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MR. O'CONNOR TO MR. JAMES B. O'BRIEN.

LETTER II.

[In our seventh page we have given a letter from Mr. O'Connor to Mr. O'Brien, in answer to the communications from Mr. O'B. inserted in our last. In the following letter Mr. O'Connor continues the discussion of the questions there mooted.]

MY DEAR O'BRIEN,—I now resume the consideration of the question upon which we are at issue, and which I take to be this:—"How is the balance of power to be preserved in the hands of the unrepresented classes, or transferred to the House of Commons, or made yet more perfect by forcing their representation into the House without prejudice to the pressure without?" Now, that I take to be the question; while the object of both is the means of arriving at a sound conclusion. Having said so much, let me now place before you the two most prominent passages upon the subject, to be found in your letter. In a postscript to your letter to Bowman, you write thus:—

"If we vote for either Whig or Tory, we at once recognise the usurpations of the party we vote for, and disqualify ourselves morally, *for future resistance to* their domination. We vote for them, with a full and distinct knowledge of their acts and character, and therefore lose all right, morally, of afterwards calling them to account for the same before the tribunal of public opinion. It is only, as I said before, when one or the other parties agrees to split their votes in favour of our candidate, that we can conscientiously or honourably, vote for their candidate. We can do so, then partly because, while ostensibly voting for them, we are in reality voting for our own man, and our own principles,—but chiefly, because the simple fact of either faction so recognising our claims, as to agree to split their votes with us, is *pro tanto*, an abandonment of the usurpation we charge them with, and does therefore, entitle them to our approbation and support in return.

"But no vote!—no support!—to either batch of the usurpers,—till they first recognise our political claims!!!"

In another of your letters you say that you "*cannot find words sufficiently strong to express your contempt*" for what I *did not write*, and you say I must be mad. Now, I shall not use one single offensive term towards you, because I *will not offend you*; and you shall not use one towards me, because I WILL NOT BE OFFENDED. *I have the fear of Hunt and Cobbett before my eyes!* However, while I make no retort, you will allow me the privilege of taking a liberty with myself; and I do most solemnly assure you, that I have not brains to comprehend the meaning of the first and the last sentence in the above passages, when they are taken conjunctively. As they say in Yorkshire, "*I* could do with one, but both caps me." In the first you very properly express a jealousy about leading public opinion astray. You say, that "if we vote for Whig or Tory, we recognise their usurpation, and disqualify ourselves, morally, for future resistance to their domination." Now, that I could understand; but when taken in connexion with the following sentence, I am puzzled; and I assure you, when I am puzzled, three in every ten of the working people, who have not so much time to analyse it as I have, will be puzzled also.

You say, "But chiefly, because the simple fact of either faction so recognising our claims, as to agree to split their votes with us, is, *pro tanto*, an abandonment of the usurpation we charge them with, and does, therefore, entitle them to our approbation and support in return." Now, here you use the word "support" in its legitimate mercantile sense to denote traffic upon terms of mutual convenience, and in which I agree; but the word "approbation" is what is called "cheating the devil." But I shall reason upon these very important passages. Now, which do you imagine to be the easiest task, to *convince* the unrepresented that the Tories were used as mere tools to beat the Whigs without the slightest recognition of their principles or approval of their usurpation or domination, or to PERSUADE the people that twenty Whigs or twenty Tories having, for expediency, sacrificed their lip hatred of Chartism *for* the mere purpose of acquiring the means of perpetuating their usurpation and domination, were entitled to our *approbation* and to our belief; that, "*pro tanto*," they had either abandoned their usurpation, or recognized our title to representation? Let me tell you, while you could not convince one in a million that the Chartists supported Whig or Tory from approval of their usurpation, or a desire to perpetuate their domination; you could not, upon the other hand, by all the logic in the world, persuade one in a million that the Whig or Tory who receives Chartist support upon condition of splitting votes had thereby sacrificed one single particle of hostility to the principles of Chartism, or was entitled to our "approbation," however self-interest, prudence, and policy may entitle them, *pro tanto*, to our "support."

Can you hope to make Whig, Tory, or Chartist understand the sentence in any other sense than this? The Chartist who coalesces with a Whig or a Tory does, by splitting his vote, "*pro tanto*," entitles himself to their "support and approbation," for the abandonment of his principles and recognition of the claims—"usurpation and dominion"—of those for whom, by voting, he testifies his approval. You cannot have a Whig reading, a Tory reading, and a Chartist reading, for the same sentence; and I assure you I have given to it the general acceptation, as also the proper reading, "*mutatis mutandis*."

If a Tory, by coalescing with a Chartist, thereby recognizes the Chartist's title, and renounces his own "usurpation and dominion," can any one plain thing, upon this plain earth, be more plain, than that the Chartist who coalesces with a Tory does thereby recognise Tory principles, and renounce his own "dominion?" I cannot otherwise comprehend it; and I assure you that one of my principal reasons for not offering myself as a candidate, was from the very fact which the above sentence fully establishes, namely, that ten thousand versions may be given of a single act.

I take it to be an utter impossibility in the present state of the franchise to transfer the balance of power from the exterior to the interior of St. Stephens, and for this reason:—The Whigs, while they hope to do without them, would rather have ten Tories returned, than one Chartist, and *vice versa*. Let me show you how the last House was situated. For three years, seven men have constituted the balance of power: Hume, Grote, Warburton, Leader, Molesworth, Duncombe, and Wakley; but they used it treacherously; that is, they acquired a kind of personal popularity for snarling at Whig measures; but, when the question of *in* or *out* came to be decided, they invariably, one and all, voted for the very men whose measures they professed to abhor. Why was their small party inoperative? Simply, because there was no back to support them in their assaults against *corruption*; because Whig death was Tory life,—Whig delinquency was Tory triumph. Now, if the Whigs were in opposition we should not require such a staff as this; for the very fact of being in opposition would push all forwards.

When you speak of getting fifty Chartist members into the House pledged to the *support of the Charter*, you make my lips water; and for this simple reason, *thirty would do the trick!!!* Thirty would oblige the Government to keep more than would be willing to remain of a working midnight majority from the bed, the brothel, the gaming-house and the finish. I have, of myself, by perseverance stopped many measures *after midnight*.

I am now arguing to show the impossibility of transferring the balance of power to the interior, in the present state of the suffrage; and when I arrive once at that conclusion, my second consideration naturally is, *how then are we to make the balance of power most effective* in the hands of the unrepresented classes?

Now, I shall put this very plainly. The party upon whom pressure from without is to operate is the party in power. The parties who are to aid in the operation are the people, by their voice at public meetings, and by the expression of their opinions through their petitions, supported by an opposition. Well, then, our business is simply to discover upon which party, as a Government, our petitions and the public voice are likely to have the greatest effect, and who as an opposition are likely to give them that effect. That's the question; for as to talking now of "helping the weaker against the stronger," and "men instead of measures," it's all moonshine! We want tools to work with, and tools fitting for our purpose. Observe, then; firstly, with regard to the right of petition, the Whigs have made a mockery of it; while, as regards the effect produced upon them, as a Government, by petition, let each succeeding year of their usurpation speak. Do we not find, as I have more than once explained, that the votes annually taken upon the same question, instance the Poor Law Amendment Bill, have been in an exact inverse ratio to the number of signatures, as if to show their contempt for all non-represented interference with their "Honourable House?" Can I give you a stronger illustration of the fact, than that presented by the recent debate upon the great National Petition? Now, suppose the Tories in power, and the the Whigs in opposition, what would have been the result produced by the presentation of such a petition and for such a purpose, the release of political offenders? I will tell you. If there were 358 Tories and 300 Whigs in the House, instead of the man of the neuter gender outweighing 2,000,000 of the working classes after a shabby palaver for an hour or so, we should have had a ten nights debate, appeal after appeal made to the INJURED PEOPLE and *neglected unrepresented* to send another and another; no; not to send, but to BRING IT in all their might and strength; and then we should have the prayer granted to avoid a great organic change. Such would be the result if we had had an opposition; but the Whigs, assured of back from the Tory tyrants, treated that as they have treated every other petition—with contempt; and but for the IMPORTANCE of the time when it was presented, we should have heard that it was not constitutionally worded. Hence, I give it as my opinion, that, in the present state of the franchise, we cannot tranfer the balance of power from the exterior to the interior; and also, that we cannot hold the balance of power at all, without a popular opposition, and that the Tory party never will constitute that popular opposition. How, then, you may ask, is the balance of power to be used? I answer, in the same way that it was used in 1830, when the people beat the King, the Lords, the Commons, and the factions; but used for a different purpose now. I contend for it that the Whigs did not want Reform then, but were willing to ride it to power. I contend for it that although they do not now want the Charter, they will mount it, in the hope of riding it also to Downing-street, and there stabling it; and I contend for it that in that attempt, which will be in less than six months, if they are now in a minority, that we can upon perfectly honourable terms, accord them both our support and approbation. I contend for it that the hungry Whigs out of office in 1841, will do as the hungry Whigs out of office have ever done before; while the people in 1841, will take precious good care that the result shall not be the same; as WE WILL THEN MAKE THE RETURN OF MAN FOR MAN, a "*sine qua non*;" and let no man on earth persuade you that the Whigs, as a body, would refuse such a compromise, though a few of the "*constitutional*" old fogies would pair off and file off.

Never lose sight of the fact that there are two packs of hounds and only one trough and one mess. The patronage and disposal pill, of army, navy, church, state, royal, civil, colonial, foreign and domestic pickings will be swallowed with an immense proportion of Chartist powder in it; and the Whigs will swallow it. Indeed the squeamish Barenet, so averse to strong political drugs, was preparing his mouth to take the Russell purge in 1835; and his high bid for popularity, by promising to go much further in reducing Irish tithes than the Whigs had done, was the very thing that alarmed the Whigs, and so unceremoniously sent him to the right about. They said "this will never do; this fellow is outbidding us." But since then the Tories have mustered corruption and constitutionality, behind Whig delinquency; and now they are too strong to court power by any other than *constitutional means*. Let me get them before me, with the Whigs at my back, and give me one slap at that thing called "constitutional prerogative," which, though ridiculed by the Whigs, forms, nevertheless, the precedent for their every act.

Before I take leave of the legitimatists, just let me assure you that we shall have no small difficulty this time in getting in Col. Thompson, Mr. Sharman Crawford, and that noble fellow Gully; and here, apart from the Poor Law, I must, in a political sense, add Roebuck. I served with him, and, apart from that measure, I unhesitatingly declare him to be the most efficient democrat upon democratic principles, that I have known to hold a seat in the House of Commons since the Reform Bill. I wish he would bind himself to a Scottish farmer for six months to learn the capability of the soil. You may say, "bad is the best;" but recollect that he, Thompson, Crawford, Faithfull, and myself, were all too democratic for the present constituencies; and now just mark how the villanous, rascally, prostitute *Leeds Mercury*, but, nevertheless, the organ of the factions, speaks of Thompson and Gully, and is silent about Crawford. We are led to infer that a Tory is to go in for Hull with Clay, and that Gully only "*wants a clear stage and no favour*." Men in glass houses should not throw stones. Gully does not live in one; and perhaps some of his most insolent, upstart revilers would not long since have rejoiced upon arriving at Leeds, to be able to boast of a *clear conscience and a clean shirt*. Now then let such villany open your eyes to the merits of the "weaker rascals" whom you would rather assist against the stronger; while I, in truth, would beat down both at once by pummelling the one with the other. In six months, Thompson, Crawford, and Gully, must go a *step further*, to suit the united Whig and Chartist standard; while instead of a choice of evils at Newcastle, you will be appealed to, on bended knee, to unite with the Whigs. No man can doubt this who is not mad.

Now I come to the second branch of my subject,—the Chartist electors. I fear you and I use the term in different senses. I use them to denote parties, who, by the exercise of popular power, would be induced from conscience or compelled from interest to vote for our man: hence my recommendation to resort to exclusive dealing. *I fear you use the term in* the confined sense of qualified persons, who would *from preference*, vote for a Chartist candidate. Believe me, that usurpation, tyranny, neglect of registering officers, and disgust from hopelessness of being able to effect anything, has reduced that body to a mere fraction, and that our principal force would be recruited from the extreme liberal section, who, when pressed, would appear to comply from choice, rather than proper direction in the disposal of their trust, but who would be most happy to be released from the trammels of popular will. And observe, they would gladly seize upon that portion of your letter, and would, under the name of the body of Chartist electors, embrace the opportunity of damning, and for ever, the cause which they profess to love, but secretly and heartily detest, and the more so, in consequence of its proper exercise of authority.

Before I quit this branch of my subject, allow me to say a word about your advice to Chartist electors, to remain neuter in case we cannot use them: you might just as well ask a Coghlan or a Howrahane to remain with his hands in his breeches pockets while their parties were fighting. You don't appear to me to comprehend the great change which the public mind undergoes suddenly during a general contested election; nor in fact can any man who has not mixed in the turmoil and witnessed the working. Now, as I have conducted, and taken part in, more violently contested elections than any man living, allow me to assure you, that nothing but the very most *powerful excitement* can keep one in a thousand from voting. Those who enter into the most solemn resolution in the morning, are OPERATED UPON as the battle rages; and indeed it is not wonderful. Now then, my policy was to get controul over that party; while yours would leave the controul *in other hands! and probably to be used against us* without reference to any defined or general plan of operation. I did not tell them not to vote, because I know they will vote; and knowing that I hoped to turn them, as a body, to the best account, for rendering the unrepresented balance of power more efficient hereafter.

Now, as to any coalition, I do, thank God, stand free from all charges of personal motives. I have narrowly watched the course of events, and the working of men's minds, produced without their knowledge, upon the eve of a great political struggle like the present. A General Election has its martyrs. Poor Hunt fell a sacrifice to popular folly in 1832; Cobbett fell a sacrifice to disappointment from the General Election of 1834; O'Connell fell a sacrifice, but had not the grace or feeling to die, to the General Election of 1837, and 1841 will finish him. It must finish him, when it is discovered that it has furnished the Irish means of strangling Repeal.

Now, I have resolved that the present contest should not kill me; and for that reason, I have refused to stand for numberless places to which I have been invited. The first was from Leicester, when the following question was put to me:—"Will you coalesce with a Tory, to insure your election?" Answer—"No, decidedly not." That was my answer, adding; "but use me as a tool to bring a less hideous devil in, if you can, and they will gladly take a Chartist to get rid of the great devil." My excellent friends at Halifax also invited me, and offered to pay all expences, but my answer was No, still No. Why did I do this? Because I was resolved upon recommending my party to strain every nerve to get a few into the House; and if I had allowed myself to be put in nomination upon the plan, it would have given to the principle the complexion of motive, and you know how easy it is to give motive a bad name,—"MAD DOG, MAD DOG." So now, come what will, here am I ready to follow your plan, or any other good plan, to secure in the people's hands the balance of power, and ready to do a man's part in directing that power.

I have now nearly concluded, and you force from me the following explanation:—

In the first place, I hold a Whig opposition to be indispensible to our cause; and, therefore, should I have used all my influence to place them in a minority, and, again, when I found M'Douall, Vincent, Sankey, and, I hope, my dear friend Moir, and Abraham Duncan, in Scotland, likely to be in the field, I thought how I could best insure so desirable an object as their return, and I came to the conclusion, after many nights of reflection, of placing the Whigs upon the horns of a dilemma, I gave them the choice of evils, either a Tory House, or such a God-send as five or six "out and outers," and I threw them out the bait to stimulate the hungry devils; and to give them the first bid, I offered them six, seven, ten, and twenty for one, in order that we might have the rallying point inside.

Now, you have my motives, both of them. You have my plan for ensuring success; and, in conclusion, you shall have, firstly, the steadiness with which I have worked out that plan for years, which you now profess to have brought your friends to the approval of; and, secondly, you shall have the justification of my plan by the approval of it by so high an authority as the *World* newspaper.

Firstly, then, I beg leave to submit for your perusal the following extract from a letter of mine published in the *Star* in September, 1839, and reprinted in the *Star* of the 27th of February last, for the purpose of keeping up the steam. Here it is:—

"If the Tories beat the Whigs with their own measure, the Whigs, in opposition, will not be less craving after pelf, and in less than two months' probation upon the bleak side of the Treasury, all the violence of the persecuted Chartists would fade into utter insignificance, compared with the hungry howlings of the revolutionary crew. Then once again shall we see the black flag—the monarch's drooping head—and the executioner's bloody axe, demanding a renewal of the Whig lease of Downing-street; and then shall we take care that every man of twenty-one years of age shall be a party to the bargain. When you look back, and consider that we have never held our real position in society till now, but have always been used to grace the Whig pageant, one moment's reflection will tell you that standing alone, the only party who dares to meet—the only party who dares to speak—the only party who defies persecution—that we are one of the two parties whose power must be acknowledged. Upon the next general election, the Whigs cease to exist as a party; and upon the consequent following agitation, the Tories will degenerate into a faction, and a very few of the most wealthy will remain as a memento upon the opposition benches, whose only business will be to gratify their own ambition, by endeavouring to affright the representatives of the people with the bloody ghost of Toryism.

"Men of Sheffield,—The game is now in our hands; the ball is at our foot. If we but play and kick them as our enemies deserve, the next General Election should furnish from 400 to 500 Radical Members. We must be prepared to stand alone. In Sheffield you will do your duty. You have Crabtree, Gill, and others, in whom you can repose confidence. Invite them as candidates—return them as members—and, having done so, chair them through your town, exhibit them in populous places, and proclaim them the representatives of your will. For one moment imagine what must be the result of this cheap experiment. It will cost you but one day's attendance at the hustings, instead of days of ceaseless agitation. It places you at once in the ascendant. It gives you a majority in the representative body; and if England, Ireland, and Scotland, are not prepared for such a step, then do England, Ireland, and Scotland deserve the chains of eternal slavery, which their task-masters will impose upon them.

