting together, produces as much of liberty and happiness, as great a development of talent, as great encouragement in the practice of religious and moral duties, as any constitution the world ever exhibited has produced. My belief is, that if you adopted the scheme of the hon. member for Montrose, as it is explained by the hon. member for Manchester (Mr. Bright), you would risk all these blessings. (Cheers.) I do not think that you, the House of Commons, chosen by Universal Suffrage, in equal or nearly equal districts, would long have peace in this House; and, if you had peace in this House by an overwhelming majority carrying measures of a democratic nature, you could not keep harmony with the other two powers of the state. In framing and proposing the Reform Bill, as I stated at the commencement, what we wished was to adapt the representation of this House to the other powers of the state, and keep it in harmony with the constitution. That object, I think, after seventeen years' trial, we have attained. We have obtained a gradual progress of measures of reform without convulsion, without fear, or risk of bloodshed. If you go on in the same course other measures will be adopted by Parliament, other measures which, being in harmony with the opinions of the people, will pass into law in a constitutional manner, and without interruption to that constitution. I pray you, therefore, in the name of that constitution, not to adopt the measure now before the House, but to give it a decided negative. I believe you will be consulting the interests, and I am firmly convinced you will be consulting the wishes and opinions of the people. (Great cheering.)

Mr. Osborne thought it could not have escaped the observation of the House and would not of the people, that the opposition to the motion had come, with one exception, not from the hereditary enemies of reform on the other side, but from the gentlemen who now occupied the Treasury bench. They had c[?]ined into power on the credit of what had been done by the hon. member for Montrose and those who had been stigmatised as men of narrow and confined minds. It was time that those who expressed so narrow and confined ideas should be thrown over by those whom they stigmatised. The most remarkable speech of the evening was that made from the vicinity of the red box by the hon. member for Cambridge. His whole argument was drawn, like a special constable's, from the 10th of April. The hon. and classical member, when he referred to Aristotle, forgot that Aristotle had been persecuted by the Conservatives of his day for his new doctrines. The hon. member's speech would have been more appropriate on the Miscellaneous Estimates. With respect to the speech of the Secretary for the Home Department, there had, since the days of Julian the Apostate—(laughter)—been no such conversion recorded in history. It was true, he said, that in 1842 he had voted for the Ballot, but he had been converted the other day by the argument of the hon. member for Oldham! Julian the Apostate had assumed the garb of a monk at first, but when he reached the Imperial throne—when he took his place on the Treasury bench of his day, he voted against Christianity. The speech of the noble lord was a melancholy failure. He appealed to the Conservative fears of the old women. Not content with referring to the state of foreign countries, he brought in the subject of the National Debt. In the book on the English constitution—that curious book wherein he said the constitution to which he now appealed had never been fixed—he stated that the national debt had been the great cause of the taxation of the country; and, therefore that if despotism were to be established in England it must begin by destroying the national debt, the people, possibly, being willing to part with their liberties in exchange for a diminished pressure of taxation. How did such views tally with those now expressed by the noble lord? The attempt to terrify those sensitive persons the fundholders was a weak invention of the enemy. The Whig party were notoriously more aristocratic at all times, more anti-liberal in reality than those who avowedly opposed liberal principles. In the words of Swift, they

"Forget the dunghill where they grew,
And think themselves the Lord knows who."

(A laugh.) The noble lord said—and the right hon. member for Tamworth cheered him at the time—that half the capitals of Europe were in a state of siege. Was the noble lord so satisfied with respect to his own government, was he so confident that he could point to Ireland and say that at present it was not in a state of siege? The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended; the Alien Act had been renewed; and at this moment there were actually more soldiers in Ireland than voters. Was it not notorious that four prosecutions had been instituted against one newspaper, and that the Attorney-General could not possibly get a conviction against Mr. Duffy? The more any plan was pressed the more did the noble lord recede. He would propose none of his own, and therefore hon. members were obliged to vote for the plan of the hon. member for Montrose. If he (Mr. Osborne) might offer any advice to those men of narrow and contracted minds, the Free Traders, it would be that they should make a stand, separate themselves from that party which had proved itself an incubus on the country, and take the position which their talents would command. The noble lord would be left to declaim to empty benches while they were carried into power on the shoulders of the people. (Cries of "Divide.")

Mr. F. Wood said, they ought to pay some attention to the present subject, which was a most important one, and excited considerable attention amongst a large portion of the people. (Hear.) Whether they had got four or five millions presenting petitions or not on this subject, they could not ignore their existence. (Hear.) He did not mean to say that this question excited intense interest amongst every one of these four or five millions; but he knew—and they had formidable proof of it—that many hundreds of thousands had feelings far too sensitive not to feel their inferior condition, and minds far too acute to take impatience or a sneer for argument. (Cheers.) It was most remarkable that none of those who spoke against the motion of his hon. friend had grappled with his arguments. (Hear, hear.) The argument used by the right hon. baronet (Sir G. Grey) and others was this, that the motion of his hon. friend was identical with the six points of the Charter, whereas the fact was that they were not only not identical, but were directly and diametrically opposed, and it was that difference which led him to support the one, and to oppose the other. (Hear, hear.) The noble lord did not take precisely the same line, but he pursued a similar course, for he took some particular passages in the speech of his hon. friend the member for Manchester, and so distorted them that he made it appear that the object of his hon. friend and of the hon. member for Nottingham was the same. The language attributed by the noble lord to his hon. friend was that "he had no respect for the constitution." But the words of his hon. friend were that he had no respect for such a constitution as could not proceed without the aid of force and violence. The two statements were, therefore, entirely different. (Hear, hear.) At one time complaints were made that petitions were not presented; at another, that petitions were presented, and that their presentation was the result of agitation. Now, he was not an agitator. He differed from the hon. member for Manchester as to the necessity of adopting agitation, except such as each man might legitimately and constitutionally exercise in his own immediate locality; but he did not approve of itinerant agitation. Still, the Whig government of late years had done all they could to convert him upon this subject, for it was the political unions which had carried the Reform Bill. He always believed the agitation in Ireland to be mischievous, and yet it was that agitation which had carried Roman Catholic Emancipation. Those men were answerable for agitation who had passed Catholic Emancipation and other measures avowedly on the ground of the agitation which was going on in different parts of the country. (Hear.) Were questions of the present kind to be kept back by telling the people at one time that they were reasonable and at another that they were violent? He believed that the present was a most opportune moment for settling the question of parliamentary reform. At a time of peace and quiet at home, and when demonstrations had been afforded of the fidelity and loyalty of the great masses of the people, that was the time to interpose, and not when there were lowering clouds abroad, and when they knew not how soon those clouds would burst. There were, indeed, vast quantities of inflammable matter in the country at present. Therefore, let hon. members be wise in time. Let them not wait for agitation, but let them carry their reforms into effect without delay. (Hear, hear.) The noble lord at the head of the government admitted that he was prepared to produce an extension of the suffrage; but why not produce it now? (Cheers.) The best moment for doing so would have been immediately after the demonstration on the 10th of April, but the next best time was now, because one of the strongest reasons for bringing forward a measure of the kind was furnished by the tranquillity of this country compared with that of France. Why were we tranquil? Should we have been tranquil in February last, if we had not passed the Reform Bill? Should we have been tranquil if the corn laws had not been repealed? (Hear, and cheers.) But were there still no dangers? Were there no large classes of disaffected persons in the country? Nay, more—were there not some ranged on the side of order last February and March who sympathised with the disaffected? There were. He believed there were hundreds of workmen, employed not far from that House, who declared at that time that they would protect property, but that they would not be sworn in as special constables—that they would not act against their class. (Hear, hear.) This was a formidable fact. One gentleman had brought 500 men, friends of order, who declared that the people were of their class, and that though they would not join them, they would not move against them. He wished the House to take these things seriously to heart. He desired, by supporting the present motion, to diminish the influence of the hon. member for Nottingham over the masses, because he did not think that influence beneficial; and the way to do that was to admit these masses to the enjoyment of constitutional privileges, not for the purpose of over-awing parliament, but simply for the purpose of enabling them to take their proper place as constituent members of society. (Loud cheers.) The fact that there were no petitions this year in favour of parliamentary reform was, in his opinion, a dangerous symptom. It showed that the people took no interest in the proceedings of the House, and that danger might arise if present evils remained unredressed. There was not the slightest ground for supposing that if the institutions of the country were permitted to expand freely, in order to meet growing emergencies, and to enable a large portion of the people to enjoy their political rights, any danger was to be apprehended.

The House having divided, the motion was negatived by 268 against 82.

The other orders were disposed of, and the House adjourned at half-past twelve o'clock.

WEDNESDAY, June 6.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Insolvent and Bankrupt Members Bill.—Mr. Moffatt moved the second reading of the Bankrupt and Insolvent Members Bill.—Mr. Mackinnon supported the motion.—Sir W. Clay moved, and Mr. Bernal seconded, that the bill be read a second time that day six months. After some discussion, the House divided, and the numbers were—For the amendment, 45; against it, 55; majority against, 10. The bill was read a second time, and ordered to be committed on Wednesday next.

Affirmation Bill.—The debate on the third reading of this bill was resumed by Mr. Law. On a division being made, a majority of twenty-two were for the third reading. The bill was read a third time. On the motion that the bill do pass, Mr. Law persisted in again dividing the House. The numbers were—For the motion, 77; against it, 73; majority for, 4. The announcement was received with loud cheers.

Mr. Aglionby then moved the second reading of the Copyhold Enfranchisement Bill. After some discussion the House divided, when there was a majority of twenty-five in favour of the second reading. The bill was read accordingly.

Mr. Mackinnon then moved the second reading of the Smoke Prohibition Bill.—Mr. Willyams moved that the bill be read a second time that day six months. A brief conversation ensued, after which the House divided, and the numbers were—For the amendment, 37; against it, 72; majority against, 35. The bill was then read a second time.

Ventilation of Mines.—Mr. Aglionby, in the absence of Mr. Thomas Duncombe, obtained leave to introduce a bill to provide for the better ventilation of mines and collieries, for the protection of the lives of the persons employed in and about the same, and to make other provisions relating thereto.

The House adjourned a few minutes before six o'clock.

THURSDAY, June 7.

HOUSE OF LORDS.—The Bankrupt Law Consolidation Bill was read a third time, on the motion of Lord Brougham. Certain amendments were brought up and added to the bill, which was then passed and ordered to be sent to the House of Commons.

The Bill for the Protection of Women passed through committee, on the motion of the Bishop of Oxford, and the third reading was fixed for Thursday next.

Some other business was then disposed of, and their lordships adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Only thirty-four members being present at four o'clock, it stood necessarily adjourned to this day.

FRIDAY, June 8.

HOUSE OF LORDS.—The Earl of Harrowby gave notice that on Monday he should move for a select committee on the Sale of Beer Bill.

Lord Brougham proposed his motion on Canada to Tuesday week.

Lord Stanley presented a petition from the Lord Mayor and Corporation of London praying to be exempted from the operation of the Leasehold Tenure of Lands (Ireland) Bill in regard to their property in that country.

After some discussion on the principle of exemption, which it appeared had been already embodied in the bill in one instance, Lord Campbell postponed the third reading till Monday.

The House then adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—On the motion that the House, on rising, do adjourn till Monday, a somewhat lengthened conversation took place upon the subject of the late evictions in Toomevara and Kilrush, during the progress of which Sir R. Peel admitted that there might be difficulty in getting the law to reach the case, but thought that an expression of indignation on the part of the House might have the effect of putting some limit, under existing circumstances, to the extreme exercise of legal power, and of checking scenes of barbarity such as no civilised country had ever before witnessed.

On the motion for going into committee on the Poor Relief (Ireland) Bill.