"Men of Sheffield,—The press, which has deluded our opponents by laughing at our weakness—by denying our union and our strength—the press, which is the index and the horn-book of all the factions—will not be able to blindfold the several candidates, who themselves shall be made witness of their own defeat. No act would so far tend to give the enemy ocular demonstration of our power, of their weakness, and newspaper deceit.

"Now, my friends, I shall conclude by imploring you to stand alone; and we then must triumph. I thank you—from my soul I thank you—for the powerful, the orderly, the splendid demonstration of Monday night last. It will long be remembered in Sheffield, which I have now made the key to Yorkshire, and with which I pledge myself to open the locked-up treasure, for the benefit of the human family. I implore you to watch well the manner in which the Whig and Tory press will dispose of that night's proceedings; whilst such an exhibition in favour of either of the factions would have decided the destiny of the nation. Go on, good men! onward, and we conquer—backward, and we fall! Give the watchful and perfidious enemy no handle over you! Break no law; and in a very little time, you will make laws which no man will dare to break with impunity! I shall be amongst you from time to time; for I have vowed, if I stand alone, to accomplish the great principle of Universal Suffrage."

Now, then, compare that with my recent advice to stand apart with our numerical strength and displays, and with every word I have written, still holding the distinction between the reformed electoral body and the unrepresented classes, and say who has been on the watch tower—who has been the least negligent—who looked for the 400 or 500 representatives, and who recommended the people to chair their Members, and then to leave the factions to themselves? Recollect the letters were written in September, 1839, and reprinted in 1841; while you say, if what is now recommended by the *Star* had been done three months ago, we should have been in a *very different position*. I think I have done too much; and if I had only done a man's share, so much would not be expected from me. I have kept dinning, and dinning, and dinning the same old tune into the popular lug for nearly six years; and when I had fondly hoped that I had not dinned in vain, I am mortified by discovering that all went in at one ear and out at the other, while my only consolation is that I hope the whole has made some impression.

I would not have noticed the charge of madness, treason, or folly, but I feel that the charge of neglect and want of judgment would naturally and justly weaken the influence of myself, the Convention, and the *Star*. In conclusion, if I have erred, I am happy to have erred in such good company as the Convention and the whole people who expressed their approval of the principle to a greater extent than laid down by me, and nobly carried out by the brave Chartists of Nottingham. However, when men differ, they should take counsel; and now, I beg to call to our aid the opinion of one of the profoundest political teachers, and most uncompromising patriots of the day, the Editor of the *World*, who speaks thus in last Saturday's number of that glorious paper, destined to be the regenerator of Ireland. He says—

"The dissolution of the dying Parliament is drawing near, and the rival factions are preparing for the encounter; but, just as we should have expected, the masses take no interest in the electioneering battle, and display a provoking apathy. The Tories entreat them to come to the rescue of the Constitution, and the Whigs, upon bended knees, beseech them to arouse in their might, and, by one vigorous effort, frighten away their antagonists from their meditated assault upon Downing-street. To the everlasting disgrace of "the swinish multitude," they will not stir, but remain in a state of motionless indifference. What has become of the men of the Political Union, who used to congregate in thousands and tens of thousands, in the market places, and upon the broad moors, to the terror of the Newcastles and Winchilseas? They are far in advance, having left the Tories and Whigs to squabble in the rear, and will not return to take part with either faction. Instead of the millions, the Whigs and Tories will be respectively backed by the moral, educated, and middle class electors of such places as Cambridge, St. Albans, and, might we not add, Dublin, who will vote for the man with the longest purse, utterly regardless what may be the hue of his principles. In sooth it is a fearful time for candidates, and well may they wriggle and writhe at the prospect of coming to the hustings. The aristocratic Whigs were the first to sneer at political inconsistency—nay, such ornaments of the party as Lords Palmerston and Plunkett have, by their career, shown how easily principle can be sacrificed to profit; it is, however, a horrible thing when the unwashed people prove themselves apt scholars. Happily, corrupt electors can only now and then indulge in their evil propensities, while trading politicians may daily have an opportunity of bartering their principles; but the former, as if made ravenous by long abstinence, contrive to do a great deal of havoc in a short space, and never, it is said, had they a sharper appetite than at the present moment. Candidates in every quarter appear to feel this, and, therefore, those who have little to expect but senatorial distinction, are skulking from the field to seek the comforts of domestic life; while others, like West, are endeavouring to get a full-blooded man to aid them in the contest; or after the manner of Dick Sheil, preparing to take refuge in some convenient and cheap locality, where its constituency may have a relish for bribes, but dare not insist upon them. Throughout the country we now hear of nothing but rich men and titled striplings coming forward, resolved by the weight of their purse and ancestral pretensions to obtain the privilege of making laws for us. Is it not rather remarkable, that if the great object were to obtain the honour of assisting in framing just and equal laws for the whole of the community, such sacrifices should be made, and such immense sums of money squandered away to purchase a laborious, and, if honestly discharged, an unprofitable duty. Neither under a genuine system of representation are wealthy or titled persons the description of people that ought to be sent to represent the national sentiment in Parliament, who can have but little sympathy or acquaintance with the wants and wishes of the great bulk of society. However, this system, which generates corruption and demoralization is that alone which ensures the upholding of class interests at the expense of the prosperity and happiness of the country. When a better state of things arrives, the people will choose honest and able representatives, instead of looking out for the affluent and high-born. Whatever party may triumph during the approaching struggle will have very little influence upon the great social changes which must soon take place. Should Ministers be able to maintain their ground, they will, in all probability, have learned that their stand still policy can no longer be persevered in; and should the Tories succeed them, and Sir Robert Peel assume the reins of power with a majority of sixty, affairs will receive a still greater impetus, as the powerful minority, sustained by the "pressure *from* without," will soon tend to convince him that he may as well think to restrain the ocean wave as the onward march of events, which are influenced by a power and intelligence far beyond his control."

Now, in the above article you have a full outline of my policy, and I recognise the principles of my countryman, whom I glory in, although I am ignorant of his name. I beg of you to read again and again from the words "should Ministers be enabled to maintain their ground;" and bear in mind that we must look to the opinions of *all*; while, nevertheless, there is no *one* whose opinions will go farther in guiding mine, when nearly balanced, than those of James Bronterre O'Brien.

Having now concluded all that I mean to say upon this subject,

I again subscribe myself,
Your faithful associate,
And sincere friend,
FEARGUS O'CONNOR.

P.S. Surely I may indulge in the news which has just reached me, and which proves that the men of Yorkshire did not wait for the ball to be kicked to them. Twelve candidates are at this moment assembled in the Leeds Cloth Hall yard—four Whigs, four Tories, and four Chartists—all upon equal terms—two Chartists for West Riding, and two for the Borough of Leeds. Let that ball rebound, as IT IS the rebound from the *Star's* four years' exertion—a candidate for each year.

Yours, &c.,
F. O'C.

PLAN FOR CHARTIST OPERATIONS AT AN ELECTION.

[The following letter was originally published in the *Star* of September 21st, 1839; and again re-printed in the *Star* of March 6th, 1841. Mr. O'Connor, in his first letter to Mr. O'Brien, inserted in our seventh page, refers to it, as the reader will perceive, and here it is again.]

BROTHER RADICALS,—For the same reason that a serjeant's guard of disciplined and armed troops will beat and put to flight a squadron of raw and unarmed recruits, have we been beaten by factions disciplined in the arts of treachery and deceit. We must discipline and remedy this evil. We must meet them on their own ground, and with their own weapons. We must organise, and show the front of freemen. In order to effect it, then, I submit the following suggestions for your consideration:—

Peel says "Register, register, *register!*"—O'Connell says "Register, register, register!"—the Whig press and the Tory press say "Register, register, register!" and, therefore, there must be *some* magic in the word "Register." You cannot register, but you can "Unite, unite, unite!" and Russell says it is your right to exercise *influence* over the elector; while O'Connell says that it is your right to use gentle coercion towards the elector. Let us, then, place ourselves in a position to be prepared whenever the *struggle* may come; and, believe me, it is at hand, else would not our enemies be loading their pieces. Let a committee be established in every town and village throughout England, Scotland, and Wales, according to the following form, and for the performance of the following duties:—

THE FORM.

Let the electors and non-electors instantly form county, city, and borough-election clubs. Where the clubs consist of *several hundreds*, let them be divided into hundreds. Let each hundred appoint a chairman. The hundreds shall then be divided into tens, and each ten should appoint a chairman. The chairmen of the hundreds should constitute the General Election Committee. The chairmen of every eleven tens should, according to convenient locality, constitute the district or ward committees. The committee of tens should report on every Monday night, to the General Committee, the state of the public mind in their several districts; after which, a compendious report should be submitted by placard, handbill, or through the medium of the press. The terms to constitute membership to be one penny per week. The funds to be appropriated as a Finance Committee, appointed by a show of hands at a general meeting, shall direct.

THE DUTIES.

The duty of the Election Club will be to select a fit and proper candidate, who shall be vigorous and active in laying before his constituents the principles upon which he claims their support—to read at public meetings, as often as opportunity affords, the reports and resolutions from the several committees. Every candidate should be pledged to support Universal Suffrage and a repeal of the Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland, to take his seat if returned by a majority in the house called the House of Commons—and to restore his trust whenever required to do so by a majority of a committee to be called "The committee of review of public men's conduct," which step must be sanctioned by a public meeting of his constituents. The committee should also appoint collectors of contributions, who should leave the following printed form of application at the house of every voter in their district:—"We, the committee appointed to superintend the management of the election of ———, do respectfully solicit your support and interest, and also such contribution as you can conveniently give, to promote the aforesaid object." A book should be kept containing the names of all the electors in the several districts, to be called "The canvass and contribution book." When the whole machinery is completed, public meetings of the electors and non-electors should be convened, to take into consideration the propriety of appointing a National Election Convention of twenty-one, whose duty it shall be to sit in London for the purpose of receiving, and disseminating throughout the country, digested reports from the several Election Committees.

I think, at a single glance, you will see that the adoption of the foregoing plan will at once raise a safe and constitutional standard round which the friends of Radicalism may rally. We shall then stand upon an equality, in the field of agitation, with both Whigs and Tories; and, according as we are treated, so shall we treat the enemy. In this instance the Constitution recognises no superiority; and if we are not prepared to carry out this principle, we are not deserving of Universal Suffrage. If, upon the other hand, we are prepared, and if, by our united exertions, we can return a majority of the six hundred and fifty-eight, we shall be justly entitled to go to the House of Commons upon the first day of the next session of Parliament, and there pass a law directing her Majesty to issue new writs for the return of a Parliament upon the principle of Universal Suffrage. This requires no exhibition of physical force, as any opposition offered to the will of a nation thus manifested would be high treason upon the part of our opponents. The effect of our preparation would be the immediate liberation of our friends from their dungeons; for, believe me, that our enemies but await our union to obey our command. I cannot conceive a more glorious sight than a nation of freemen marching to the hustings in sections, divisions, and squadrons, there to show their hands, which are ready to support the dictates of their hearts. My mind is always upon the rack, my invention is ever at work, to learn how I can best serve your cause; and lazy men, who will not work themselves, call me presumptuous—but how much more pleasing and easy would it be for me to remain idle, if those who abuse me would work; but the work must be either left undone, or done by a few. Instead of constantly nibbling and carping at my propositions, let them suggest, and I will follow; but I cannot and will not remain idle so long as a single grievance remains unredressed. I implore you, then, my fellow men, by your valour, by your patriotism, and by your humanity—by the love which you bear to your God, your country, your family, and your kind, to awake, arise, and let the voice of freedom be heard *upon each passing breeze* throughout this sea-bound dungeon! Let us proclaim the right of the labourer to enjoy the fruits of his labour—of the freeman to enjoy *the protection of his castle*—of the community to enjoy social comfort and happiness—of the poor to live upon the land of his birth—and of the nation to be governed by laws made equally for the protection of the rich and the poor. Let union be your watchword—liberty your idol—and Universal Suffrage, and no surrender, your motto. For these things I have lived, and for these things I am ready to risk my life; and am

Your faithful and sincere friend,
FEARGUS O'CONNOR.

Leeds, 20th, Sept. 1839.

Chartist Intelligence.

WEST RIDING DELEGATE MEETING.

The above meeting took place on Sunday, the 20th of June, in the Chartist Rooms, over the Co-operative Stores, Dewsbury, when delegates were present from the following places:—

Mr. W. Moseley Stott, Dewsbury.
Mr. Andrew Gardiner, Fish Shambles, Leeds.
Mr. W. Hick, for the Teetotal Chartists, Leeds.
Mr. Edward Clayton, Huddersfield.
Mr. Stephen Johnson, Wakefield.
Mr. Thomas Bradley Knowles, Keighley.
Mr. John Shaw, Lepton.
Mr. John Helliwell, Sowerby.
Mr. John Arran, Bradford.

Mr. John Helliwell in the chair.

The following resolutions were adopted.

Moved by Mr. GARDINER, and seconded by Mr. KNOWLES—

"That Mr. George Julian Harney be re-appointed West Riding Lecturer for two months."

Moved by Mr. GARDINER, and seconded by Mr. STOTT—

"That two Chartist Candidates be brought forward for the West Riding of Yorkshire at the next General Election."

Moved by Mr. KNOWLES, and seconded by Mr. W HICK—

"That Mr. Lawrence Pitkethly and Mr. George Julian Harney be requested to allow themselves to be put in nomination for the West Riding at the next General Election."

Both the above gentlemen being present, the question was put to them, when they both answered, that they considered it to be their duty to come forward when called upon by such a large portion of the people of the West Riding, through their delegates."

It was then unanimously agreed that Mr. Pitkethly and Mr. G. J. Harney be put in nomination for the West Riding.

It is hoped that the non-electors of the West Riding will show to both factions that they are no longer to be gulled by either, and that they are determined to support no man who will not give to them their undeniable rights.

DROYLSDEN.—Mr. Cartledge lectured here with great success on Tuesday evening.

NEW MILLS.—(DERBYSHIRE.)—A public meeting of the inhabitants of this place was held last Saturday, Mr. Wm. Garrat was called to the chair. Messrs. Doyle and Linney, of Manchester, addressed the *meeting* upon the principles of the Charter. The out-door meeting was adjourned to the George Inn, where Mr. Doyle again addressed them upon the subject of the Corn Laws. The capacious room was filled to suffocation; and at the conclusion, there were three cheers given for Feargus O'Connor, Esq. and the imprisoned Chartists; three likewise for Frost, Williams, and Jones, and the People's Charter. The vast assembly quietly dispersed, highly delighted with the afternoon's proceedings.

SUNDERLAND.—PUBLIC DISCUSSION ON CHARTISM.—According to announcement in last week's *Star*, Messrs. Williams and Gainsley held a public discussion in the Golden Lion Room—"On the necessity and importance of a change according to the principles of the Charter." The room was crowded. At eight o'clock, Mr. Towers was proposed and unanimously elected to the chair. The arrangements made by the committee-men were, that each speaker should be allowed twenty minutes at the commencement, and *afterwards ten minutes each, speaking alternately*. The discussion to close at ten o'clock. Mr. Williams agreed to allow Mr. Gainsley the first and closing speech. Mr. Gainsley began by explaining what appeared to many as singular, namely, his sudden conversion from Chartism to Socialism and Socialism only. If we were to give even an outline of the line of argument, if argument it might be called, which Mr. Gainsley adopted, we should be suspected, by persons not present, of partiality; the best proof of the effect of the discussion was the opinion of the meeting expressed at its close—when the following motion was made by Mr. Taylor, seconded by another gentleman, viz.—"That it is the opinion of this meeting that a change, according to the principles of the Charter, is a necessary, important, and would be a beneficial change." On a division, there appeared for the motion almost the entire meeting, and against it, some say there were two or three, but none more than six hands held up. Considering that Sunderland has a branch Social Society, the decision of the meeting may be taken as a conclusive proof that the Socialists of Sunderland do not see the wisdom of being political neutrals, or virtual obstructives. We trust that it will be the means of establishing a better understanding between those who are seeking one common end, and who may fairly accompany each other on the road, as far as they are mutually agreed.

ELECTORS' MEETING.—On Wednesday evening, a meeting of the electors of Sunderland, favourable to a repeal of the Corn Laws, and also to the representative views of the Chartists, was held at the Golden Lion room, for the purpose of taking steps to bring forward a candidate of such sentiments, and adopt such means as might be necessary to secure his return. Mr. Joplin, draper, was called to the chair, and introduced the business by reading the circular by which the meeting was called. He then requested Mr. Williams to come forward and address the electors as it appeared there was none amongst them qualified or disposed to speak. Mr. Williams then addressed the meeting in a temperate and judicious speech, proving the necessity for union between the electors and non-electors, and stating that the only practicable ground of union was that recommended in the circular. He concluded by moving the following resolution, to test the opinions of the electors, namely, "That it is the opinion of this meeting that a candidate favourable to the principles of the Charter, and also to the repeal of the Corn Laws, should be brought forward and supported by the electors and non-electors of the borough." The resolution was seconded by an elector, put to the meeting, and carried unanimously. A committee, consisting of Messrs. Joplin, Braithwaite, Bell, Robinson, and Maxfield, was formed, with power to add to their number, to carry the above resolution into effect.

LECTURE.—On Sunday evening, Mr. Binns delivered a spirited lecture in the Golden Lion room. At the close of the lecture a meeting of the members of the Association was held, when it was resolved to appoint a deputation to wait upon the liberal electors' committee, formed for the purpose of procuring the return of Chartist and Corn Law repeal candidates.

ELECTORS COMMITTEE.—On Thursday evening, the Committee appointed at the public meeting met in the Arcade room, and enrolled several fresh members. It was resolved to invite T. P. E. Thompson, Esq. son of Colonel Thompson, *to come forward*, and Mr. *Robinson* was appointed to correspond with him. Arrangements were then made for canvassing the town.