Sir H. W. Barron moved:—"That the property at present rated to support the poor in Ireland is totally inadequate for that purpose; that in England there are sixty-seven millions of property rated to the poor, the population being about fifteen millions; whilst in Ireland there are only thirteen millions of property rated to the poor, with a (much poorer) population of about eight millions; showing nearly three times more property in England per head to support the poor than in Ireland: that therefore it is necessary to provide for their means for support of the poor in Ireland, in order to remove the extreme pressure which is now crushing down the ratepayers in that country, and checking the energies of all employers and capitalists."

Sir W. Somerville replied to the arguments used by the hon. baronet in support of his motion, and moved as an amendment that the Speaker do leave the chair.

Colonel Dunne supported the motion of the hon. member for Waterford.

Mr. B. Osborne, in an energetic speech, drew the attention of the House to the evils resulting from estates in the Court of Chancery being under the control of receivers, not one shilling of the rentals of which were applied to the improvement of the estates. He called upon the House to appoint a committee of inquiry into the subject, when he pledged himself that a plan should be submitted calculated to remove the evils at present existing, and to hold out some immediate hope of a better state of things.

Lord J. Russell had no objection to the proposal of the hon. member for Middlesex, that there should be an inquiry: and if the hon. member would move for the appointment of a committee, he (Lord J. Russell) would give his support to the motion, and the Solicitor-General would be ready to give every assistance towards passing such a measure as the House might approve. It was not, however, by one measure, but by a series of measures, that rest could be given to Ireland.

After some further discussion, Sir Henry W. Barron's motion was negatived by a majority of 114, the numbers 30 to 144; and the House went into committee on the Poor Relief (Ireland) Bill.

French Intervention in Italy.—A public meeting was held on Thursday evening, in the National Hall, Holborn, when resolutions sympathising with the Romans and condemning the French intervention in Italy were adopted. A committee was appointed to receive funds for the purpose of assisting the Italians in their struggle, and thanks having been given to the chairman, the proceedings terminated with three cheers for the Italian Republic, and a liberal collection on the spot. The meeting was addressed by Messrs. Moore, Hawkes, Buchanan, Lloyd Jones, Shaen, and Dr. Epps.

THE ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF UNITED TRADES.

This Association, which amidst the wreck of so many unions, whereby the working classes have endeavoured, but up to this period in vain, to protect themselves from the oppressive influences of ill-regulated capital, still exists, and it appears is yet destined to lead the way to that extended confederation of Labour which has now become an imperative national necessity, as the only means by which Capital can be kept within reasonable and legitimate limits, has just finished its fifth annual Conference, a report of which will be found below. It will be seen by the judicious Report issued by the Central Committee, that having weathered the difficulties and obstructions of the late commercial panic, there are the strongest symptoms of a healthy, and it is to be hoped permanent, improvement in its position. Already have several large sections of the working classes either rejoined the movement, or signified their intention of doing so at an early period.

The alterations suggested in the laws by the Central Committee were all adopted by the Conference, which throughout the proceedings manifested the most undiminished confidence in their Executive, to whose steady perseverance through a protracted series of difficulties they attributed the existence of the movement.

But the most encouraging and important feature in the proceedings is unquestionably the excellent letter of its popular and patriotic President, Mr. Duncombe, so redolent of hope and confidence, and which ought to inspire similar feelings in those whose interests that honourable gentleman has given such repeated proofs of a desire to promote. Mr. Duncombe fully recognises the principle of an extensive confederation of Labour, as being a necessity of paramount importance; and we think his opinions and advice are deserving of the serious consideration of the industrious classes, and should stimulate them to immediate action.

The Central Committee are, we understand, determined to proceed with redoubled vigour in their endeavours to realise the results anticipated by the founders of the movement. The almost uniform success which has attended their efforts when engaged in the settlement of disputes, negociating between master and workman, speaks powerfully in favour of the soundness of the principles of the Association, and the temperate and judicious manner in which they have been carried out.

It is deeply to be lamented that many of the plans proposed for improving the condition of the working classes fail to realise the anticipated results, in consequence of the fickleness or apathy of these classes themselves. We believe that an attentive examination of the proceedings of this Association, since its commencement, will show a greater number of important victories for the trades, at an infinitely smaller cost than can be shown to have been achieved by any other association in the history of this country. It is difficult, therefore, to see why its Executive should have been left to face so many difficulties. The trades may depend upon it, that the old proverb of "A rolling stone gathers no moss," is peculiarly applicable to the measures intended to promote their permanent interests. Those who have heretofore acted in concert with the Association should consider seriously the necessity for resuming that connexion, while the present fitful burst of commercial prosperity exists; and those who have held aloof from it should ask themselves seriously, what other organisation offers similar means of attaining the object aimed at. All reflecting men in every station have come to the conclusion, that mere local unions are inadequate to effect these objects—and that in future their efforts, to be efficient, must be *national*. This Association originated in this feeling, and its machinery was carefully constructed by experienced persons with that view. It has now been perfected by successive conferences of experienced practical working men, connected with the leading branches of industry in Great Britain, and may, therefore, be fairly assumed to be as perfect an organisation as ever was constructed for the purpose in view. Its great value, as we understand it, consists in the full and free developement it allows to local action, and the simplicity by which the combined energies of the whole of the trades are concentrated. The mere fact that it has weathered the storms which have proved fatal to so many other societies, says much in its favour. The smallness of the contributions, in proportion to the benefits it confers, is another argument; and last, not least, the immense advantages which the Association possesses in the unreserved and continuous exertions of its President (Mr. Duncombe), when the blessing of health shall have been fully restored to that gentleman, and he shall be enabled again to devote that attention to its affairs, and its advocacy, (either in or out of Parliament), he formerly did, cannot fail to elevate the Association into a position from whence it can nationally and effectually improve the condition of the working classes, and at the same time secure the respect, or neutralise the opposition, of every other class in the community.

The delegates representing the trades connected with this Association held their annual conference last week in the Brunswick Rooms, Byrom-street, Liverpool. Mr. Frederick Green (one of the Central Committee) was called to the chair, in the absence of Mr. T. S. Duncombe, the President of the Association.

The Chairman briefly opened the proceedings by expressing his regret that he was again called upon to occupy the seat which he, and all present, would have rejoiced to see Mr. Duncombe fill. It was gratifying, however, to know that his absence arose from no diminution of interest in the cause in which they were embarked.

Mr. T. Barratt (the Secretary) then read the following letter:—

Palace-chambers, St. James's, May 26, 1849.

Gentlemen,—It would have given me sincere pleasure to take the chair at your annual Conference this year, but my health, though I hope steadily improving, is still not sufficiently re-established to allow of my taking any active part in public affairs. Remembering as I do, with high gratification the occasion upon which I had the honour of presiding over the deliberations of the delegates of the United Trades Association, I can assure you that my enforced absence is a source of deep personal regret.

The circumstances under which you assemble this year are of less exciting character than those by which you were surrounded at your last meeting, though perhaps not less pregnant with important influences on the future. In the interval, the wisdom of the course marked out by the Association for itself, of patient constitutional and constructive efforts for the improvement of the condition of the labouring classes, has been demonstrated by the events which have occurred in other countries. It is only necessary to continue the same course in order to insure creation of a sound and enlightened opinion, not only among the trades, but the other classes of society, and when that is effected, our political institutions are of such an expansive character that they will readily give effect to the expression of the popular will.

In the attempt to carry out the important objects for which the Association was established, it is but natural to expect ebbs and flows in the tide of public opinion, and fluctuations in the amount of support it may receive, arising from causes altogether extrinsic to its own merits and capabilities, for attaining these objects. I observe by the annual Report of the Central Committee, that the past year has been less prosperous in a financial point of view, than previous years, but the reasons assigned for this by the committee must satisfy the friends of the Association, that it betokens no real or permanent decline in its influence among the working classes, and that when the temporary but severe pressure which has compelled the trades to cease active co-operation, is removed, we may confidently expect that they will resume their former support.

The Committee in the report so fully explain the present position of the association, the causes of that position, and its future prospects, that it is unnecessary for me to detain you by any comments upon these points. They have wisely, in my opinion, proposed a reduction in the number of the Committee, and in its working expenses. Such reductions are no doubt required by the present state of the finances, but while aiming at economy in expenditure you must not effect that at the cost of efficiency in management. I am doubtful as to the prudence of electing five members of Committee to give only occasional attendance at the office; I fear the division of attention and energy which must arise from such an arrangement, will not conduce to vigorous management, and I should prefer a permanent committee of three members. Upon one point my mind is made up, namely, that you must have, at least, a secretary constantly in the office. The alteration in the constitution of the association by the efforts which have been made during the past year towards winding up the affairs of No. 2 Association, in terms of the resolution of last Conference, will, I feel confident, when completed, tend to promote the future prosperity of the association. It will allow of more prompt and concentrated action, and the Central Committee will still have the power to employ labour where they may see fit to adopt that principle. The great strength of the association, however, lies in its mediatorial capacity, and I trust that this important branch of its business will continue to receive the attention it merits.

The Central Committee have most judiciously refrained from proposing any unnecessary or uncalled for alterations in the constitution. I believe it well adapted for the purposes in view, and deprecate all changes, not imperatively required.

In conclusion, Gentlemen, permit me to assure you of my unfeigned and unabated interest in the success of the Association. My sympathy with the honest and honourable efforts of yourselves, and those you represent, to elevate the condition of the working classes, and to repeat my determination whilst life and health is spared to me, to give all the aid I possibly can, whether in Parliament or out of it, to so noble and so pure a cause.

I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,
Ever yours, faithfully,
T. S. Duncombe.

The address was received with great applause.

The Secretary next proceeded to read the annual report of the Central Committee, which was as follows:—

"The Central Committee, in presenting their usual annual report to the delegates of the Association in conference assembled, regret their inability to congratulate the conference upon the same successful progress *during the past year as upon former* occasions.

"It would be useless to attempt to conceal the fact, that the continued existence of those depressing influences which have acted so injuriously upon all the trading and commercial interests of this country, have fallen with more than corresponding severity upon the impotent and unprotected artisan.

"Deficiency of employment and constant and steady depreciation of the wages of labour, have been the marked characteristics of the past year. That our Association should have passed through trying ordeal unscathed, would be beyond the limits of reasonable expectation; that it should have maintained its existence amidst the signal failures and general wreck of similar institutions, is, indeed, a subject for exultation, and the best eulogium which its warmest admirers could pass upon its principles, and must secure for it at no distant period that general support from the trades of this country, which is alone wanted to constitute it a lever of such irresistible power, as to effectually overcome all opposing forces, and gradually, but surely, to elevate the order of British labour to its just and natural position. It is admitted by the most reflecting and judicious men of all parties, that the present tendency of capital to erect itself into an independent and uncontrolled supremacy, is pregnant with the most formidable dangers to the safety and well-being of society; and that a counteracting confederacy of labour in a legal, judicious, but active combination, is a necessary desideratum, as a means of maintaining that order and harmony which should exist between the different grades of men who constitute that complicated machinery called society. It is not possible for the working classes uncombined and unorganised to effect this essential requisite, or to offer the slightest obstruction to the inordinate ambition of capital, or to the unscrupulous employment of means, destructive not only to the growth, but to the very germs of manly feeling and independent action. Indeed, it may be safely affirmed, that such a confederation of the labour interest, as the founders of this Association originally contemplated, and for which it now presents an admirable nucleus, can alone prevent the rapid deterioration of the working men of Great Britain, to a condition as degrading, as wretched, and as hopeless, as the unhappy people of Ireland.

"These serious and important considerations have encouraged and sustained your Committee in contending with the obstructions and disappointments with which their attempts at progression have been so much impeded. It is, at the same time, in the highest degree consolatory to find that a universal opinion in favour of this movement exists amongst those trades whom the lengthened and unprecedented pressure of distress have prevented from continuing their payments; this fact is amply proved by the reports furnished to your Committee by their correspondence, and by those of its members who have recently visited the localities which have hitherto furnished the greatest numbers of the Association.