SUNDERLAND.—The sum of £1 3s. 9*d*. was received last week from Mr. Williams, Sunderland, for various funds—but the paper containing the particulars has been mislaid, we wish him therefore to forward a copy of it.

LOUGHBOROUGH.—Mr. Skevington lectured here on Monday, on the duty of the people at the elections. Much enthusiasm was manifested. Long Whatton, lately visited by Mr. Skevington, is also quite up to the mark. The men of Loughborough were to have a large public meeting on Wednesday, but we have not heard the result.

WIGAN.—Leech has been lecturing here with great success. The Chartists here are all right; they have their own man, a sterling and talented Chartist, Mr. William Dixon, in the field. District meetings are being holden, and the villages Hindley, West Houghton, Leigh, Chowbent, Astley, Tyldesley, Banks, &c. are all alive for the struggle, and determined to shew themselves men.

MANCHESTER.—At a public meeting in Tib-street, on Monday last, it was resolved, in consequence of information having been received that the "Plague" were again mustering their Irish forces for the election, that the Chartists of Manchester would forego their intention of bringing forward candidates at this election, in order that no pretext for massacre may be afforded to the blood-thirsty villains, pledging themselves at the same time to support to the utmost of their power their brethren in any other town where Chartist candidates have come forward.

STOCKPORT.—All is here quiet again. The "Plague" men seem to have profited by their lesson, and the people are suffered to assemble, and disperse peaceably. Mr. Bairstow addressed an assemblage of ten or twelve thousand on Tuesday evening, without the least disturbance.

WOLVERHAMPTON.—Mr. Candy has been engaged here as lecturer, and is producing a great effect.

ABERGAVENNY.—I have the unfeigned pleasure to inform you that we have at length succeeded in collecting a few of our Chartists friends together here, for the purpose of *forming* an association, which has not been done without some trouble and perseverence, as this place is a nest for a strong party of oppositionists. *Our meeting* was held on Tuesday evening, at the Cross Keys Inn, at which there were twenty-one persons enrolled, and I doubt not there would have been many more persons present had our intention of holding the meeting been more known. There was but little business of any importance transpired, excepting the enrolling of the members, and agreeing that this association should be on the same footing as the National Charter Association; but a *meeting* has been convened to be holden at the same place on Monday evening next, when it is anticipated that there will be a strong party of our friends assembled.—*Correspondent.*

CHESTER.—We had a numerous meeting of the Chartists of this city yesterday evening, Mr. Wm. Jones, one of the lecturers, and two others of the Liverpool Chartist Association were over here paying us a visit. The meeting was announced by the bellman, which took place in the Primitive Christian Meeting house. Mr. John Vaughan, a most valuable member of our association, and a dissenting minister, was unanimously called to the chair, who, at some length, and in an animated and lucid manner opened the business of the meeting; after which Mr. Wm. Jones presented himself to the audience to deliver a lecture on Chartism and its objects. This young man's talents are of the first order. He is an invaluable advocate in the cause of liberty, truth, and justice. He clearly and ably elucidated the various points of the People's Charter; pointed out to the audience the necessity and duty of perseverance in the good and virtuous cause; energetically contrasted the present impoverished, miserable condition of the working classes, the producers of all wealth, with what it ought to be; he ably dwelt on the atrocities and the anamalies of the accursed and abominable Poor Law Bill, and expressed himself against the base and brutal Whigs, in terms redolent of contempt, sarcasm, and execration. His lecture frequently elicited the warmest bursts of applause. The lecture occupied about two hours in the delivery, after which Mr. Thomas Youde, grocer, was unanimously elected secretary to the association, in the stead of Mr. Speed, who had resigned. Thanks were voted to the lecturer, who was warmly congratulated on retiring from the meeting. A number of persons applied to join the association before the conclusion of the meeting, most of whom were accepted. Chartism is making rapid progress in this city.

ST. ANDREW'S.—A meeting of the Chartists of this city was held in Mr. Wilson's School Room, South-street, on the evening of Wednesday se'nnight, at eight o'clock, Mr. David Black in the chair, when the following resolutions, in reference to the conduct of the Chartists at the coming election, were carried unanimously:—Moved by Mr. Alexander Mackie, weaver, and seconded by Mr. Archibald Bell, weaver—"That, having had ten years' trial of the Whig faction; we now know no difference between them and the old enemies of the people, the Tories, and therefore consider them both unworthy of the confidence of the people at the ensuing General Election, and pledge ourselves, individually and collectively, to support no candidate at the said election, unless he pledge himself *to* advocate and support, to their full extent, the principles of real and salutary Reform embodied in the People's Charter." Moved by Mr. Charles Stewart, printer, and seconded by Mr. John Carstairs, mason—"That we approve of the plan of bringing forward Chartist candidates at the forthcoming election, and we pledge ourselves to support such a candidate, and by every means in our power promote his election, for the St. Andrew's District of Burghs; and that a letter, embodying these sentiments, and craving the assistance of our brethren in Fife, be sent to the county meeting of delegates, to be held at Kettle, on Saturday next; and further, that for the purpose of keeping up the agitation in St. Andrew's, we pledge ourselves to use every means in our power in supporting the Chartist press—namely, the *Northern Star, Dundee Chronicle, Perth Chronicle*, the *Chartist Circular*, &c."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NORTHERN STAR.

SIR,—I returned from my Scotch journey late on Saturday last, and was immediately called upon to stand as a candidate for the representation of the West Riding of this county. Lords Milton and Morpeth having arranged to meet the electors here on Tuesday. An arrangement was entered into that Mr. Harney and myself should, with proposers and seconders to each, have tickets to the hustings; that Mr. H. should succeed Lord Morpeth, and that I should follow Lord Milton. In *accordance with that arrangement*, I went and presented my ticket for the hustings at the door of a warehouse through which was the only passage to them; I was admitted, but on my way through the warehouse, Mr. George Crossland, on hearing my name announced, exclaimed, "No Mr. Pitkethly here," and suiting the action to the word in a way that I could not ward off, struck me a violent blow on the left breast, and collaring me, pushed me back. When I resisted, the Whigs, the only party present except myself, rushed between us, and I was instantly asked if I knew whose premises I was in. I said, "I was there in no one's premises—that I came there upon public grounds." "O!" said they, "those are Mr. Crossland's premises." I said, "I could not consent to be considered upon private premises—that the chairman of their committee had given me an order to the hustings—and that my right there was as good as George Crossland's, or that of any one else." I went again towards Crossland to demand by what *right he had committed so violent and brutal* an assault upon me, when another row was the consequence, and, standing as I did, alone, of course I was overpowered, and my entrance to the *hustings* completely blocked up. I attempted to reach the ear of Mr. Brooke, the chairman, to explain, but without effect, and on reaching the street I found that during the Whig exhibition of physical force inside the building, a regularly organised bloody and brutal attack had been made by the Whigs, who were mounted on horseback; that just before turning the corner, a few buildings from the hustings, they made a halt, when a signal and orders were given by one of the body to gallop right down upon the people, an order which was instantly obeyed. Many were knocked down, in their passage through the crowd. They struck right and left with whips and other weapons, and many were wounded. In self-defence the "boys" used some stones, but the Whigs on foot used both bludgeons and stones, and that they broke windows there is ample proof.

I am prepared to prove, by incontrovertible evidence, that what I state is only a small portion of the barbarity perpetrated on this Whig field of Peterloo, and is demonstrative of what that brutal faction would do if they had the power.

I pray my friends never at any time to put themselves within the reach of Whig treachery, and trusting that they will be a very small minority in the next Parliament,

I remain, yours faithfully,
L. PITKETHLY.

Huddersfield, June 24th, 1841.

Addresses, &c.

TO THE ELECTORS AND NON-ELECTORS OF THE WEST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE.

FRIENDS AND COUNTRYMEN,

HAVING been solicited by the delegates of the unrepresented people (assembled from all parts of the Riding) in Dewsbury, this day, to allow myself to be put in nomination as a candidate for the representation of the West Riding, I have deemed it my duty to at once comply, and in responding to the call made upon me, see the necessity and propriety of making known the principles in support of which I claim your suffrages.

I appear before you as the humble advocate of of that great body of our countrymen excluded by the present legislative system from all participation in those rights and franchises held and exercised by the other classes of the community.

I see around me the men of my own order (the working class) creating (under God) all wealth yet enjoying none—earning that bread in the "sweat of their brow," which they themselves do not eat, but which is devoured by the drones, the schemers, and plunderers of society.

From personal connection, correspondence, and communication, I can speak to the universal spirit of discontent existing in the breasts of the labouring many. I know that disaffection toward all existing institutions pervades the mass of the working classes. I know that they regard with scorn and contempt the miserably delusive measures of Reform lately propounded to the country by the present Advisers of the Sovereign.

What will the proposed trifling reduction per pound in the price of Sugar; the proposed alteration (for the worse) in the Duties on Timber; the proposed alteration in the Corn Laws, intended solely to bolster up a decreasing Revenue; what will these changes do for the wretched hand-loom weaver existing upon 2s. 9d., 3s 6d., and 4s. 6d. per week? For the miserably-paid agricultural labourer? For the tens of thousands of the destitute of England, Scotland, and Ireland willing to earn by labour their subsistence, but unable to find it?

A change is required, not to keep one faction in and another faction out; but a change that will socially benefit the mighty mass—that shall guarantee to him who toils the fruits of his labour.

How is such change to be effected? Will titled Aristocrats or wealthy Commoners do that for you which would ameliorate their class-usurpation? Not they indeed. How then is such change to be brought about? By the destruction of class-legislation and the representation of the oppressed wealth-producers.

Seeing, in the present system of legislation, the cause of the political debasement and social wretchedness of the working class, I seek for the enfranchisement (politically and socially) of that class by the recognition and adoption of the principles of the People's Charter.

I demand the extension of the Suffrage to every male that shall have attained the years of manhood. First, on the ground of right, believing that "all men are born free and equal." Second, on the ground of protection, that labour may legislate for labour, and that the rich, through class made laws, may no longer grind the faces of the poor.

Opposed in principle to secret voting, I would nevertheless give my support to the Ballot as a means of protection to the weak against the tyranny of the strong. Annual or Sessional Parliaments I would most cordially support. A more equal division of Electoral Districts is absolutely necessary to avoid the gross anomalies of the present system. The Property Qualification at present required on the part of English and Irish Representatives is a gross insult to every principle of justice, the people's approval should be the only qualification of the legislator. Each Representative should receive wages for attendance, that he may be truly the servant of the people, they (the people) having the power to dismiss him from their service when failing to fulfil the duties of his mission.

Only when the people are represented will legislative measures be adopted for the good of all.

But, in the meantime, it is perhaps necessary that I should state briefly my sentiments upon certain great questions connected with the welfare of our common country.

I am sternly opposed to the New Poor Law, both in principle and detail, and will seek its immediate and total repeal.

Regarding with horror and indignation the wholesale murder of the children of the poor in the manufacturing districts, the Ten Hours Bill shall have my hearty support; and I will seek by every means in my power to promote a complete reform of factory labour.

Seeing in local government the best palladium of national liberty, I am opposed to all schemes of "centralisation." I am hostile to any scheme of Rural Police, and consider that the complete control over the police of towns and boroughs should be vested in the hands of the inhabitants.

I am opposed to all restrictions upon knowledge, and will seek the repeal of all laws and taxes fettering the press.

The advocate of religious as well as civil liberty, I contend against the existence of a state church, or compulsory exactions for the support of any sect or creed.

I will support a total repeal of the Corn Laws accompanied by such a reduction of taxation as will allow the British farmer to compete with the foreign corn grower; and give to the manufacturing population, the benefit of such repeal without inflicting injury upon the agricultural classes. I am for the repeal of all "monopolies" by the repeal of the "monopoly" of legislation.

With respect to Ireland, I am decidedly in favour of a Repeal of the Legislative Union, believing that it would be for the interest and welfare of both countries that Ireland should constitute and legislate for herself.

If elected as your Representative, I shall use every exertion to procure the liberation and restoration of all those suffering in prison or in exile for their advocacy of the rights of man.

Electors,—I have briefly but explicitly stated my principles—the grounds upon which I hope for your Suffrages; in you is reposed a weighty trust, see that you exercise that trust for the good of all. We are on the eve of a change, which no earthly power can avert, it is for you to say how that change shall be effected. We are on the very threshold of "Revolution," it is for you to decide whether that "Revolution" shall be peaceably brought about with your assistance, or whether the disfranchised many shall be compelled to right themselves in spite of your opposition—in the latter case the consequences are frightful to contemplate. Believe me, mere brute force cannot much longer stifle the voice of the oppressed and the enslaved.

Non-Electors,—The principles set forth in this address are no new principles adopted for the occasion; for years I have struggled for their triumph; my first services in your cause entitle me to look for that support of which I feel confident.

Friends and Countrymen,—Now is the time to assert your claim to the suffrage; long disfranchised—long enslaved, cease to be the willing serfs of faction. Attend in your thousands and tens of thousands, on the day of nomination, and once, and for ever, set aside the odious and wicked distinction of the "privileged few," and the "subject many." Demand your rights, and practically assert your demand.

I am,
Your devoted Friend and Servant,
GEORGE JULIAN HARNEY.
Dewsbury, June 20, 1841.

TO THE ELECTORS AND NON-ELECTORS OF THE BOROUGH OF LEEDS.

HAVING been invited to become a Candidate for the Representation of your Borough, I cheerfully comply, and rest my hopes of success upon the coincidence between my principles and objects, and your interests and duties.

There are periods in the history of nations, when events concur to produce a crisis, in which attention to the constitution and workings of Government, the condition of the people, their grievances, opinions, and feelings, become the sacred duty of all. The present is such a period. The voice of discontent rings through the land, and the cry of the oppressed pierceth the heavens. Merchants and Manufacturers, Masters and Workmen, all, in fact, excepting those privileged to live on the resources develope, and wealth produced by the mind, skill, and labour of the people, are dissatisfied with *things as they are*. Oppression and fraud increase daily. Ruin and unendurable misery are fruits of things as they are therefore, a *change* is demanded.

But what change? What change is adequate to the emergencies of the case, and capable of effectually eradicating existing evils? What change will make England and Englishmen what they ought to be? Various schemes are offered by parties claiming your Suffrages. Which is the best? That is the question, the "Question of Questions," which you must now decide!

As an Englishman attached to my country, and a man desirous of advancing the condition of my race, I respectfully submit my views of the means by which the honour and happiness of both would be secured.

"Be just, and fear not." That is my remedy; the foundation of my political creed.

Class Legislation, and Irresponsible Power, are opposed to this. I believe *them*, therefore, to be the source of our miseries—Government *by* and *for* the people, the only remedy.

Justice to the People requires that the voice of their Representatives be heard in the Legislature which makes laws affecting their lives, means of existence, and happiness. This Justice to the People is not only compatible with, but inseparable from, the real happiness of all. I am, therefore, no Political Partisan, nor Party Slave.

My Principles are embodied in the People's Charter, and are admitted, by all, to be *abstractedly, just*; but I hold that where *Justice* is an *abstraction*, *Injustice* must be a *reality*.

The Principles of the Charter would rest the Government of the Country in Men of Mature Age and Sound Mind; the present system enfranchises and legislates for Bricks, Mortar, and Money. The former is a *Living Soul*, the latter a *Dead Matter* Suffrage.

I am not only for the *Repeal of the Corn Laws*, but the abolition of all Duties upon Imports and Exports. I would make Trade as free as the air we breathe, and abolishing all other Taxes, would provide the needful expences of a just Governmment by a *Tax upon Property*.

I maintain the right of the Unemployed Labourer, as well as the Aged and Infirm, to a subsistence from the soil of his native Land; and shall, therefore, *oppose the present Poor Law* as insufficient in its provisions, as well as insulting and despotic in its administration.

My opinions on other subjects I shall have an opportunity of submitting to you shortly; in the meantime, I assure you your Choice shall be my Qualification, your approbation my reward, and the promotion of your universal Interests my highest Happiness.

I am, Gentlemen,
Your Friend and Servant,
JAMES WILLIAMS.
Sunderland, June 12, 1841.

TO THE ELECTORS AND NON-ELECTORS OF THE BOROUGH OF LEEDS.

THE time has arrived when a new Government has to be formed out of the Representatives of the National Mind. In the struggle for the selection and election of such Representatives Leeds has to take a part; and already are four Candidates, in the respective interest of the two great factions who have ruined our country, claimants for your "sweet voices."

To meet the usurped power of faction, you have, in Public Meeting assembled, called upon me to become a Candidate for the Representation of your Borough, associating me with a noble colleague—one of Nature's Gentlemen. I have great pleasure in responding to your call; and hope to prove myself worthy of your confidence by exhibiting the incompetency of our opponents to legislate for the present enlightened race of "ignorant" Englishmen.

I am a plain, blunt man; so "ignorant," that I am not considered worthy of being trusted with the power, or even the right, of judging of the respective merits of those who plead for your Votes; while you consider me worthy the distinguished honour of standing by their side as a Competitor.

My opinion on the questions of "the Suffrage, the Ballot, and the Church," are not "in process of formation"! They are fully matured and confirmed. I trust, therefore, that I shall not require "drilling" to "render" me "sufficiently acceptable to the Electors" on these points!

I am a firm and uncompromising advocate for the immediate legislative adoption of the People's Charter—a document drawn up by Dan O'Connell, Mr. Roebuck, Mr. Hume, and others. This measure duly provides for the just Representation of the whole People; secures the free exercise of the Franchise; and puts an effectual stop to the practice of Bribery and Corruption which now so notoriously prevails. Under its provisions the House of Commons could be no other than a true reflex of the National Mind.

Belonging to the people; having no interest but in common with the people; working for the people (in Parliament if sent) as I have hitherto worked among the people, I shall be free from the trammels of party or faction; and shall not have to sacrifice honour, honesty, truth, consistency, and character to maintain the ascendency of any one set of miscreants over another. I shall never be obliged to vote that "black is white" to preserve my friends in office!!

I make no difference in the creeds of Whig and Tory. The whole (if any) consists in their position relatively to the two little monosyllables—"in" and "out!" The Whigs *in* are Tories:—the Whigs *out*, are *anything* that you wish to make them to secure their "innings"!!

As a charge has lately been made by the hired press against that body to which I have the honour to belong—"the Chartist-paid Missionaries,"—a word here, perhaps, may not be out place. We have been called "Trafficking Politicians." For the present I shall rest quietly under the charge; but upon the day of Nomination I shall take the liberty of questioning both "the noble soldier," and the "prostituted barrister" as to the difference of our respective callings: and I think I shall be able to show, that while I still eat the bread of honest toil, that one of my competitors is a tool ready to be hired at so much per day for the honourable service of indiscriminate slaughter, while the other is ready to prostitute himself, for pay, to the indiscriminate support of right or wrong—the first comer being the object of his protection and support.

Electors and Non-Electors!—A great and mighty change is at hand! and it behoves us to be prepared with the proper machinery for working out that change. Hitherto all Revolutions have failed, because the people have not been prepared with a new system to replace the old one; the intermediate space between the death of one system and the establishment of another having generally been one of Physical Revolution, in which the paramount and general good of the people has been overlooked.

To constitute a small cog in the required machinery I take to be the purpose to which you mean to apply me and my honourable colleague should you elect us; that is, we shall form a portion of the National Representation of the National Will, ready to act for the Nation when society shall be convulsed, (as in all probability it will be) by the interested struggles of the two rival factions for supremacy. Whatever danger may be consequent upon that position, I willingly undertake it; and shall not shrink from any honourable task imposed upon me by my Constitutents. We are in the midst of a mighty struggle between LAND and MACHINERY. The question of the rightful and harmonious application of these two elements of production is one of paramount importance. though few understand its bearings. I flatter myself that I know some little on each branch of the subject, having had practical acquaintance with both. We must return from a too-artificial, to a more natural state of Society. Then will each of these great sources of Wealth and Happiness find its true place in the estimation of Society, and produce its natural results. AGRICULTURE will then be fostered, and not discouraged; and MACHINERY will be made to work for man, instead of working against him, as at present.

Looking anxiously for the day when unprotected LABOUR shall meet protected *Capital*, before an unprejudiced jury of Englishmen.

I am,
Your devoted Friend and Servant,
JAMES LEECH.
Manchester, June 14th, 1841.

TO THE ELECTORS AND INHABITANTS OF THE BOROUGH OF ROCHDALE.

ELECTORS AND INHABITANTS OF ROCHDALE,

I COME before you, at this great Crisis, as the candidate for your representation, not assuming that position at my own seeking, but under the command of a great body of your Electors, signified to me by their written requisition, and since sanctioned at your late Meeting, by the unanimous approval of your assembled Citizens—not assembled in privacy, or within walls, where opponents could be excluded—but in an open space where every individual had the unrestricted power to enter, after a Procession through your Streets, which gave the greatest possible publicity to the object. I am not so presumptuous to consider this proceeding as a manifestation of personal favour to myself; I hold it as a declaration of your adhesion to that great Cause which we jointly support:—that Cause is, the Abatement of Monopolies, Political, Religious, and Commercial;—it was this cause which, at your Meeting and Procession on Saturday evening, produced such unanimity and enthusiasm—that through the extended range of that Procession, and at that Meeting, not one murmur of dissent was heard.

When I avow myself the Opponent of all Monopolies, I proclaim the advocacy of every Measure which can produce Political, Religious, and Commercial Freedom.

I desire, by the just Extension of the Suffrage to all Classes of the Community, protected by the Ballot, to destroy the Monopoly of Representation by which the *few* have been hitherto enabled to make Laws to the injury of the *many*:—and I hold this Monopoly of Representation to be the grand source from which every other Monopoly has derived its existence and support.

I desire to Establish *Religious Liberty*, by *Abolishing Church Rates and all Compulsory Assessments*, through the means of which a man may be required to pay for the Ministry or Ordinances of a Church with which he is not joined in communion.

I desire to establish Commercial Liberty, by Repealing all Duties imposed for the Protection of Class Interests, amongst which I consider the Duties on Corn to be the most grevious, oppressive, and unjust, —and rendered still more intolerable, whilst through the means of the New Poor Law, the provision for the Poor has been curtailed, and the terms of relief rendered so hard and offensive to the honest feelings of English Independence as to induce the sufferers to submit, in many cases, to the extinction of life through want and disease, rather than humble themselves to the degrading condition of a Workhouse. By these unjust enactments, discontent has been generated, the attachment of Englishmen to the constitution of their Country has been weakened, outrage has been the unfortunate consequence, your Jails have been filled with Political Offenders, and under pretence of enforcing good order—the constitutional Constable has been exchanged for the hired Policemen—the noble institutions of your Great Alfred have been cancelled—Englishmen are no longer to be the unpaid guardians of their own peace—and a body has been formed under the name of a Rural Police, for the support of which, your Taxes have been increased, and an instrument has been created, which, in the hands of an arbitrary Government, might speedily be converted into a Standing Army independent of the control of Parliament, and applied to the subversion of all the Constitutional rights of the people.

My desire is to restore your country to good order, not by the continuance of imprisonments and punishments, and despotic establishments, but by such improved Laws and systems of policy as will secure the attachment of the People to their form of Government, and their obedience to the authorities of the State, by a sense of the practical benefits secured to them.

With reference to Ireland, I claim for that portion of the United Kingdom, Equal Rights, and Privileges, and Franchises with Britain, and I desire to incorporate the interests of the two Countries by the communication of mutual advantages, through the means of just and impartial principles of united Legislation.

Electors and People of Rochdale, such is an abstract of my opinions, my well considered opinions—which I have more fully explained to you at your public meetings:—I have told you also, that I will not go to Parliament to support the objects of any Party or Ministry, or any Leader, but to sustain to the best of my judgment, by my honest votes, the combined interests of all Classes of the Community: and impressed with the evil of the lengthened duration of Parliaments, I reiterate the pledge of annually submitting my Parliamentary Conduct to the test of your decision. and if called on, at any time, by any considerable number of the voters who supported me, I promise to re-place in your hands the trust of your Representation. If I go into the House of Commons in a capacity to serve you, I must go there by your free, unsolicited, and unpurchased voices:—On no other terms can I consent to be your Representative.

Electors of Rochdale, I feel there are no personal grounds on which I could solicit the position of your Representative. We come together with a view of acting for the common good of our Country: we desire, at this great Crisis, to take the best steps to promote those Reformed Systems which the National Interests imperatively require. For these objects our connection must be founded on public virtue.

Electors and Inhabitants of Rochdale, I am informed that the friends of Monopolies will attempt to make a stand against us, by means of the power which the monopoly of the rights of voting supplies them. That they hope, by private workings and undue influences, and, above all, by creating divisions, to swamp the votes of the Liberal Electors, and defeat that power which would be impregnable to their attacks if the Elective Franchise were diffused to a just extent through your Working Classes. Be on your guard, therefore. Recollect "That united we stand—divided we fall." Think not of the individual Candidate, but of the cause,—think of your wives and families—think of your working *fellow townsmen*, the Non-Electors, and then ask,—will you give your votes in support of those monopolies by which the sources of employment are closed, whilst at the same time the prices of food are raised?—Electors, recollect that the more the franchise is limited, the higher are the responsibilities of those who hold it.

Permit me, in conclusion, to call to your mind the memorable words of Nelson,—"England expects every man to do his duty!" Acting upon this motive alone, I offer myself to your service.

Your faithful Servant,
WM. SHARMAN CRAWFORD.
Rochdale, June 7th, 1841.

TO THE ELECTORS OF THE BOROUGH OF BRADFORD,

GENTLEMEN,—You are about to be called upon to exercise the important Trust which you hold in common with the other Electors of this Kingdom, of returning Representatives of your opinions to Parliament. The present Political Crisis is perhaps of more importance to the industrious and productive Classes of our Countrymen than any that has occurred in our history. A struggle is about to ensue between the two great Factions of the State for Political Power.—They are so nicely balanced that it will require but a very few Independent Men in Parliament to turn the scale on whatever side is most favourable to the People.

It behoves you therefore to exercise the Elective Franchise with caution and discrimination. Have a clear understanding with the Candidates, and endeavour to return, at least, one independent of party; for the great advantage of having only a few such men in the ensuing Parliament is obvious. They all hold the Balance of Power, and the cause of the People must progress.

In responding to your call, it is but right that I should give you a candid statement of my political principles. They are, adopting the maxim of Bentham, to secure to the People the greatest happiness of the greatest number! To arrive at that desirable end, I believe it necessary to give to them Universal Suffrage and increased facilities for acquiring knowledge, by a National System of Education founded on liberal and enlightened principles. I am for restoring to the People their ancient usage of electing their representatives Annually, and that they should be paid for their Services, believing these measures to be of the utmost importance in securing a real Representation of the People in Parliament, by establishing, on a firm basis, that dependence of the Representatives upon the Represented, which is essential to good Government. I am also for a division of the Kingdom into Electoral Departments, depending in their divisions upon an equal amount of population, as one of the means of getting a fair Representation of the People, by destroying the present corrupt and iniquitous system of permitting Boroughs with a population of 4,000 to exercise the same influence in the State as those containing 100,000 inhabitants. I am an advocate for the Vote by Ballot, not from principle, but expediency, looking upon it under the present confined arrangement, as the only means of destroying the corrupt system of influence and bribery at Elections. The foregoing I consider fundamental principles called into existence by the increasing intelligence of the age.

With regard to those Measures now exciting public Discussion, I am for a Total Repeal of the Corn Laws, believing them to be an iniquitous tax upon the many for the benefit of the few; and an impediment to the Extension of the great Resources of this Country, her Manufacturing Industry and Capacity. I am for a Repeal of all those Laws which prevent the freest Intercourse of nations in their Commercial Transactions, believing such Restrictions to be disadvantageous to the great mass of the People in this Country, and an Impediment to the Advancement of the Civilization of Mankind. I am in favour of a Graduated Property Tax, as the fairest which can be levied, to supply the deficiency of Revenue which might be occasioned by an alteration of our Commercial Code.

I am opposed to the New Poor Law, considering it Unchristian and Inhuman, in sacrificing the nearest and dearest Ties of Humanity to Political Economy. I am for the Abolition of Church Rates, looking upon them as oppressive and dishonest towards the Dissenters, in calling upon them to contribute to the support of a Structure in which they never congregate.

This is the general outline of my Principles; not taken up for the occasion, but which I have held throughout life. I have Independence and Leisure, both essential for the proper performance of the duty of a Representative of the People in Parliament. If you think my Principles claim your support, my time and energies are at your service; but by no bribery or Intoxication, (being a decided friend to the Temperance Cause,) will I compromise my Principles, or endeavour to corrupt you. I shall then have the satisfaction, in case of my Election, of entering upon my duties bold and fearless, in having been returned by Honest and Independent Electors. On the other hand, in case I should not be chosen by a Majority of you, I shall have the satisfaction of retiring into private life without a single unpleasant feeling, but with the consciousness of having honestly offered to my supporters the means of recording their opinions in favour of the Political Principles of which I am the humble Advocate.

I remain, Gentlemen,
Your's, faithfully and sincerely,
W. SIMPSON.
Bradmore-House, Hammersmith,
June 12th, 1841.

TO THE ELECTORS OF THE CITY OF PERTH.

GENTLEMEN,—I have been solicited by a numerous portion of your fellow-citizens to allow myself to be put in nomination as a Candidate for your suffrages at the approaching election. And, gentlemen, I assure you, that nothing but a high sense of public duty, and the hope of preventing the representation of your city from falling within the pale of Aristocratic or Ministerial influence, could have induced me to come forward. It is a matter of imperious necessity that some thorough Radical Reformer should stand forward to vindicate the purity of your principles, the freedom of your election, and the independence of your character.

I accept the invitation with a determination to assist you in defeating the unconstitutional intentions of the present Government, in thus attempting to force upon you a *Placeman* as your representative, —a Placeman, too, who already puts into his pocket £3,500 per annum out of the public taxes, wrung from the industry of the poor. Your object is laudable, and I hope you will succeed in frustrating their design by placing my name at the head of the poll. I make no lofty pretensions,—I can boast of no aristocratical connection, no family influence, no corrupted instruments of power,—I depend entirely upon the reliance you may place upon the honesty of my principles and the integrity of my actions.

I solicit your suffrages as a thorough Radical Reformer of the old school,—unused to the new fangled doctrine of "Expediency," or to the claptrap theories of the present Government,—I am opposed to "Finality" principles in every sense of the word, and I am therefore determined to go on radically reforming the Commons House upon the principles of Universal Suffrage, Annual Parliaments, and Vote by Ballot.

As a Radical Reformer I am opposed to every species of Monopoly, whether of power or of wealth. I am opposed to the Monopoly of the Bank of England, because I conceive that its connection with the Exchequer is dangerous to the commonwealth—its power over the monetary interests of the country injurious to trade and commerce, and its influence over the whole property in the country, an evil which demands the serious attention of the Legislature.

I am opposed to the Corn Laws upon principle; because I conceive them to be unjust, impolitic, inhuman, and unchristian; and am therefore opposed to the Government plan of a fixed duty, in the full conviction that any tax upon food is an injustice that ought not to be tolerated. I am an Advocate for their Total Repeal!

I conceive that the question of Free Trade as brought forward by the present Ministry is a scheme to gain popularity—a mere stalking horse to delude the people with new promises, which, like all the rest, are sure to be broken—a speculation to gain a little strength to uphold their rotten and rickety administration.

I am in favour of Free Trade; but would also free the industry of the people from the enormous amount of Taxation they are called upon to pay for the support of the State, and supply the deficiency of the revenue by a tax upon all real and funded property; then, instead of merely revising the import duties, we could safely abolish them altogether. The industry of our people, combined with our natural and artificial resources, would enable us to compete with any nation in the world. Why then should we fear competition? If we had a cheap Government, we should not. We ask it—we demand Free Trade, Free Labour, Free Institutions.

As a Radical Reformer, and an advocate of self government, I am opposed to the grand scheme of centralization—a scheme set on foot by the present Government (of which the Hon. Fox Maule is an active member) to subjugate the people and destroy every vestige of Constitutional freedom that our ancestors have fought for and defended with their lives. To the Rural Police scheme, for filling the country with *Gendarmerie*, I am heartily opposed; and also to the principle of the New Poor Law Amendment Act. Though its baneful and destructive influence has not touched your land, recollect England is already cursed with it—Ireland is under its ban—Wales is falling beneath its deadly blight. You, people of Scotland, cannot expect long to escape from its poisonous touch. Be prepared, then, and return to Parliament one who will use his endeavours to resist the invasion of the Poor Law Commissioners upon your constitutional right.

I am opposed to the connection betwixt Church and State. I hold it wrong in principle, and utterly at variance with the precepts of Christianity, to tax a man for the support of any religion with which he does not conscientiously agree. As a Christian, were I in Parliament, I would vote for the abolition of clerical imposts, of all stipendiary ministers and high church dignitaries, all exactions, oblations, fees, and emoluments, levied by the clergy in the name of an established religion, whether in the Church of England and Ireland, or in the Kirk of Scotland, and throw religion upon its own merits, and its support upon the voluntary contributions of its adherents. I am also opposed to the existence of our English Ecclesiastical Courts, believing that such institutions are not compatible with our sacred religion, whose precepts teach us "Peace on earth, and good will towards all men."

These are my views. If you agree with me, I hope you will give me your cordial support. And, Gentlemen, depend upon it, if I succeed at the Poll, I will serve you faithfully, honestly, and honourably, so long as I maintain your confidence. And farther, I pledge myself, in accordance with my views of Annual Parliaments, to appear before you once a year, and give you an account of my services in your cause.

I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,
Your most obedient servant,
R. J. RICHARDSON.

TO THE INDEPENDENT ELECTORS OF THE BOROUGH OF MARYLEBONE.

GENTLEMEN,—A dissolution of Parliament is at hand, and you will be shortly called upon to exercise your most valuable rights as freemen. Permit me, on this occasion, to solicit your suffrages.

The Son of a Member of Parliament, my attention has been early directed to the science of Politics, and I have there learned to recognise the great principle of equal rights and equal privileges. I therefore boldly, unhesitatingly, uncompromisingly avow myself the advocate of Universal Suffrage, which shall secure to every adult male the right to the vote in the locality wherein he resides. The recognition of that right I believe to be the best security for the rich, as it is the only guarantee for the poor.

I am decidedly opposed to the New Poor Law Amendment Act. The principle which has been avowed by its advocates, that no distinction shall be made between poverty, the effect of misfortune, or the fruit of crime, I detest, as equally abhorrent to the feelings of Humanity and the dictates of Christianity. The centralized authority of the Poor Law Commissioners I look upon as unconstitutional. Its exercise heartless and tyrannical. My best efforts, therefore, would be directed to its repeal, and a return to those principles which shall secure the benefits of the Act of Elizabeth without the abuses.

Having successfully, after obtaining the highest academical honours, studied in the three faculties of Law, Medicine, and Theology, I venture to hope that my services might prove useful upon many questions connected with these subjects that come before the Parliament.

Being a resident in the Borough, its Local Interests must necessarily engage my best attention.

Should you do me the high honour to elect me as your Representative in Parliament, I trust you will ever find me active in business, unremitting in exertion, and unwearied in application.

Neither Whig nor Tory, it shall be my proud boast to be, indeed, and in truth, the Representative of the People.

I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,
Your most obedient humble Servant,
WILLIAM VILLIERS SANKEY, M.A.
30, Harwood Street,
June 15, 1841.

TO THE ELECTORS AND NON-ELECTORS OF CLACKMANNAN AND KINROSS-SHIRES.