"Another circumstance, still more encouraging, and one which should stimulate every friend and well-wisher to the movement to increased and continued exertions, is the fact that the necessity for a national organisation of Labour to prevent the condition of the highly skilled and better paid operatives of England being brought down to a level with those less favourably circumstanced, is now the established opinion of the most intelligent and influential men to be found among the trades of England. It may, therefore, be fairly inferred that the time is approaching when this Association will assume that important position originally predicted for it by its founders, as the prop and sustaining buttress of the rights and privileges of British industry.

"Your Committee, while descanting upon those causes which may have conspired to retard the progress of the Association, and to such as lead us to anticipate a more cheering future, cannot omit referring to the great loss we have suffered from the long-continued indisposition of our esteemed and honoured President, T. S. Duncombe, Esq., M.P. It is impossible adequately to calculate to what extent that honourable gentleman's deprivation from that active surveillance of the Association's affairs, which, when in health, it was so much his delight and pride to bestow, may have contributed to impair its influence and usefulness; for although your Committee have, upon most important occasions, and when that gentleman's health would permit, sought his opinion and counsel, which has always, and upon every occasion, been given with that promptitude and urbanity for which he is so well known and appreciated; still they feel that the public notoriety of that fact was not so calculated to inspire that confidence and satisfaction in the public mind, as would have been the knowledge that in the full vigour and freshness of convalescence that honourable gentleman was, as heretofore, the real and active leader in the cause in which he had a faith so strong as to embark his name and public reputation as its acknowledged Patron and President. Your Committee have, however, to congratulate the conference and the working classes of England, that the most sanguine expectations are entertained of Mr. Duncombe's speedy restoration to health, and to that position in the Legislature which he so much honoured by his presence, and from which his long absence has been so sincerely and universally deplored, and in the event of these expectations being realised, your Committee are authorised to say, that the Trades of England may ever reckon upon the continued and active services of Mr. Duncombe, both in and out of Parliament.

"The operations of the Central Committee have, during the past year, been necessarily confined within those limits prescribed by the first resolution of the last conference, which very properly prohibited them from sanctioning any fresh application for support until a reserve fund of £1,000 had been created, which sum was deemed no more than was necessary to ensure the punctual and regular remittance of the alimentary allowance to those who had been pronounced entitled to it. The balance sheets for the past year will show that the receipts have not been sufficient for this desirable purpose, and the Committee felt themselves bound in honour, primarily to meet, as far as their means permitted, the claims of those who remained on the funds of the Association, and those that were in arrears of their allowances at the last conference.

"Your Committee have been called on in numerous cases since the last conference to act as mediators in cases of dispute—they are happy in being able to state that the utility and the success of this department of their duties have suffered no diminution; whenever this mode of dealing with trades disputes was capable of being employed, an almost universal success has attended its adoption, and in many instances with the marked approval and thanks of the employers—a fitting and deserved homage to a principle which for its excellence and efficiency should be adopted and enforced by a law of Parliament. The Central Committee would strongly recommend that as soon as the health of Mr. Duncombe is sufficiently established to resume his legislative duties, that he be solicited to bring the subject of local boards of trades, and an amendment of the Truck Act before the House of Commons, and that the trades be recommended to get up local petitions in favour of these measures without delay.

"The Central Committee have to regret that their attempts to carry out the expressed wishes of the conference, in reference to the publication of a weekly report of proceedings, have not been responded to by the members and the working classes generally. *The Labour League, or Journal of the National Association of United Trades*, was published shortly after the conference, and has been continued to the present time, but your Committee are sorry to add that the publication of that journal, although from its price perfectly within the means of the poorest of our members, has not met with the support contemplated.

"Your Committee during the past year have spared no energies in seeking to extend a knowledge of the principles of the Association in quarters not previously acquainted with them. . . . . .

"The balance sheet which will be submitted to you shows that there has been a considerable diminution of the income of the Association as compared with former years. This, however, is amply accounted for by the facts to which your Committee have already referred in this report. The number of members has also fallen off, but the symptoms of renewed interest in the Association and the growing feeling among the trades in favour of national over mere local organisation, induce your Committee to believe that the number of members will shortly be largely increased, and of course the income of the Association proportionately augmented.

"Having thus referred to the principal subjects arising out of the proceedings of the last twelve months, it may be expected that your Committee should record their opinions upon the present position and the future prospects of the Association.

"In drawing conclusions as to the probability of future success from the impressions which our present position may create, it will be necessary that we form a correct estimate as to what our existing position really is.

"Let us first inquire where are the great and powerful confederation of trades which existed in 1846? Where, for instance, is the Cotton Spinners' Union of Lancashire? Where, the Power-loom Weavers' Association, consisting of from 14,000 to 20,000 members? Where, again, the Builders of Manchester, and the great Carpenters and Joiners' Union of Great Britain? Where, the Block Printers of Lancashire and Yorkshire? These were powerful confederations affiliated in various towns and localities. Where are they? The history of one is the history of the whole. They were dependent for their resources upon contributions from their own trade exclusively; and when the bulk of trade is thrown out of employment for any lengthened period, the existence of a society of that trade, exclusively dependent upon contributions to be drawn from its members, will depend altogether upon the extent and duration of the depression from which they are suffering.

"But there are circumstances, having relation to the future, much too important to be passed over without observation. That general depression which in its progress has left its blighting influence behind it in every department of industry, combined with the fatal theories in favour of, at all hazards, cheapening the costs of production, a theory which is now the chosen and adopted of government and parties, entirely unmindful of the consequences *likely to ensue, upon the well being of more than a* half of the population, has found its road into some of those trades, heretofore deemed impregnable to any adverse attack from any quarter. In these trades professing a greater amount of education than is generally found among the working classes, strong also in their local unions both in numbers and money, the inefficiency of the one and the insufficiency of the other is seen and admitted by the most intelligent and influential of their leaders, as means by which the threatened dangers may be averted or conquered. It is in a National Association of Trades alone that they can perceive safety or protection.