A REQUISITION, signed by a number of the electors and all the Chartist Associations, has been put into my hand calling upon me to become a candidate at the forthcoming election for Clackmannan and Kinoss-shire.

I feel honoured in such an invitation, and accept it with the determination of prosecuting the canvass to the utmost extent the people may deem it right. I understand that Col. Abercromby is already in the field upon the Whig interest. It is currently reported that a candidate for the Tory interest will also make his appearance. It is right that the Chartists, who are nine-tenths of the population in these districts, ought also to have their candidate upon the present occasion.

To the Chartists I have, upon innumerable occasions, explained my principles, these are all contained in that well known document called the People's Charter, and I have unhesitatingly declared that I will countenance no other agitation until this Charter become the law of the land, as, in my opinion, those who do so sacrifice their birthright at the shrine of some of the factions who have all in their turn deceived, and afterwards pillaged and oppressed, the British people.

To the electors of these counties—Allow me to point out shortly your present position in connection with the great body of the people; you are divided between the manufacturing and agricultural pursuits; a wise and enlightened government is necessary as a protection to these interests. But government in this country has never held in the legitimate path of its duty, it has continually interfered to regulate those interests which it ought to have only protected. Abuse has now increased to such an extent under its long continued maladministration that the whole resources of the people are absorbed to satiate its demands, and even now, in the midst of profound peace, the resources of the most ingenuous and industrious people in the world are inadequate to supply its wants. Upwards of two millions of its industrious labourers and artizans toil from morning until midnight, and have not a tithe of the ordinary necessaries of life. Our warehouses are groaning with the fruits of the people's industry, and yet they are wandering about ill fed and clothed in rags. The people are now convinced that these permanent evils result from bad government. You, the electors of these counties, are called upon to send forth a representative who will either augment or remove these evils. If your election should unfortunately fall upon either a Whig or a Tory, you will then have extinguished the last vestige of hope among the people, of their condition being improved through your patriotism and wisdom. If you elect a representative who will pledge himself to use all his influence in the House of Commons to pass the People's Charter into law, you will inspire the people with renewed confidence in your integrity and wisdom, as they feel confident that this country is doomed speedily to be the scene of anarchy and revolution.

To the Chartists of these counties—You are now called upon to perform a sacred and important duty to yourselves, your families, and your country. The people are the legitimate source of political power. You have now an opportunity to prove it. The Whigs and Tories are your bitter and uncompromising enemies—use that power by harrassing them in all possible means under the constitution—use your constitutional rights at the day of nomination, and after recording your decision there, trust to God, and the means He will discover to you for the securing and establishing of your rights in this land.

I am,
Electors and non-electors,
Yours &c.,
ABRAHAM DUNCAN.
Alva, 14th June, 1841.

TO THE ELECTORS OF THE BOROUGH OF LEEDS.

GENTLEMEN,—A Requisition has been presented to me from a large and influential Body of the Electors of Leeds, calling upon me to become a Candidate, in conjunction with Lord Jocelyn, for the Representation of the Borough in the event of a Dissolution of Parliament. The character of the Appeal with which I am honoured, whether I regard the number or respectability of the parties who make it, is such as will not permit me to hesitate between the inclination of private feeling and the dictates of public duty; I, therefore, Gentlemen, respectfully announce to you my intention of complying with its request.

In declaring myself a Candidate for so great an honour, and in purposing to undertake so heavy a responsibility as that of watching over the Parliamentary Interests of this extensive Borough, I wish I could offer to you the benefit of Parliamentary as well as Commercial Experience in the consideration of all those great questions which so deeply absorb the public mind. Never have we stood more in need of the ability of an energetic Government or the wisdom of an enlightened Legislature than at the present moment; and I confess that I do not recollect the period when the depression of every branch of our Commercial Interests has been so appalling as it now is, nor can I conceive any duty so imperative upon Parliament as that of a most patient yet prompt endeavour to devise substantial means of relief.

What may be the cause or the combination of causes which has produced this paralysis of our commercial strength, or what may be the best means of restoring us to activity, admits of much discussion, and deserves to be discussed with moderation and temper.

To those who ascribe our present distress to the operation of the existing Corn Laws, I can admit that a reduction and modification of the present scale of duties would not be attended with injustice to any class of the community; and to the advocates of Free Trade I can equally admit that our Commercial Code requires deliberate investigation, and that many obstacles which now impede the current of Trade may be removed without injury to any other existing Interest; but in the pursuit of this object, I hope that England will not be compelled to abandon those exertions which she has so nobly begun in tearing off the hideous badge of Slavery from the human race.

Upon the subject of the Poor Law, the provisions relating to what is called out-door relief appear to me to have been made by the Commissioners in utter ignorance of the precarious employment of a manufacturing population, of which not only individuals, but masses of individuals, are, at a few days' notice, reduced from a state of industrious competency, to helpless destitution. Relief so restricted is wholly inapplicable to the wants of the dense population of a trading district; besides which, there are other parts of this law that evidently require amendment.

It is needless for me to dwell in this address upon my devotion to our Church, or upon the importance which I attach to the Religious Education and Moral Improvement of the Poor. It is equally needless for me to express my reverence and admiration for all those institutions comprised within the pale of our unequalled Constitution, calculated as they are to entail blessings upon all classes of the Community; but I am persuaded that these blessings cannot be permanently enjoyed by any class, or in any rank of life, unless due regard be paid to the means of subsistence and to the "contented labour" of the great body of the People.

Whatever may be the estimation in which the policy of the present Administration has been held by its supporters, they must acknowledge that that policy cannot be successfully applied to the exigencies of the State except it be based upon the Confidence of the Nation. They must see that this Confidence has been withdrawn;—a general dissatisfaction with the measures of our Rulers, and an increasing suspicion of the Honesty of their motives, are fast growing upon the public mind: I concur in these apprehensions, and should hail their removal from Office as the first step to the restoration of our National Prosperity.

I have the honour to be,
Gentlemen,
Your faithful Friend and Servant,
WM. BECKETT.
Kirkstall Grange, 8th June, 1841.

TO THE ELECTORS OF THE BOROUGH OF LEEDS.

GENTLEMEN,—The honour you have done me in presenting to me the flattering Requisition I have just received, proposing that I should offer myself as a Candidate for your Suffrages as one of your Representatives in Parliament, demands my most cordial thanks. I am fully sensible, likewise, of the additional value which is stamped on that Requisition by your having associated my name with that of your honoured Townsman, Mr. William Beckett; and, with such a call and such a colleague, I cannot hesitate to accept your invitation, and to profess my willingness to fight with you the battle of the Constitution in this great Crisis of the public affairs.

With respect to the principle on which I now come forward, I have already had some opportunity of explaining myself to you personally; but in accepting your Requisition I am bound to state explicitly to all the Electors what those principles are. In one word, then, they are strictly *Conservative*; that is to say, they are such as will lead me to consult the interests, not of one class to the exclusion or prejudice of others, but to advance the well-being of the entire Community, adhering as closely as possible to the old Landmarks of the Constitution.

I shall not bid for your support by promising to root up and destroy every Institution that may be found to require Regulation or Improvement; but with due respect to the existing Laws and Usages of the Country, I would labour to preserve whatever is useful, and honestly to correct and reform whatever is amiss.

As to the immediate questions which now occupy the public mind, I believe you will agree with me in thinking that, however important they are in themselves, and deserving of the most serious consideration of the Legislature, they do not constitute the real point at issue at this time, which is no less than the formation of an efficient Government in place of the weak Ministry which has for the last few and disastrous years exercised the responsibility without being able to wield the powers of the State.

That the unexampled depression of the Commercial and Financial affairs of the Country requires a searching investigation into its cause, and great wisdom and firmness in applying the fittest remedies, no man can doubt; but it is equally obvious that the indispensable preliminary to this is the formation of a strong and effective Government, wise in counsel, and possessing the confidence of so decided a majority of the Representatives of the people as to have the power of carrying through the measures which they may deem the exigency of the times to require.

To the support of such a Government, if elected as one of your Representatives, I shall consider it my duty to render my assistance, believing entirely that it can be formed only on Conservative principles; and while thus seeking to accomplish what I consider necessary to the safety of the Country, I will address myself assiduously to the protection and advancement of your own varied interests, and to the consideration of those great and complicated national questions which involve on the one hand the greatest extension that can safely and profitably be made of the Manufacturing and Commercial Exertions of this Country, and on the other the protection of the large and important interests of the Cultivators of the Soil; the supply of Food to all classes free from the influence of Foreign Jealousy and the dangers of Foreign War; the removal of all the harsh and needless severity of the New Poor Law, rendering it applicable (which at present it is not) to the vicissitudes of the trade, and the wants and comforts of the Manufacturing Population; the maintenance of the great and truly glorious effort made at so large a cost by this Country to strike off the bonds of Slavery throughout the world; and the extension of those means of a moral and religious National Education which can alone insure the safety of the State and the well-being of all Classes among our rapidly-increasing Population.

Upon these and all other subjects I shall be happy to afford you every satisfaction in my power whenever the proper period arrives for my again appearing among you, and in the meantime I shall rely on the continuance of those efforts upon your part to which you have so generously pledged yourselves, and which, if continued, cannot, I believe, fail to be crowned with the desired effect.

I have the honour to be,
Gentlemen,
Your most obedient, humble servant,
JOCELYN
London, June 7, 1840.

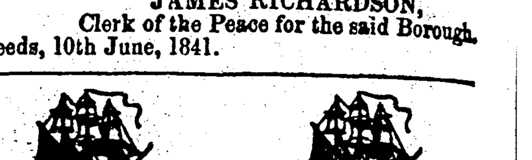
The Committee for promoting the Election of Mr. W. BECKETT and Lord JOCELYN meet at No. 17, Albion-Street, every day at Eleven o'Clock in the Morning and Seven in the Evening. Any information will be willingly afforded to the Electors at any time in the day.

LEEDS BOROUGH SESSIONS.

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN, That the next GENERAL QUARTER SESSIONS OF THE PEACE for the Borough of LEEDS, in the County of York, will be holden before THOMAS FLOWER ELLIS the Younger, Esquire, Recorder of the said Borough, at the Court House, in Leeds, on WEDNESDAY, the Seventh Day of July next, at Two o'Clock in the Afternoon, at which time and place all Jurors, Constables, Police Officers, Prosecutors, Witnesses, Persons bound by Recognizances, and others having business at the said Sessions. are required to attend.

AND NOTICE IS HEREBY ALSO GIVEN, That all Appeals not previously disposed of will be heard at the opening of the Court, on Friday, the 9th day of July next, and that all Proceedings under the Highway Act, will be taken on the First Day of the Sessions.

By Order,
JAMES RICHARDSON,
Clerk of the Peace for the said Borough.
Leeds, 10th June, 1841.



C. GRIMSHAW & CO.,
10, GOREE PIAZZAS, GEORGE'S DOCK, LIVERPOOL,

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Poetry.

WHAT SHOULD A NATION DO?

What should a nation do
When its wants and woes abound;
When the many by the few
Are in galling fetters bound;
And to-morrow brings more ills than to-day?
When the smile of Hope is gone,
And when Patience, with a groan,
As Despondence takes her throne,
Hastes away?

When the mania for place
Seems as strong as love of life,
And no meanness or disgrace,
Is regarded in the strife,
And the statesman's unsought pledge proves a lie?
When a daylight robbery
On the purse of Industry
Keeps the bowl of Luxury
Riot high?—

When the Church and State are foes,
But to serve some earthly ends?
When a million tell their woes,
Nor can find a hundred friends?
When unequal law and might rampant reign?
At the joy his servants own
Over poverty's last groan,
When Abaddon on his throne
Laughs amain?—

When a nation comes to THIS,
What can save it from the tomb?
Did the stroke no tyrant miss,
When was plan'd Oppression's doom,
And the might of myriads leagued dealt the blow?
Would the counsellor be wise
Such a step that would advise?
Does the Power that made the skies
Answer, No?

Were a moral sally made
In a unity of mind,
By the throng who toil for bread,
By the wrong'd of human kind,
Would the phalanx prove too weak for foe?
Not a despot in the land,
But would quail before the band,
And in accents meek and bland,
Right bestow.

June 14, 1841. G. C. M.

THE COMING STRUGGLE.

Chartists haste: the time has come,
When Whiggism must be overthrown;
The Conflict comes, no tampering make,
For promises howe'er so great
Are base, deceitful; hollow-hearted;
Stand by the Charter, be not parted,
And let this watchword be your cry,
Down! Down with Whiggery!

Be not gulled by Corn Law Quacks,
Unmask their selfish, sordid acts,
Swerve not a point but firmly stand
Immoveable; a glorious band
Who would be free, then strike the blow,
At struggling Whigs, thus you will show
A strong desire for liberty,
Destroying Whiggery.

Their race is run, disgrac'd by deeds,
We'll root them out as nauseous weeds;
Then Chartists gather! round them hover,
Destroy them once and 'tis for ever,
Their flickering minds foretell their doom
And hastens on bright freedom's bloom,
Then let your watchword be the cry,
Down! Down with Whiggery!

Glasgow, 21st June, 1841.

THE TWO KILKENNY CATS.

A New Song by E. P. Mead, Chartist Missionary.

Och! thin be aisey all of yez, until I jist emplore yez
To listen not a moment boys to either Whigs or Tories,
'Tis long enough these factions base have humbug'd this poor nation,
They only jist for power and place kick up this botheration!

And sing moll rowe, spit, splutter, scratch and bite, and sing moll row.

They're like to the Kilkenny cats so fam'd in Irish story,
The Whig he is a white cat, and a black cat is the Tory;
The Tory swears the Whig is black and author of all evil,
The Whig declares the Tory is own brother to the devil.
And sings moll row, &c.

The black cat's Bobbey Plausible, and catterwauls with grace, sirs,
The white cat's John Finality and once was John Bull's pet cat.
Till he show'd his base venality—and grew a bounce and fret cat.
And sings moll row, &c.

And now these cats set up their backs and make a mighty ruction,
And all their Whig and Tory hacks are bent upon distruction:
The Bishops will the Tory back, and be his bottle holders,
And *Dan* supports his little Jack—on his infernal shoulders.
So sings moll row, &c.

The black cat squalls for Church and Queen—the white cat's very pious,
And, by his mock humanity, designs to sell and buy us;
The Tory arms his yeoman slaves, to make the people civil,
The Whigs have built us living graves, and shown us a blue devil.
And sings moll row, &c.

The Corn Law humbug blacky cries, is by the Whigs invented,
To make our serfs their lords despise and render discontented.
Och! you, the Corn Law should repole och! Tunder and blue blazes!
Cries out the mighty beggar-man—and his white pet he praises.
And sings moll row, &c.

He arms his *finest pisantry*, and points them to the Chartists,
And praises that big ruffian who at cracking skulls is smartest!
His Whiggish friends look on with glee to see the streets run gore now,
While Dan to his *fine* pisantry bawls out hurrah! *encore* now.
And sings moll row, &c.

Therefore, my honest Chartist friends beware what ye are doing.
Ye'll soon see *how the ruction ends, so never mind.* their mewing;
The cause of one or 'tother cat I'd have you take no part in,
The promises of this or that's my eye and Peggy Martin
And all moll row.

But och! be aisey jewels all, and never mind their squalling,
And don't disthurb the *theaves* at all nor stop their catterwauling;
Jist let Dan use both tooth and nail and din I'se will be bound, sirs,
They'll fight till not an inch of tail of either will be found, sirs.
So sing moll row, &c.

Yet, if indeed, ye will take part, and join the mighty ruction—
The black cat join wid hand and heart—send White'y to destruction,
And when we've settled Whig accounts, and terrible the score is!!!
We'll see what then are the amounts—outstanding with the Tories.
So sing moll row, &c.

Local and General Intelligence.