"Your Committee, in forming their judgment upon the present position of the Association with reference to the past, and to the general condition of the labour interest through every department of industry, so far from finding any sufficient reasons for looking despairingly to the future, are strongly impressed with a conviction that there is now in a far greater degree than at any former period, the most well-founded reasons for anticipating a speedy addition to our numbers, strength, and importance. They believe that when one or two of the better paid trades shall have pronounced in favour of the national movement, a moral influence will be imparted to it that will rapidly attract within its circle the great body of the industrious classes throughout the kingdom.

"These considerations impel your Committee to an unbounded confidence in the future, and justify them in calling upon you to pledge yourselves in behalf of the bodies you represent, to proceed with renewed vigour, with a trustful and unshrinking perseverance to strengthen, consolidate, and perfect the work you have in hand; to present an example to your fellow-workmen of firm and faithful adherence to the principles and policy of this Association, the advantages and superiority of which all our past experience has tended to confirm and establish; to extend far and wide by all practical and legal means, a knowledge of its principles, whereby this Association may be made in reality, what it assumes to be in name, 'The National Association of United Trades for the Protection of Industry.'"

The report was unanimously adopted.

In the subsequent sittings, the Conference was principally occupied by the transaction of the ordinary and routine business laid down by the constitution of the Association. Past experience has shown the practical adaptation of that constitution to the purposes in view, perfected as it has been by the labours of preceding Conferences, and the alterations made in it were few and unimportant. The subscription to the fund for the relief of persons who may be thrown out of employment for giving evidence under the Truck Act, or the Ten Hours Act, was raised from 1d. per quarter to 1d. per month. A reduction in the number of the paid officers of the Association was also resolved upon. The recommendation of the Central Committee was, that in future a President, five members, and a Secretary, should be elected, who should attend to the business occasionally. Mr. Duncombe, the President, on the other hand, recommended the appointment of a permanent working Committee of three members and a secretary. After considerable discussion and deliberation as to the mode in which efficiency could be combined with economy in the management, a compromise between these two opinions was effected. It was unanimously resolved that the committee should consist of five members exclusive of the President, and that one of the members shall act as secretary. This will effect a considerable reduction in the expenditure of the Association. Messrs. Green, Robson, Peel, Winter, and Humphries were unanimously re-elected as members of the Central Committee, Mr. William Peel being selected to fill the office of secretary. On Wednesday several complaints and appeal cases were heard and determined to the satisfaction of all parties concerned. The resolution of a previous Conference, by which the Central Committee was precluded from giving support to any turn-out when the funds were below £1,000 was rescinded, and the question of relief in such cases left to the discretion of the Central Committee. Mr. T. S. Duncombe, M.P., was unanimously re-elected the President of the Association amidst hearty and enthusiastic applause; and the following resolution having been proposed and seconded, was adopted with acclamation and every mark of respect:—

"Resolved,—That this Conference begs to offer its grateful thanks to T. S. Duncombe, Esq., M.P., for his energetic and disinterested efforts to elevate and improve the condition of the industrious classes of this country. The severe and long protracted illness produced by that constant and unwearied attention to his public duties, so peculiar and honourable a feature in his character, and which has for so long a period deprived this country of his eminent services, has been the subject of universal regret. His restoration to health and that distinguished position in the national legislature which the gratitude and esteem of a numerous constituency has secured him, is equally the subject of general satisfaction. We, the delegates of the United Trades of England, acknowledge the obligations we owe Mr. Duncombe for his continued and gratuitous services as President of this Association, and venture to hope that he will continue his generous and invaluable advice to a movement which owes its origin to his anxious desire to promote the well-being and happiness of the people of Great Britain."

Mr. F. Green, the Chairman, returned thanks on behalf of the Central Committee, for the confidence which had been again placed in them by their return to office; and also acknowledged the compliment of a vote of thanks which was passed to him for his services as chairman; and the Conference then broke up, after sitting four days, during the whole of which a very excellent feeling animated the members.

The Cholera in Paris.—The great heat of the last few days has occasioned a considerable increase of cases of cholera. The number of cases of persons attacked reached on Sunday to a greater amount than has been seen since the commencement of the malady. On that day there were 208 new cases in the hospitals, and 119 deaths. The Hotel-Dieu alone received ninety-four on that and the two preceding days, and the Salpetrière forty-four. In the neighbourhood of Paris, and particularly at the Batignolles, the malady is said to be very severe. In the military hospitals also an augmentation is perceptible, but not in the same proportion as in the civil ones.

Ascot Races.—Frauds on the Revenue.—The commissioners of inland revenue have just adopted the most efficient means for the prevention of frauds by the proprietors of vans and other vehicles attending races. Bars have been erected, by order of the commissioners, on all the roads leading to Ascot, in the vicinity of the heath, where tickets for horses let for hire are to be collected, and the exchange tickets inspected; and where all coaches, omnibuses, &c., conveying passengers at separate fares, are also to be checked. Orders have likewise been issued by the commissioners for the apprehension of all persons plying for hire without being duly licensed, or "specially authorised," and for the seizure of all horses and carriages so employed. The adoption of this plan will be an effectual means of putting a stop to the calling of "the unlicensed," and of protecting the licensed tradesmen.

Marylebone.—A dramatic version of *Dombey and Son* has been produced at this theatre with much success. The various characters are exceedingly well "made up" after the engravings in the book—a great point in adaptations of the sort—and considering the undramatic nature of the story it has been skilfully managed. The illness of Mrs. Mowatt leaves Miss F. Vining the sole heroine of the stage, and she shows her versatility by acting the cold Edith Dombey and the lively Violante (in the *Wonder*) in one evening.

The Fire and Loss of Life in the Hackney-Road.—An inquest was held on Friday, before Mr. Baker, at the Cock and Castle, Hackney-road, on the body of Agnes Duncan, aged three months, who was burned to death in the fire which occurred at the residence of Mr. Duncan, in James's-place, Hackney-road, on Thursday morning last. The body was burned almost to a cinder. Verdict, "Accidental death."

Garibaldi, the Roman commander, is described as a most picturesque warrior, the ideal of a brigand—eminently handsome, with a red blouse, broad belt full of pistols, dark wide-brimmed hat, and green feather.

When a person wishes to salute another in Thibet, he uncovers his head, puts out his tongue, and scratches his right ear.

Death of the Countess of Blessington.—This celebrated authoress died of apoplexy at Paris on Tuesday.

Loss of Three Lives.—An accident occurred on Thursday in a coal-pit at Black-lake, near West Bromwich, by which three men were killed instantaneously, and a fourth most severely injured.

Markets, &c.

CORN.

Mark Lane, Monday June 4.—The show of English wheat samples this morning was on a very limited scale, and the best dry qualities sold at fully last Monday's prices, but inferior sorts met a very slow demand. The transactions in foreign wheat were quite in the retail, but good qualities could not be procured on lower terms. Flour was rather more inquired after, at full prices. We had a fair retail sale for grinding barley. Malt dull, unless fine. Beans and peas duller sale, and beans rather cheaper. The large arrival of foreign oats last week, made the trade very heavy, and 6d to 1s per qr. lower. Linseed cakes in less demand, owing to the fine weather. Foreign rye fully as dear. The current prices as under.

British.—Wheat.—Essex, Suffolk, and Kent, red, 38s to 45s, ditto white, 40s to 52s, Lincoln, Norfolk, and Yorkshire, red, 37s to 44s, Northumberland and Scotch, white, 37s to 41s, ditto red, 35s to 42s, Devonshire and Somersetshire, red, —s to —s, ditto white — to —s, rye, 22s to 24s, barley, 21s to 30s, Scotch, 24s to 28s, Malt ordinary, —s to —s, pale 52s to 56s, peas, grey, new, 28s to 31s, maple 29s to 33s, white, 24s to 26s, boilers (new), 28s to 30s, beans, large, new, 23s to 26s, ticks 24s to 27s, harrow, 26s to 29s, pigeon, 28s to 32s, oats, Lincoln and Yorkshire, feed, 16s to 18s, ditto Poland and potato, 18s to 21s, Berwick and Scotch, 18s to 22s, Scotch feed, 17s to 20s, Irish feed, and black, 15s to 18s, ditto potato, 17s to 22s, linseed (sowing) 50s to 52s, rapeseed, Essex, new, £26 to £28 per last, carraway seed, Essex, new, 25s to 29s per cwt, rape cake, £4 to £4 10s per ton, linseed, £9 10s to £10 10s per 1,000, flour per sack of 280lbs. ship, 31s to 32s, town, 40s to 42s.

Foreign.—Wheat, — Dantzig, 46s to 52s, Anhalt and Marks, 40s to 48s, ditto white, 44s to 48s, Pomeranian red, 40s to 44s, Rostock 42s to 48s, Danish, Holstein, and Friesland, 36s to 42s, Petersburgh, Archangel, and Riga, 36s to 40s, Polish Odessa, 36s to 41s, Marianopoli, and Berdianski, 35s to 38s, Taganrog, 34s to 38s, Brabant and French, 38s to 42s, ditto white, 40s to 44s, Salonica, 33s to 36s, Egyptian, 24s to 26s, rye, 21s to 24s, barley, Wismar and Rostock, 18s to 22s, Danish, 20s to 23s, Saal, 22s to 26s, East Friesland, 17s to 19s, Egyptian, 16s to 17s, Danube, 16s to 17s, peas, white, 24s to 26s, new boilers, 26s to 28s, beans, horse, 25s to 26s, pigeon, 30s to 32s, Egyptian, 21s to 23s, oats, Groningen, Danish, Bremen, and Friesland, feed and black, 13s to 15s, ditto, thick and brew, 16s to 19s, Riga, Petersburg, Archangel, and Swedish, 14s to 16s, flour, United States, per 196lbs., 22s to 23s, Hamburg 21s to 22s, Dantzig and Stettin, 21s to 23s, French per 280lbs., 31s to 33s.

Wednesday, June 6.—Of oats there is a good supply this week, whilst of other grain and flour the quantity fresh in is but trifling. The weather being favourable for the growing crops causes the trade in most articles to rule heavily, but without alteration in prices.

Mark-lane, June 8.—The wheat trade was heavy; but prices cannot be quoted lower than on Monday. Barley sold slowly, at about former rates. Foreign oats in large supply, and, where sales were pressed, a slight reduction had to be submitted to. Beans and Peas unaltered.

Arrivals this week:—Wheat—English, 650 quarters; foreign, 1,970 quarters. Barley—English, 170 quarters; foreign, 1,680 quarters. Oats—English, 2,520 quarters; foreign, 11,400 quarters. Flour—English, 1,510 sacks.

BREAD.

The prices of wheaten bread in the metropolis are from 7d to 7½d; of household ditto, 5d to 6½d per 4lbs loaf.

CATTLE.

Smithfield, Monday, June 4.—There was a considerable increase in the supply of beasts on sale in to-day's market compared with that exhibited on Monday last. The quality of the stock was unusually prime. On the whole, the attendance of both town and country buyers was good, while the demand for the best Scots was steady at about last week's quotations. In all other breeds of beasts comparatively little business was transacted, at, in some instances, a decline in the prices of Monday last of 2d. per 8lbs. The supply of sheep was seasonably good; yet the demand for that description of stock was steady, at fully last week's quotations. The primest old downs sold at from 3s 10d to 4s per 8lbs. We had a somewhat active trade for lambs at extreme currencies. In some instances the best down qualities realised 6s 2d per 8lbs. From the Isle of Wight we received 320 head. Calves—the supply of which was extensive—moved off slowly at barely the late decline in prices. The pork trade was heavy at barely late rates.

Head of Cattle at Smithfield.

Beasts	3,566	Calves	276
Sheep	26,440	Pigs	240

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

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

Per 8lbs. by the carcase.

Newgate and Leadenhall, Monday, June 4.—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, 3s 0d to 3s 2d; middling ditto, 3s 4d to 3s 6d; prime ditto, 3s 8d to 3s 10d; veal, 3s 0d to 3s 10d; small pork, 3s 8d to 4s 0d; lamb, 4s 8d to 5s 10d.