STOCKPORT.—A MOST DESPERATE OUTRAGE.—ONSLAUGHT AND SAVAGE BUTCHERY UPON THE PEACEABLE INHABITANTS BY THE IRISHMEN, AT THE INSTIGATION OF THE WHIGS AND CORN LAW REPEALERS OF THIS TOWN.—It will be seen, in another part of our paper, that Mr. Bairstow addressed the electors and non-electors of Stockport, on Thursday evening, June 17th, in the Market-place, and that while he was doing so, a Mr. Easby, a Corn Law lecturer, at the request of two leading Whigs of the town, mounted a wall about forty yards from where he was speaking, and began likewise to address the people, evidently for the purpose of creating a disturbance, and prevent the impression which was being made by Mr. Bairstow's exposure of the Whig party. The peaceably disposed cried shame of him, and even Mr. Sadler, Superintendent of the Police, was heard to say that it was not right for Easby to try to disturb the meeting, and therefore he did not approve of such conduct; but, however, he took no steps to put an end to it. The people, who left hearing Mr. Bairstow to hear Easley, soon saw through the manouvering of the Whigs, and commenced hissing him until he was glad to make his exit, but without receiving the least injury; and Bairstow was still more severe upon the Whigs, which was better received than before. The meeting dispersed without the least breach of the peace being committed. However, the Whigs hit upon another plan; they sent for Finnigan of Manchester, an anti-Corn Law lecturer, and the leaders of the Union Repealers, who were accompanied by many of the Irishmen, who led on the butchery at Stephenson's-square, and Carpenter's Hall, Manchester. They arrived in town on the Friday in good time, in order to drill the O'Connelites for the evening's attack. To excite the Irishmen to madness, those who were not teetotallers were served up with a drop of the *crater*; and to make the arrangements more complete, likewise to ensure as great a number of Irishmen as possible, Faulker, the bellman, was sent through the town crying a lecture to be delivered by Mr. Easby, at eight o'clock in the evening, in the Castle yard, Market-place, in which he would shew the foolishness of the Chartists for denouncing Dan O'Connell; our correspondent heard him, and immediately warned the Chartists of what he had good reasons to believe was brewing. About seven o'clock in the evening, the Irishmen assembled in their various districts and afterwards joined in one body, and marched down the Hillgate, to the Market-place, carrying in their hands sticks, staves, pokers, and bludgeons of all dimensions from a crow-bar to a walking-stick, headed by Mr. Easby, Finnigan, Terrance, C. Neil, Daly, and Kelly. About eight o'clock, the time announced by the bellman, Mr. Easby opened the meeting by attempting to vindicate his own character, as to being the Editor of *Bob Logic's Budget*, at the expence of the Chartists leaders. He likewise said, that it was stated in the *Star*, that if Daniel O'Connell came to the great meeting at Leeds, he was to be murdered, consequently he (Easby) could not blame the Irishmen for what had been done in Manchester. He proceeded to attack the Chartists; but no one taking the least notice of him, he, after a speech of about seven or eight minutes, sat down. Mr. Finnigan then addressed the meeting about five minutes, and while doing so bellowed out a tirade of abuse against the Chartists, but finding no one to oppose them they became exasperated. Mr. F. then sat down. Mr. Easby rose again and began praising himself, when a waggish lad about sixteen years of age cried out, "Thou art a bonny devil to make a God of." The meeting had not then been assembled more than twenty minutes. The signal was given—"Peterloo" was shouted—the shilalahs were brandished, and they then began in the most cruel, blood-thirsty, and brutal manner to beat, indiscriminately, man, woman, and child, and in their fury trampled upon both women and children, knocking men's hats off, and treading them under their feet, breaking heads, &c. which continued for about twenty minutes. In one instance there were no less than five cowardly brutes laying on one poor helpless woman at the same time. Big, little, lusty and tall, rich and poor, young and old, Whig, Tory, and Chartist shared the same fate. While this was going on, people were seen in all directions weltering in their blood, with their heads, faces, arms, and hands cut and mangled in the most horrifying manner. The Irishmen ran up and down the street, brandishing their staves, &c. as though they had triumphed over some great enemy. A gentleman of the name of Taylor, a doctor, and in politics a Conservative, was coming down the Church-gate at the time, in company with his lady; the Irishmen attacked him and beat him in a most dreadful manner, knocked him down and cut his head and face in six or seven different places, and broke one of his fingers. One ruffianly coward began to beat his lady, and had it not been for a young man, who was near, running and knocking the villain down, and saving the blow, Mrs. Taylor (who is daughter to Mr. Lomax, proprietor of the *Stockport Advertiser*,) would have been served as bad as her husband. All this was done in the presence of the Mayor and the police. Mr. Taylor was carried into the Court Room, and afterwards conveyed home in a very weak state from the loss of blood. The Irishmen would assemble together and brandish their sticks in triumph for a short time, after which they would commence again upon every person whom they met in the avenue leading to the market; this they followed up for about half an hour, at the end of which time finding no more heads upon which to exercise their shillelahs they formed themselves into a procession and proceeded out of the market place. After this, each party went to their houses, and the leaders of the Stephenson's-square and Carpenter's Hall butchery, and likewise the Stockport butchery were allowed to make the best of their way to Manchester and no attempt whatever made by the police to take them into custody. On the following day one of the leaders of the Irishmen was brought before the Magistrates, who were actually so *severe*, so *harsh*, and so *cruel*, as to bind him over to keep the peace for six months. On Saturday, several slight disturbances took place in the market caused by the hostility of the English against the Irish for the recent occurrences which have taken place and the former preventing the latter from having a standing, and throwing stones into their egg baskets, &c. There are several firms who have discharged many of the Irishmen and given notice to others; and thus it is that many of the good and well meaning will have to suffer for the conduct of the savage and the brutal. On Saturday evening late, as the Irishmen turned out of several public houses, they began abusing every one they came near and screams of murder, &c., were heard many times during Saturday night and Sunday morning.

BARNSLEY.—A public meeting of the weavers was held on May Day Green, on Monday, June 21st, and they were addressed, as usual, by Messrs. Alexander, Terry, Mouldes, and others. On Tuesday, great excitement was produced by a rumour that Messrs. Taylor were willing to accede to the just demands of their weavers. A large public meeting was held in the evening, at six o'clock, to consider the best course to be adopted at the present critical moment, when it was resolved that the Messrs. Taylors weavers should not return to their work until their affairs were satisfactorily adjusted by the Committee.

RICHMOND.—HAY HARVEST.—Some fields of grass were cut, last week, at Richmond, and some prime hay has been got, but the hay harvest has not become general. We have had some fine rain this week, which was much wanted here.

COMMITTAL.—Sarah Suggett, servant to Mr. Wm. Croft, of Richmond, draper, was brought before the sitting magistrates, on the 17th instant, by Mr. J. Whiting, police officer, charged with feloniously stealing one piece of silk lace, and one wire basket, the property of Miss Mary Croft. Committed to take her trial at the next Sessions for the Borough.

REPRESENTATION.—The Hon. J. C. Dundas and the Hon. W. N. Ridley Colborne are candidates for the representation of the borough of Richmond.

KNARESBRO'.—MURDER.—One of the most cold-blooded murders that ever took place in this neighbourhood since the days of Eugene Aram, has been perpetrated in this town, upon the body of Joseph Coeker, of the Old White Hart Inn. The murder took place between twelve and two o'clock on Saturday morning last; being committed by three young men, two of them near neighbours of the victim; their names are Henry Nutter, John Bulliston, and Charles Gibb, who were apprehended at three o'clock the same morning. The oldest of the three is not more than twenty-five years of age. The deed is supposed to have been perpetrated by an old hammer head, a poker, and a knife. The head of Cocker was most dreadfully beaten, both on the back part and temples. The three murderers were heard by a neighbouring women, who went out of the back door, and looked over a wall, when she saw, through a back window, three men standing over him, and heard them say to each other, that they would put him into the cellar. The woman went directly to the front door and shouted "Cocker" twice; but no one answered, the door was locked; she went back and got her husband up, who loaded a pistol; but they escaped in the mean time. Alarm was soon given, and a many were soon in search of them and succeeded in taking them within two hours after the alarm. They did not get more than four or five shillings from his pocket. An inquest was held the same afternoon before Mr. Wood, coroner, and a respectable jury. The inquest occupied nearly six hours, and the Jury pronounced a verdict of "*wilful murder*" against Burliston, and against Nutter and Gibb, for aiding and abetting therein. All the prisoners have been committed for trial to the Castle of York.

GOVERNMENT CENSUS.—The tables of the population of Glasgow have not yet been completed, but we are given to understand that the returns, as compared with the census of 1831, will give the total amount of population at nearly 270,000 souls.

A STATEMENT FROM NORWICH SAYS:—"Hundreds of people in this city are now out of employment, and are parading the market-place. Many are earnestly hoping that there may be 'a good sharp contest' at the election, that they may have an opportunity of selling themselves for good round sums."

SPONTANEOUS COMBUSTION.—An instance of spontaneous combustion, arising from canvass soaked with oil to make it waterproof, is mentioned in the *Bath Chronicle* last week. The canvass had been laid in a heap in the stable, and in the course of the night it burst into a flame, but the fire was discovered in time to prevent the destruction of the building.

A SHARK CAUGHT OFF BRIGHTON.—One of these voracious monsters of the deep has been for several days exhibited in Brighton by some fishermen, who caught it about fifteen miles off Brighton. It measured upwards of six feet in length.

O'CONNELL AND THE FACTORY CHILDREN.—When I first "agitated" the north on behalf of the factory slaves, wherever I went I was sure to find a helper in a Roman Catholic priest. But soon after O'Connell received £1,000 from Manchester an order came from their bishops to his clergy, that "they were no longer to interfere in the factory question." That fact was communicated to me by a Roman Catholic priest, who regretted that, for that reason, he could not aid me.—*Oastler's Fleet Papers, No. 26.*

OBSTRUCTING THE POLICE.—Charles Bennett, coachman to Lord Castlereagh, was brought up before Mr. Twyford, at Bow-street, on Saturday, upon the following charge:—Sergeant Braddock stated that he was on duty at Drury-lane Theatre on Friday night, when the defendant was *there waiting for his* Lordship; his carriage was in that position which caused an obstruction, and he begged of the defendant to move, but he refused; finding it was useless to remonstrate with him upon his conduct, as he said he acted under the orders of his master, which if he did not obey he should be discharged, he then took him into custody, and sent his lordship's carriage into the green-yard. He further added that the defendant was *guilty of the same sort of conduct every night.* The defendant said he was very *sorry* if he had done wrong, but it was the order of his master. Mr. Twyford—You are old enough to know better, and I shall inflict the full penalty, and if your master likes to pay it for you, so much the better. You are fined 40s. Defendant instantly paid the fine, smiled, and walked out of the office.

ALLEGED AFFINITY TO THE ROYAL FAMILY.—EXTRAORDINARY STATEMENT.—A poor distressed-looking object, who gave his name George Higgs, horse-agent, of Bombay, appeared before the London magistrate, a few days ago, and made the following extraordinary statement:—His story went to state that, about half a year ago he came over to England with a present from the Imaum of Muscat to Queen Victoria, by the ship Higgins, Captain Heath, to Liverpool—the present was two Arabian horses and their foals. At Liverpool he received £20, and £10 for the groom that attended him, and this was all the money he had had; the horses were taken from him and sent up to London; he was a child of George IV., by Miss Hughes, niece of Sir Edward Hughes, who died when he was three years of age, and he had documents to prove it. It further appeared, that the applicant (whose countenance certainly bore a great resemblance to that of George IV.), had recently endeavoured to obtain an interview with several of the Royal Family, but without effect. Applicant was proceeding in the recital of various other matters relative to the truth of his statement, when he was stopped by Mr. Long, who, *believing him to be in distress*, gave him 1s. and referred him to the overseers of the parish (one in Westminster) in which he last slept.

VERY LIBERAL.—A correspondent at Chelmsford informs us that on Thursday morning last, a daughter of W. C. Wells, Esq., was married at the new Independent chapel, London-road, by the Rev. J. Mark. *The ringers of the church entered the belfry to celebrate the event by greeting the happy couple with a peal; but scarcely had they commenced than the church clerk entered the sacred edifice in breathless haste*, with a note, informing them that the rector, the Rev. C. A. St. John Mildmay, objected to the ringing, and desired the ringers at once to desist and never again to touch the bells in celebration of a wedding, unless the parties were married at church.

LOVE IN A HAYFIELD.—Geo. Payne, a simple-looking yokel, was placed at the bar, at Marylebone Police-office, on Saturday, charged with having stolen 2s. 6¾d. from the person of a tall gawky young woman, named Clara Wickson. Mr. Long (to (Clara:) Now, what have you to say against the prisoner?—Clara (curtseying:) Please your honour, I came up from Kingston, in Oxfordshire, and have been haymaking at Willesden; last night after work I and a young chap named Robinson went down to the bottom of the hayfield and went to sleep, and in the morning when I woke up I found the prisoner lying aside of me; I told him if he didn't behave himself decently and be off I'd give him a slap on the face, and he then rolled away from me several yards; I didn't tell Robinson about it, and went off to sleep again, and when both of us got up at sunrise, I put my hand in my pocket, and discovered that all my money was gone. Robinson said that in a few hours afterwards he accused Payne of the robbery, when he denied all knowledge of the affair, but subsequently gave up to witness a portion of the money. Mr. Long: How much did he give you? Witness: A sixpence, four fourpenny-pieces, two halfpence, and a farthing. Police-constable 234 S said that the prisoner was given into his charge, and on his being searched, no more than a farthing was found in his possession. Mr. Long (to the prisoner:) What's your answer to this? Prisoner: Whey, zur, the noight afore, this here young gal axed I to lay with her among the hay, and last noight she axed he, and in coorse we both on us did so. I didn't think no harm on it, and I should werry loike obleege her in the same way again if she wished it; I warn't so close alongside on her last noight as she says I was; and I'll swear I hadn't a morsel of her property she says she lost. Mr. Long: What do you say about the money you gave to Robinson? Prisoner: He comes to me and said as he'd had nothing to eat a good while, and was a starving; so I puts my hand in my pocket, and gives him all I had about me; the money was nobody's but mine. Mr. Long said it was useless to proceed farther in the case, and discharged the prisoner.

A FEW FACTS IN REGARD TO ELECTIONS.—In cities and towns county, having their own sheriff, the writ under the great seal is sent direct to such sheriff, who immediately on receipt thereof must make proclamation, appointing the day of election, not sooner than four days nor later than eight days from such day of receiving the writ. For boroughs, not having a sheriff, the writ is directed to the high-sheriff of the county, to hold an election for knights of his shire, and for burgesses of the boroughs within the county, and within three days the high sheriff addresses a precept to the mayor or other returning officer of each borough, who, like the sheriff of a city or town-county, must make proclamation of proceeding to election, not sooner than four days nor later than eight days from such day of proclamation. In the counties, the high-sheriff must, within two days after the receipt of the writ, in like manner make proclamation of his county court, to be held not sooner than ten days nor later than sixteen days from that date.

EDUCATION AND CRIME.—At a meeting of "the Greenwich Society for the Acquisition and Diffusion of Useful Knowledge," Dr. Murdoch referred to some statistical details, to prove that the best educated counties of England were the most moral. Westmoreland took the lead in this respect. In that county there was but one criminal to every 2,201 persons. In Essex there was a criminal to every 425 persons, and in Warwickshire one to every 384 persons. And what was the reason? In Westmoreland there were double the means of education to those existing in the other two counties. It was calculated that the chances of a person without education becoming a criminal were 2,200 to 1; those of an individual with an average education, 10,000 to 1; and those of men having received a superior education, 50,000 to 1.

MORALITY OF THE "UPPER," "HIGHER," AND "EDUCATED" CLASSES.—Some days since, the Earl of Mountcashel, while presiding at the annual meeting of the London Society for the Protection of Young Females, related the following extraordinary circumstance, which his Lordship stated had reached him through a source which could leave no doubt whatever of its authenticity:—A young, handsome, and accomplished lady, of most respectable family connections, residing in the country, had received a pressing invitation from a lady at the west end of the metropolis to come to town, and spend a few weeks with her. The young lady accepted the invitation, and came to town, where she was received with great kindness, and treated with great attention. In a short time after her arrival, the lady who had *given her the invitation took her to a fashion*able shop at the west end, and, after looking at various articles, and making some purchases, her friend requested the young lady to remain in the shop for a few minutes, while she merely went to the other side of the street, saying she would return almost immediately. The young lady of course consented, and her friend left the shop, to return, as she supposed, in a few minutes, but in this supposition she was disappointed. After some considerable time had elapsed, a female of apparently accomplished manners, addressed her, and after stating that she had observed her anxiety at the absence of her friend, and her awkwardness as a stranger being left so, offered her a seat in her carriage, to take her to the house of her friend. The young lady expressed her gratitude for what she considered to be extreme kindness, and accepted the offer. She was then ushered into an elegant carriage, with a coachman and footman in costly liveries, and driven away, as she believed, towards the residence of her friend. Going along, however, she observed she did not think the coachman was going in the proper direction; but the lady, her conductress, assured her they were. At length the carriage drew up, and her companion assured her that the coachman must have mistaken her directions, and had driven to her own house instead of that of the young lady's friend. She then requested her to walk in for a few moments, while she gave some directions to her servants, and was shown into an apartment, and as soon as she entered the door was locked, and there she was kept for some considerable time. At length, however, the door was opened, and a gentleman, who he (Lord Mountcashell) was ashamed and sorry to say, was a clergyman of the Church of England, was admitted to her. The object for which he was introduced, there could be no doubt about; but some idea might be formed of his shame and mortification on beholding not a stranger, but a young and virtuous lady, with whose person and friends he was very intimately acquainted, and he being actually the clergyman who had prepared the lady for confirmation. The lady, it is needless to say, escaped the dreadful outrage intended to be committed on her; and though she had mentioned the facts as he had related them to a lady, a friend of his (Lord Mounteashel's), who repeated them to him, she had never disclosed the name of the clergyman. In conclusion, his Lordship said he had mentioned this circumstance in order to show the extraordinary lengths that were gone to entrap persons, even in the higher ranks of life, into infamy, and the necessity, on the part of the members of the Society, to use their utmost efforts to check them.—*Globe.*

WHIG HONESTY.—In the *Morning Chronicle* of Friday last, appeared a leading article, in which it was asserted that the taxes remitted by the Whigs during the last ten years amounted to £7,157,000, instead of 6,373,000, as had been asserted in some Conservative statements. This statement (of the £7,157,000) was declared to rest upon Parliamentary returns, and of course was to be taken as accurate. Yet in the same paper of Saturday, the very next day following, we find a reprint of another statement, concocted and published at Manchester, in which, by the simple expedient of setting every thing down *twice over*, the taxes remitted by the Whigs in those ten years are made to amount to £15,368,000, or *nearly double the former statement.* And this piece of "enormous lying," although utterly at variance with its own declaration of the very day before, the *Morning Chronicle* has the decency to recommend to be "extensively circulated throughout the country!"—*Times.*

SHOCKING OCCURRENCE.—On Thursday afternoon, between three and four o'clock, as two workmen, named Harris and Heathcott, in the employ of Mr. Neville, bricklayer, Old-street, St. Luke's, were engaged *in digging* a cesspool at the residence of Mr. Fairbank, grocer, Goswell-street, an adjoining one suddenly burst in upon them. The poor fellows attempted to escape, and had just reached the top of the pit, when they were so overpowered by the foul air, that they let go the rope, and were precipitated to the bottom. Assistance was immediately procured, and they were extricated from their perilous situation without loss of time, but it was not until the lapse of about half an hour that Mr. Simpson, surgeon, who attended them, succeeded in restoring them to a sense of consciousness, and even then it was deemed necessary to convey them to the hospital, where they remain in an extremely weak and low state.

WHIG JOBBERY.—It is rumoured that Lord Normanby is to go to Paris, to enable him to retire upon an ambassador's pension. There was a time when, if a Ministry in abeyance did such things, an impeachment would have been the consequence.