Smithfield, June 8.—There was a large supply of beasts; trade was dull, and it was with great difficulty that Monday's quotations were realised. The number of sheep and lambs was very large; the quality of the supply was, however, but middling; the choicest kinds were consequently disposed of at a small reduction, but second-rate were much lower. There was an extraordinary supply of calves; a large proportion of them were inferior; a choice one, therefore, made 4s., but other kinds suffered a considerable reduction in price, and many remain unsold.

PROVISIONS.

London, Monday.—Business in the past week was again slow and limited. Butter—The transactions in Irish were trifling; prices nominal. Foreign declined 4s to 6s per cwt, and not freely dealt in. Bacon—Nothing of importance was done in either Irish or American singed sides, and no change worth notice in prices. Scalded middles in moderate request, and the inferior sorts cheaper. Hams in demand, and the turn dearer. Lard—No alteration.

English Butter Market, June 4.—Our trade is in a state of extreme depression, with still declining prices. Dorset, fine weekly, 76s to 80s per cwt; ditto, middling, 56s to 70s; fresh Buckinghamshire, 6s to 10s per dozen; do. West Country, 4s to 9s.

FRUIT AND VEGETABLES.

Covent Garden, Monday, June 4.—There was a good supply of fruit and vegetables with a moderate trade doing at the following prices:—Rhubarb, 4d to 8d brocoli, 6d to 1s 6d; and forced asparagus, 2s 6d to 6s per bundle. Strawberries 1s, and green currants 1s to 1s 3d per pottle; cucumbers 8d to 3s per brace; green peas 5s to 10s; old onions, 2s to 2s 6d; gooseberries 3s 6d to 5s; spinach, 4d to 6d per half sieve; Summer cabbages, 10d to 1s 3d; horseradish, 1s 6d to 2s per dozen heads; carrots, 3s 6d to 4s 6d; turnip radishes 8d to 10d; Spring onions, 1s to 2s; greens, 2s 6d to 3s 6d per dozen bunches; grapes, 1s 6d to 2s; pine apples, 5s to 7s 6d; new frame potatoes, 4d to 1s per lb; oranges, 6s to 14s; lemons, 5s to 9s; forced French beans, 1s to 1s 6d per hundred; mushrooms, 9d to 1s per punnet; lettuces, 6d to 10d per score.

POTATOES.

Southwark Waterside, June 4.—We continue to be supplied with foreign potatoes more than equal to the demand, which has caused a considerable reduction in price to be submitted to; the few Yorks here still command a high figure. The following are this day's quotations:—Yorkshire Regents, 160s to 220s; Scotch Whites, 80s to 90; Foreign, 50s to 90s.

COLONIAL PRODUCE.

Tuesday Evening, June 1.—The large public sales of sugar have proved rather too heavy for the market, and prices have scarcely been supported, but a large amount of business has been done. 1,180 hhds. of West India sold, including 700 in public sale; Barbadoes sold 38s to 42s; St. Lucia, low to fine, 35s to 42s, which established a decline of 6d.; 7,000 bags Mauritius sold in public sale a shade in favour of the buyers; yellow, 37s 6d to 40s; 5,000 bags of Bengal sold in public sale at previous rates; white Benares, 40s to 43s 6d; and 1,500 baskets Penang, brown, 33s to 34s 6d; yellow, 35s to 36s. Refined market firm; grocery lumps, 52s 6d to 54s.

Coffee without alteration. Good ordinary native withdrawn above the market value, and plantation kind sold at previous rates.

WOOL.

City, Monday, June 4.—The imports of wool into London last week were only 130 bales, of which 98 were from Germany, and the rest from Russia.

Liverpool, June 2.—Scotch.—There is no improvement to notice in the demand for Laid Highland, and price is sustained from the lightness of the stocks. White Highland is not inquired for. In crossed or Cheviot the only demand is for the best class, at prices in favour of the buyer.

	s. d.		s. d.
Laid Highland Wool, per 24lbs ..	6 9	to	7 9
White Highland do.	9 6		10 0
Laid crossed do., unwashed ..	8 9		10 6
Do. do., washed	9 9		12 6
Do. Cheviot do., unwashed ..	9 6		12 0
Do. do., washed	13 6		17 0
White Cheviot do. do. ..	20 0		22 6
Import for the week			20 bag
Previously this year			3,791 ,,

Foreign.—There was a public sale here on Tuesday, the 29th ult., when were brought forward 350 Australians, which sold at prices scarcely equal to our last sales here; 1,090 Buenos Ayres, a great portion of which were fine kinds, for which there was a good competition, brought very satisfactory prices; 500 bales East India sold from ½d to ½d under late rates. Of the 3,000 Ballott's Peruvians, 600 Turkey, Donskoi, and other low wool, they were principally withdrawn.

Imports for the week	58 bales.
Previously this year	23,205 bales.

COAL.

A firm market, at last Monday's prices. Fresh arrivals, 47; old, 49. Total, 96.

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

Bates's West Hartley, 13s 9d; Buddle's West Hartley, 14s; Carr's Hartley, 14s; Hastings Hartley, 14s; Holywell Main, 14s 6d; New Tanfield, 12s 6d; Old Tanfield, 12s; Ord's Redheugh, 12s 6d; South Peareth, 13s; Tanfield Moor, 13s; Tanfield Moor Butes, 12s 6d; Townley, 13s; West Hartley, 14s; Wylam, 13s 6d. Wall's-end:—Elm Park, 14s; Gibson, 13s 9d; Washington, 13s 9d; Eden Main, 15s; Bell, 15s; Hetton, 16s 6d; Hutton, 15s; Morrison, 14s 6d; Pemberton, 14s 3d; West Belmont, 15s; Heugh Hall, 14s 9d; South Hartlepool, 15s 3d; Whitworth, 12s 9d; Adelaide Tees, 15s 6d to 15s 9d; Seymour Tees, 14s 9d; Tees, 16s 3d; West Hetton, 14s 6d; Cowpen Hartley, 14s; Hartley, 13s 6d; Sidney's Hartley, 14s; Whitworth Coke, 21s; Elgin, 13s 6d.

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 June 9th, 1849.