LOOK-A-HEAD CHARTISTS.—The London shopocrats are feeling the smart; trade in London amongst the worthies, is terribly dull, and there are no hopes of improvement; indeed, were not the elections progressing the poor fellows would die of *ennui*. As it is, the debtors' prisons and insolvent courts present sufficient evidence that the system is tottering, and that to patch up the old worn-out consitution is out of the question. The pitcher has been once too often to the well, and, though they should attempt by binding it round with whip cord, to make use of it again, it will never hold water. Chancellor Baring may, in the cool and deliberate manner, which marked his conduct whilst dipping into the servants' fund, alias "Savings Banks" issue forth the rags from the Exchequer, but will that suffice! will adding to the debt, and consequently annual interest, increase the means of a falling revenue! The money gamblers are perfectly perplexed and instead of seeking for a *rise* or *fall* they are merely betting on *finality* John and the chances of his election. The manufacturing interest is arraying itself against the agricultural, and the commercial interest gloomily watches over coming events, some persons belonging to this latter class are in high extacies at the prospect of a chance at the speculation in corn, whilst the majority are sulkily inclined, and the docks are nearly deserted.

Chartist Intelligence.

ALVA.—ELECTION MOVEMENTS IN CLACKMANNAN AND KINROSS SHIRE.—The cause of Chartism and the people goes on most gloriously here; but that the country may understand our true position, we will briefly state it. Clackmannanshire is the smallest county in Scotland, and it may be said to have been the pocket county of the Abercrombie and Adam families, and in these times an election for the county caused less stir than a family dinner. After the passing of the Reform Bill, it was united with Kinross, the neighbouring county, in sending a representative to Parliament. That act called into existence a number of electors, composed of farmers and proprietors of houses in the villages. These electors in general have professed Whig principles, and four times Admiral Adam has sat in the Reform Parliament as a representation of these counties. During these elections, the whole working population of the villages stood forward with all their popular demonstrations in support of the Admiral, and, so unanimous was their decision in his behalf, that no Tory dared think of these counties. But a change has come over the working population, and they are now as unanimous and determined to extinguish both the factions, as they were zealous to support the one and excommunicate the other. We feel it perfectly confident to be a truth when we state that nowhere in this country does Chartism reign so triumphant, and nowhere is the electoral body so completely broken up, dispirited, and chopfallen. Our former representative, Admiral Adam, one of the most miserable Ministerial hacks and Parliamentary poltroons that ever made his awkward bow upon the floor of St. Stephen's, has resigned these counties into the hands of Colonel Abercromby! Would it be believed that although the working class were so unanimous in supporting this naval baboon that he had the temerity to vote against the National Petition, although it was the most numerously signed that ever left these counties, which is so much misrepresented. We had a visit from his successor on the 17th; his chief recommendation is that he is to walk in the footsteps of his predecessor. He began in Tillicoultry at eleven o'clock, where six or eight of the most dirty lickspittles of its electors met this gallant warrior, who would not know his grandmother across a small room, although he stands upon the half-pay list as a Colonel of the British army. The intelligent portion of the electors, as well as the Chartists, declined to have anything to do with such a hole and corner exhibition, so the Colonel's entree and exit in this place had more a resemblance of a small club, than any other thing we can compare it to. At one o'clock the same day the gallant Colonel drove up to the head Inn, in the town of Alva in a hackney coach. Upon all former occasions of this kind, banners were streaming in the breeze, and music reverberating in the glen; but these glad sounds and pleasing sights are now extinguished so far as honour to a ten pound suffrage is required; they are all now reserved for the triumphs of the Charter. Upon the face of the Corn Law Repealers was written "hope deferred." Upon the faces of the Tories a sort of leering triumph was visible at the shattered and prostrate condition of Whiggery. Among the Chartist electors and non-electors there beamed that proud satisfaction which seemed to say, "We have proved the hollow-heartedness and rottenness of Whiggery, and it belongs to us now to bury the dirty infected carcasses of both Whigs and Tories, which we will do at the day of nomination at Dollar, when we shall carry our Chartist candidate, Mr. Abram Duncan, triumphantly over Whiggery." A requisition of the Chartist electors was presented, requesting the Colonel to address an out-door meeting. This he politely but firmly declined, although the *meeting was standing outside of the Inn where he then* was. About an hour was passed betwixt the Colonel and the electors in discussing the extension of the Suffrage and Corn Law Repeal, without coming to any thing like an understanding, when Mr. David Harrower, secretary to the Chartist Association, appeared, and proposed nine questions to the candidate, *of a most* thorough searching nature, which he answered with the monosyllable "No!" with the declaration that he had never heard such questions before. When further interrogated by this young champion of the Charter, if he thought that the responsibility to pay the national debt extended beyond the peerage and *those who elect*ed the House of Commons? his reply was that they were no more responsible than the whole body of the people. At this stage of the proceedings, an elector, whose Radicalism has been of forty years standing, Mr. M'Kenzie, declared with great emphasis, that were the Apostle Paul to preach such doctrine he would not believe him. To the honour of the electors of Alva, not one of them said a word in his favour. No one proposed him as a fit and proper person to represent this or any other place. Alas! to fall so miserably low, within sight of the ancient and honourable house of Abercrombie. Who can say after this that Chartism need fear the factions, either single-handed or combined.—In the evening, a large meeting was held in the public green, at which Mr. D. Harrower read the questions he had proposed to the Colonel, and proposed the five following resolutions, which were seconded by Mr. Andrew M'Kenzie:—

"1. We, the Chartists of Alva, in public meeting assembled having read in the *Northern Star*, of a cruel and bloody attack upon the peaceable inhabitants of Manchester, in public meeting assembled for the discussion of the great principles of liberty, perpetrated under the authority of the magistrates and the forces at their disposal for the suppression of riot, anarchy, and disorder. 2. Their non-interference for the protection of the peaceably disposed is proof to us that they acted in concert with the lawless and disorderly Corn Law repealers of Manchester. 3. We trace the whole of their proceedings to that arch-traitor, Daniel O'Connell, who is the minion and tool of the base, bloody, and brutal Whig government, who are desirous to drown the demands of the oppressed for liberty and security to their life, liberty, and property, in their own blood. 5. We look upon this attack from the Corn Law repealers as a first of a series of plots to suppress the demand for the Charter. We call upon the people everywhere to be firm, united, prudent, but at the same time resolute and determined, as the Charter movement will soon extinguish all the other floating questions with which this country is at present cursed."

These resolutions were all unanimously carried. Mr. A. Duncan was then called upon to comment upon these questions and resolutions, which he did in a very effective manner for upwards of an hour and a half, at the close of which he announced himself as a Chartist candidate for these counties. Mr. D. Harrower proposed that Col. Abercrombie was an unfit and improper person to represent these counties; and Mr. Andrew M'Kenzie proposed that Mr. A. Duncan was a fit and proper person to stand for Clackmannan and Kinross-shires. Both of these the meeting unanimously affirmed. A vote of thanks was given to Mr. George Rattrey, for his conduct in the chair, and the meeting separated. This is our first act in the election drama, and the people have gloriously triumphed.

STOCKPORT.—The Chartists sent the bellman round on Saturday evening, to announce a public meeting in the Bombar's Brow Room, the next day at two o'clock, where some of the proceedings of the Stockport butchery would be laid before them. About that time our correspondent went to the room which shortly after was filled with an attentive and respectable audience. Mr. James Mitchell was called to the chair, who opened the meeting by reading a placard strongly denouncing the brutal conduct of the League, which placard had been issued by the committee. Mr. Mitchell commented upon the proceedings of the Friday evening's business, and stated he was very sorry that such should occur amongst the working men of England and the working men of Ireland, and that if they were allowed to proceed, the same feeling would be created in the minds of the English people, as was in the year 1798, when they were taught by the bigots of the day to look upon the Irishmen as something bad and monstrous. Then it was not so much to be surprised at that a little hostility arising out of prejudice should exist. But at the present time, 1841, when they had assembled together, worked together, and amongst the working classes there existed no jealousy, no hatred, it was really a pity that the enemy of both should be able to set one working man destroying the other. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Mitchell went into the subject at great length, deprecating the Corn Law repealers for their atrocious conduct in hiring bludgeon men to silence open and fair discussion, and concluded by declaring himself favourable to a repeal of the Union, and so were the Chartists generally. Mr. Chappell said he had made up his mind to take no part in the coming election, as neither party were *the friends of the working classes*; but after seeing the conduct of the Whigs on Friday, he had come to the conclusion to denounce the party who would act so basely as the Whigs did on that occasion, and he would do all in his power to prevent Cobden from getting in. He said he would get a man down and hold him down if he knew he was going to vote for the Whigs. He worked for Cobden very industriously last turn, because he considered him best in the field, and indeed, up to Friday, he was quite favourable to him; he had heard of the doings of Stephenson's Square and Carpenter's Hall, but he would not let that ever prejudice his mind. But, after seeing the conduct of his (Cobden's) party, on Friday night, and likewise the magistrates on the Saturday, he was determined to do his duty. Mr. Chappell then proceeded to say that Mr. Daniel O'Connell was at the bottom of it, and that he was the biggest traitor that disgraced either England or Ireland; he cared not whether there were Irishmen present or not, he should continue to denounce him, or any other man, who would act as he had done. Mr. C. then reviewed the public conduct of Daniel O'Connell, and then commented upon the labours of Feargus O'Connor, showed what sacrifices he had made in the public cause, the money he has expended at various periods, &c. &c., and then put the conduct of the two men in juxta-position to each other, and asked what Dan had given out of the thousands which he had received from the public, and after exposing the conduct of the magistrates for their shuffling manner on Saturday, and touching upon many other points, he sat down much applauded. Mr. Bairstow denounced Dan, and contrasted the conduct of the two men, showing how the one had gained the confidence of the people, while the other was universally despised and detested; Feargus was the working man's friend, and Dan was the man of the middle class, and, consequently, opposed to the interest of the working class. Mr. Doyle delivered a lecture in the evening, in which he was equally severe upon Dan; after which, a procession of about five hundred accompanied him to the railway, which caused great excitement in the town, as the "boys" were about with their shelelahs.

DERBY.—On Sunday last a delegate meeting took place at the Northern Star Inn, Derby, at which delegates from the following places were present, namely, Belper, Hobbrook, Burton on Trent, Heanor, Swanwick, Stapleford, Alfreton, Ilkiston, and Derby. The follow-resolutions were agreed to:—"That Mr. Thomas Briggs act as secretary." "That Mr. Bairstow be re-elected for three months, to commence after the expiration of his time at Stockport." "That Dean Taylor be requested to accept the office of lecturer for this district, on the same terms as Mr. Bairstow for one month, his labours to commence instantly, and if he cannot attend, that Mr. Marsden be written to." "That Belper be the centre of its locality." "That Chesterfield be the centre of its locality, and that Derby be the centre of its locality, and that Burton, Stapleford, Ilkiston, Heanor, &c. be in the Derby locality, and that each locality be responsible for the labour each respective locality receives." "That a vote of thanks be given to our chairman for his able and impartial conduct in the chair." "That a report of this delegate meeting be sent to the *Northern Star* for insertion." The cause is flourishing in this district.

THE CHARTISTS of Derby, at their weekly meeting, held on Sunday evening, passsed strong votes of censure and expulsion on Messrs. Turner, Skevington, Hall, and Twiss, for their efforts in aid of Whig usurpation, in having become members of committee and canvassing agents for Mr. Gisborne and Lord Waterpark, the Whig candidates.

CHESTERFIELD.—On Monday, a most peaceful and well-conducted assembly of Chartists, listening to an harangue from Mr. Wm. Martin, in the Market-place, (the meeting having been called by the Town crier), were brutally interrupted and dispersed by the mayor and the police. The people had the good sense and manly courage to go quietly away, without mauling the wretches as they well deserved for their insolent interference. Shall we ever have enough of class-rule under Whig management?

GLASGOW.—THE SON OF MR. FROST.—As everything connected with the circumstances and family of this exiled patriot is deeply interesting to a vast portion of the population of this country, we deem the following relation will not be out of place. About six or seven months ago, Mrs. Frost wrote to Mr. George Ross, requesting him to use his influence in procuring a situation for her only son in some medical establishment in Glasgow. Mr. Ross made the subject of the letter known to a number of influential Chartists, and it was not long until Mr. Moir learned that a young man was wanted in the Glasgow Old Apothecary Hall. Mr. Ross lost no time in making application to the proper quarter, and although the gentleman whom he applied to was a Tory, and knew that the young man in whose behalf the application was made was the only son of the revolutionary Mr. Frost, of Newport (as he termed him), he immediately agreed to engage him, in preference to a number of other applicants. The consequence was, that young Mr. Frost shortly after arrived in Glasgow. He appeared to be in rather a delicate state of health, and about sixteen or seventeen years of age. He bore a strong resemblance to his father, and was remarkably intelligent. He soon gained the esteem and affection of all who had the pleasure of his acquaintance: he gave great satisfaction to his employers, and had the honour of making several improvements in the establishment; but, alas! it was soon found that our cold climate did not agree with his constitution, and it was soon perceived by his friends and medical advisers that a return to his native air was absolutely necessary. He accordingly left Glasgow with the Commodore steam-packet for Liverpool, on his way to Bristol, last Saturday, accompanied by the feeling and patriotic Mr. George Ross, who has been to him like *a second father. He was accompanied* to the boat by Messrs. Moir, Ancott, M'Crea, of Kilbarchan, the editor of the *Scottish Patriot*, and several other gentlemen, with whom he took an affectionate farewell. Mr. Ross accompanies him all the way to Bristol, and on his return he intends to visit the "caged lion" at York.

WARRINGTON.—*The friends have had a* tea-party here, at which the proceedings were of the most pleasing and exhilarating character. Many patriotic toasts were given, and responded to by Mr. James Leech and others, during the evening. The meeting was conducted on teetotal principles; and we are most happy to learn that the greater part of the Chartists of Warrington are teetotallers.

MANCHESTER.—On Sunday last, Mr. Bayley delivered a most satisfactory lecture in the Tib-street room. The lecturer evinced an extensive acquaintance with the social anomalies of the present system, and with the *principles in which moral crime originates.* Mr. J. Leech delivered a very impressive lecture in Brown-street room.

MIDDLESBRO'.—The Chartists of this place held a public meeting in the Working Men's Reading Room, Newcastle Row, when spirited addresses were delivered by Messrs. Sutherland, Hollinshead, and Maw.

ASHTON-UNDER-LYNE.—The Chartists here are beginning to rouse, as it was from a deep slumber in which they appear to have been ever since the memorable 12th day of August, 1839. On Sunday evening last, we had the room we meet in almost crowded to suffocation, and every person present appeared to take a deep interest in the question they were met to discuss, viz. what course ought we to pursue at the approaching election, some contending for an address to the electors and non-electors in favour of Mr. Hindley, the present Member; and others that as there is no other candidate in the field, we take no steps in the affair at present, but if the Tories bring out their man, we do call a public meeting, and invite both candidates to attend there to be examined by one of the members of this Association, respecting his views on the Charter, &c. During the discussion, which lasted nearly three hours, a most brotherly feeling prevailed. At the close, the following resolution was adopted:—"That it is the opinion of this meeting that we as a body have nothing to do with either Whig or Tory; but that if there is to be an address in support of either one or the other, it must emanate from a public meeting called for that purpose." On Sunday alone we enrolled twelve members in the Association, and we now have some hopes that the men of Ashton will resume that position they once held in the Chartist ranks. O'Connor's and O'Brien's letters, the Convention's address, and M'Donall's opinion on the above subject were read by the Chairman, and gave great satisfaction. A debating and reading class have been formed in connection with the society, and much good is expected to emanate from them. Men of Ashton, remember the only measure to benefit you is the Charter, the whole Charter, and nothing less than the Charter. Hurrah for the Charter, and no surrender!—*Correspondent.*

BIRMINGHAM.—CHARTIST MEETING.—A meeting was held by adjournment, on Monday last, at the Railway Station, Duddeston-row, to hear the report of the non-electors' committee, appointed at the meeting held on the previous Monday evening, Mr. T. P. Green in the chair. The Chairman hoped that the meeting would be conducted in the same orderly manner as that which they had shown on former occasions. Mr. Thompson then proceeded to read Feargus O'Connor's letter to the meeting, which he performed in admirable style. The letter gave great satisfaction, and was received with loud cheers. Mr. George White next addressed the meeting on the necessity of the working classes bestirring themselves at the forthcoming elections. He exhorted them not to be led away by names or high sounding terms, but to judge all candidates for their support, by their previous conduct. He then commented on an address which had been issued by T. Attwood, and showed up its hollowness and deception. He also took a review of the conduct of Messrs. Muntz and Scholefield, as Members of Parliament. The great mass of men who had formerly been termed Whigs had now given themselves the name of "Liberals," and pretended to have a most pious horror of the general conduct of the Whig Ministry; but they nevertheless voted for them on all occasions where their existence as a Ministry was likely to be endangered. Thus, as far as the people were concerned, those men were Whigs, and nothing else. He then shewed that the Chartists had nothing to do with either of the factions, but that they should erect the standard of pure democracy, and be determined to rally round it. Mr. Thomas Attwood and others, who were disappointed in their ambitious schemes, had denounced the Chartists as physical-force men; but they were not termed so when they ran blindly after Attwood and Co., and if no man else did so, he would prove, from Mr. Attwood's document, on the hustings, at the nomination, that it was sheer Whiggery from end to end. He then proceeded to draw a picture of the misery and suffering that existed in the nation, after nine years' of Whig reform, and concluded by an earnest appeal to the working men, to do their duty at the forthcoming election, by showing their contempt for both Tory Spooner and the two "Liberals," and hold up their heads for men of their own choice. He was loudly cheered at the conclusion.—Mr. Wilkinson read the minutes of the committee, amongst which was an unanimous resolution, "That Mr. George White be nominated as one of the Candidates for Birmingham, on behalf of the Chartists and working men." The following resolution was then moved, seconded, and carried unanimously, "That the minutes of the non electors committe be now confirmed, and that no man shall receive the support of this meeting who will not pledge himself to vote for the Charter, whole and entire." The Chairman then announced that it was the determination of the non-electors' committee to hold meetings at the Railway Station, Duddeston-row, every Monday evening, until the conclusion of the election. He then declared the meeting adjourned to Monday evening next, at six o'clock.—Mr. White informed the meeting that he should address all persons who required information on on Chartist principles, at the Chartist meeting room, Freeman-street, that evening. Three cheers were then given for the Charter; after which a great number of people accompanied the Committee to the Chartist room, Freeman-street, where they were addressed by Mr. White, Mr. Williamson, and others.—It is the intention of the forty men who compose she non-electors' committee to proceed from the Chartist room, Freemen-street, to the place of meeting every Monday evening.—A lecture will be delivered on Wednesday evening next, at the Chartist room, Freeman-street, on behalf of Mr. Brown, now a prisoner in Warwick gaol.

BILSTON.—At the numerous meeting which was held at this place last week. After two resolutions had been passed in favour of the Charter and the National Charter Association, a third in favour of the Members for Wolverhampton, was moved by Mr. Candy, and supported by Mr. Winn, Editor of the *Staffordshire Examiner*. Mr. G. White moved as an amendment, that if the aforesaid Members would pledge themselves to vote for and introduce the People's Charter into the House of Commons, they should receive the support of that meeting; and if they would not, that they should be considered enemies of the people. After a stormy debate, in which Mr. White denounced the resolution as a Whig trick, the amendment was carried unanimously—thus proving that the brave colliers and miners are not to be gulled.

DUBLIN.—The Charter Association of this place held the most animated meeting that ever took place here, on Sunday, June 20th, Mr. Dillon in the chair, who in a clear and dispassionate manner gave the "base, bloody, and brutal Whigs" their merit. Mr. Brophy next addressed the meeting in support of the principles of the People's Charter, and proved in a varigated and tragical speech of great length, that the Whigs were the real Tories, and that they were the great enemies of the producing classes, and that Daniel O'Doubleface, being their supporter, is an enemy to the producing and unrepresented classes of Ireland and Britain, although the poor and half-starved Irish contribute to his support, some £14,000 or £15,000 per year. He said that as a working man, he was opposed to the Corn Law scheme of bettering the condition of the people, by a repeal of that measure, and proved that nothing short of the adoption of the principles of the Charter can ever get for the people equal rights and equal laws. This speech called forth the ire of a Mr. Tooe, who said the Chartists were the advocates of Tory principles, that they (the Chartists) were opposed to the Whigs and cheap bread and sugar, and we never had a better Ministry than the Whigs if they had not been opposed by the Tories and the Chartists, and he said he held the Chartists accountable for the language of the Tories to the *Catholics of Ireland, as regards the "mummery of* the mass." Here the chairman interfered, and Mr. Brophy replied in a masterly manner, to the sophistry of this Whig advocate. Mr. Brophy was followed by Messrs. M'Mahon, Robinson, O'Connor, and a Mr. Rice, from Manchester, who gave the Whigs a benefit. *The following resolution was moved by* Mr. Houghton, and seconded by Mr. Hyland:—"That we, the Chartists of Dublin, do highly approve of the great moral forbearance of the Chartists of Manchester, while under the brutal treatment of the physical-force anti-unionists, and Corn Law repealers, and Whig supporters of Manchester." Moved by Mr. M'Mahon, and seconded by Mr. John Robinson:—"That the thanks of this meeting be given to the electors of Rochdale for selecting from Ireland that sterling patriot and friend of the People's Charter, Sharman Crawford, Esq., there not *being a constituency in Ireland honest enough to re*turn such an honest man."

MARKINCH.—At this town, on Friday, the 18th inst., we had a display of Whig overbearing and dictation, that excels all we have seen in the anti-Corn Law movement in this part of the country. On the night of the above date, according to public advertisement, a meeting of the inhabitants of this place and neighbourhood was held in the Apron Society Hall, to consider the most proper plan of action to be adopted by the Chartists at the approaching election. Mr. Peter Ballingate was called to the chair, and stated in a few words the object of the meeting, and then called upon Mr. Wm. Melville, who rose and read a resolution to the meeting, the purport of which was, that the Whig Government was unworthy of confidence, and that this meeting refrain from assisting or countenancing the Whigs in any way whatever. Mr. M. enforced the propriety and necessity of acting in this manner by a lengthened speech, showing the faithlessness and tyranny of the Government in a masterly manner. He then moved that his resolution be adopted by the meeting. Mr. George Greig seconded it, and impressed upon the meeting the necessity of doing so, in a feeling manner, and concluded by declaring that he would never vote for Whigs more. Mr. William Tullis, Auchmuty paper mill, then rose and read a counter resolution to the meeting, and moved it as an amendment to the previous resolution, which was seconded by Mr. Baxter, Balgonie spinning mill; an able discussion then followed, which lasted some hours, during which Mr. Baxter acted in a most disorderly manner, interrupting Mr. Melville to such an extent, that calls were frequently made to him by the audience to hold his peace, or else they would put him out. After everything was arranged for taking the sense of the meeting upon the resolution and amendment, the chairman desired those in favour of the amendment to hold up both their hands, and they for the resolution, to hold up their right hand. It was evident to all around the chairman, that there was a considerable majority in favour of Mr. Melville's resolution; but the chairman hesitating a little in giving his decision, the Whigs called out to divide the house, which was ultimately agreed to, and in the division of the meeting, Mr. Tullis, Auchmuty, and Mr. Smith, ditto; and Mr. Baxter, Balgonie Mills, and Mr. Drummond, his brother-in-law, acted the most disgraceful part I ever saw. They went through the house ferreting out their workmen, and driving them to their end of the hall. We saw Mr. Baxter pulling some of his men by the collar, and they refusing to go, and asking others what they were doing on that side of the house, and ordering them to the other. Mr. Drummond was engaged in the same way. Messrs. Tullis and Smith acted a part nearly akin to it; but many of their workmen, rather than be driven against their will, or incur their master's displeasure, left the place of meeting; and others nobly braved their masters and stood by the Charter. As soon as this scene of beastly coercion was terminated, without going through the formality of counting, the Chairman viewing both parties, declared he thought the Whigs had a majority [illegible] instead of a defeat to the Chartists, it [illegible] very different effect; it will have the effect of [illegible] lating the Chartists to greater exertions in [illegible] cause, and the coercive villany of the [illegible] add to our number, and we will soon [illegible] political jugglers, the finality Whigs, [illegible] a party in this [illegible]—*Correspondent.*

NORTHERN STAR NEWSPAPER

SUPPLEMENT TO THE LONDON GAZETTE OF WEDNESDAY NIGHT.

BY THE QUEEN.

A PROCLAMATION,

For Dissolving the present Parliament, and Declaring the Calling of another.

VICTORIA, R.

Whereas we have thought fit, by and with the advice of our Privy Council, to dissolve this present Parliament, which stands prorogued to Tuesday, the 29th day of this instant June: We do for that end publish this our Royal Proclamation, and do hereby dissolve the said Parliament accordingly: and the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, and the Commissioners for shires and burghs, of the House of Commons are discharged from their meeting and attendance on the said Tuesday, the twenty-ninth day of this instant June: and We, being desirous and resolved, as soon as may be, to meet our people, and to have their advice in Parliament, do hereby make known to all our loving subjects our Royal will and pleasure to call a new Parliament: and do hereby further declare, that, with the advice of our Privy Council, we have given order that our Chancellor of that part of our United Kingdom called Great Britain, and our Chancellor of Ireland, do, respectively, upon notice thereof, forthwith issue out writs in due form, and according to law, for calling a new Parliament; and we do hereby also, by this our Royal Proclamation, under our Great Seal of our United Kingdom, require writs forthwith to be issued accordingly by our said Chancellors respectively, for causing the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons, who are to serve in the said Parliament, to be duly returned to, and give their attendance in, our said Parliament; which writs are to be returnable on Thursday the nineteenth day of August next.

Given at our Court at Buckingham Palace, this Twenty-third day of June, in the year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Forty-one, and in the Fifth year of our reign.

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN.

THE NORTHERN STAR.

SATURDAY, JUNE 26, 1841.

THE ELECTION.

PLAIN AND SIMPLE RULES FOR CONDUCTING AN ELECTION.

DUTY OF NON-ELECTORS.

Every Chartist in the neighbourhood of an election should consider it his duty to attend the hustings where a Chartist candidate is to be proposed, whether he intends to go to the poll or not. He should be up betimes, and say to himself, "the battle to-day depends entirely upon me; if I am absent, my cause is injured, and I am the willing cause of the injury—the guilty enemy of my country and her liberty." Every male inhabitant of the locality should meet at a place to be previously agreed upon, having, in the first instance received the blessing of his wife and family.

The body, when assembled, should then go towards the hustings, as large a number as is prudent getting in front, with a good reserve in the rear, and well flanked. They should not wear any colours, and for this reason, they will be just as well known by the want of them; and should a row take place, every bird that is plucked of his plumage will, of necessity, be compelled to fall into the Chartist ranks, and fight against his feathered brethren in self-defence. When the time of nomination comes, they should understand their duty. I will point out the order in which candidates are in general nominated.

They are nominated according to the date of their addresses, if they are all new candidates, and if new and old, that is, old Members, they, the old, are nominated first, according to the place they occupied upon the last poll, the highest being first put. I mention this, for fear of a trick, very frequently practised, in taking a show of hands twice for the same candidate, some friend telling the returning officer that the people did not understand; thus it not unfrequently happens that the hands are held up in mistake.

What I recommend is this. The Chartist candidate or candidates should have a short stick with a flag, and a man with some distinguishing mark, such as a handkerchief round his head, should stand behind the candidate or candidates; and when the Chartists see their candidates and fuglemen hold up their flags, then they should hold up BOTH HANDS; mind, both hands, and then you cannot be outjockied, for the others will hold up both. It is a thing of frequent occurrence for some old stager to keep the returning officer's attention fixed, for a long time, upon the hands, while such a conversation as the following is going on:—

"O, Mr. Sheriff, look at that quarter; very slack, and there, and there—not near as large as Lord Morpeth's show." Now, all this time the hands of those at a distance are being lowered, while the practised fellows are well tutored.

Now, to obviate any trick of this kind, I recommend that all hands be kept up till the candidate and fugleman shall lower their flags; that done, clap all hands three times, then set up a groan, dismal, loud, and long for the Whigs, and a funny derisive laugh for the Tories, and three rousing cheers for the members; for mind, they are members for all that day and the next, till the close of the poll! Then give nine cheers for the Charter, and as many more for Frost, Williams, and Jones, and tell the two usurpers, who appeal to the ten pound votes against your election, that you will have them back. That done get your men and chair them all over the town; and when they are elected, get them to sign an agreement to restore their trust whenever called upon by a committee to attend a public meeting of the non-electors, with sufficient notice, provided that meeting shall call upon them to do so. Above all things don't lose sight of this, for, believe me, the time is coming when your representatives will have more power than the representatives of walls.

Trust no man too far. Make no disturbance upon any account; but if you are attacked, you must fight like devils. In the evening get up cheap tea parties and dancing, and be jolly, and go to bed happy in the thought that you have done your duty.

RULES FOR THE CHARTIST CANDIDATES.

The first rule which I shall lay down will be for the conduct of the Chartist candidate who goes to the poll upon a coalition with either a Whig or a Tory. In his situation of candidate, he must have no fear of wounding feelings where no offence is intended; and in his desire to avoid the thing, he must take care that his party's cause is not sacrificed to his timidity or over delicacy. The coalition being agreed upon, he must instantly say to his adopted colleague, "Now, you and I are the only parties who can give the stamp of real value to what, *from profession*, appears to be our mutual object, namely, a coalition to serve our cause, as we both best can; and for the purpose of giving full effect to the agreement we must sign the following undertaking:—

"I, A. B., Whig candidate" (or Tory, as the case may be), "do hereby pledge myself to vacate my seat, by accepting the Chiltern Hundreds, within ten days after Parliament shall be next assembled, in the event of twenty voters, who vote for me, not giving their second vote to C. D., the Chartist candidate."

Let the execution of this document be witnessed by twelve Whig electors upon the Whig committee, and by twelve non-electors upon the Chartists' committee, and let it be thus *sedisiled*:—

"We, the twenty-four witnesses whose names appear hereunto annexed, do pledge ourselves to the performance of the above agreement, according to the simple meaning, upon the part of our respective principals."

Now, if you do not do this, you do *nothing*, and for this reason, when all the Chartist force shall be used up according to good faith, the Whigs will split with the Tories, to keep out the Chartist, and the Whig candidate, in the *most honourable and indefatigable manner*, will have used all his exertions, in vain, to induce his supporters to split; BUT WHAT COULD HE DO! he could surely do no more than beseech and implore, but then the prejudice was so strong against the Chartist principles that he, poor fellow, found it impossible to overcome that prejudice!

Now just make his seat depend upon his overcoming it, and you'll very soon find that the mere announcement of the terms of agreement will, *pro tanto*, enlighten the ignorant and explain away the prejudice.

Mind, and mind well, that no contract can be made with a whole body of electors.

Well, this done, let every Chartist Elector, and every elector pledged to support a Chartist Candidate, assemble in a place agreed upon before the polling begins, on the day of election. Let the whole non-electors' committee remain with them, and let the polling committee have two in each booth, that is, one to relieve the other, and, *every hour, let the* members of the polling committee meet and compare notes as to the manner in which the terms of agreement are kept, and in the *event of all being right* and proper, let the members of the polling committee come up at a quarter to three to the place where the Chartist reserve is kept, and let them *go to* their respective booths and perform their part of the covenant; but if two Tories be in the field, which is most likely, there being no likelihood of catching split votes, and in the event of the terms of the contract being broken, then let the Chartist voters vote for the two Tories, if the contract has been made with, and violated by, a Whig—and for the two Whigs, if made with a Tory, and violated by him.

Now, I ask, can any one suggest any more simple plan than that? and let me advise every Chartist to insist upon his man insisting upon the agreement before the day comes, else, believe me, they will fling you! I tell you that men, otherwise kind-hearted, lose their nature, and become very savages in the heat of an election. Father, son, uncle, nephew, friend, relation, and all ties of affection, merge into the one endearing term—*partisan.* Trust no man's word, if you can faster bind him. Even Dr. Philpotts would tell a lie to ensure the return of a Tory; and, surely, what would be pardonable in a Right Reverend Father in God, would be doubly pardonable in a limb of the Devil, as we poor Chartists are called.

Some one once charged me with having said that I would tell a lie to carry the Charter. I never said such a thing in my life. But now I tell you what Bishop Philpotts would do to get one Tory; and, believe me that I would "go the whole hog" to get one Chartist. I would not say so immoral a thing, as that I would or *could* even bring my mouth to tell a lie for the Charter. However, if I was to swear myself black in the face, Bishop Philpotts would not believe me; so, therefore, I wish they would just TRY ME, and see whether or no I could beat the fellow that said he drove a nail through the moon. Just let the holding of office and the consequent distribution of the sweets depend upon the respective parties pledging themselves to tell lies, and you would have truth proclaimed as a crime, and lying as a virtue!

Well, all the above arrangements, or rather preliminaries, being arranged, the Chartist candidate should then meet his Committee the last thing on the night before the nomination, and, of all things, make their arrangements perfect. They should have two committees, one working the electors, the other the non-electors. The non-electors' committee should never stir from the spot where they shall be posted, after they have assisted in forming the procession to escort the candidates to the hustings.

If any row is got up by the factions, the non-electors' committee should instantly go for their candidate, and placing him at their head, rally round him, and when excitement is once got up, never try to allay it, as such a practice has lost more elections than any other folly. I have been knocked down. I have had two bayonet stabs upon the same day. I have been trampled upon by dragoon horses. I have been knocked down in the gutter with an elector on my back. I have stood for hours opposite the 4th Dragoon Guards, and other regiments, with their drawn sabres within a yard of my face. I have been assailed with porter pots in a room with closed doors. I have been nearly stripped in the street; and I have invariably found that when the factions are getting the worst of it, they resort to physical force, and then if the popular candidate gets frightened, the electors get frightened also.

The candidate should inform his committee of all his arrangements and plans, and hold no secrets. He should be very alert upon the following day, and for some time after the election, till excitement subsides, and he should take care that none of his voters are bullied or intimidated; this is, firstly, right; and, secondly, will insure success another time.

THE EXPENCES OF AN ELECTION.

If a candidate does not go to the poll, he is not liable to any expence. I have noticed this before, and again I notice it now. Lord Abinger, in the case of the Returning Officer of Birmingham against Sturge, has decided the point. The legal expences of taking the poll are defined; and in justice to the reformed Parliament, I must say, that the only department in which they have made any retrenchment is in that alone where they were most interested. They have considerably reduced the expence of taking the poll, and they have relieved themselves of all those annoying fees paid by members to officers of the House of Commons, by transferring the obligation to the country.

I stood for the County of Meath in 1831, to assist Grattan; for Mallow, in 1832, to assist Daunt; for Dungarvan, in 1834, to assist Jacob; for Youghal, in 1835, to assist John O'Connell. I stood for Preston in 1837; and for Glasgow in 1839; and not going to the poll, I never paid any thing.

In 1837 the Boroughreeve of Manchester refused to allow O'Brien to be put in nomination, without first giving security for the hustings' expences. I wrote a protest for him against the election, but I rather think it was not served, nor would there have been much use in it, as it would not have attained our object in time, which was to let Poulett Thomson and Phillips see the blistered hands.

I have never lost an election that I conducted for a friend; and I attribute success to my resolution never to think enough was done, or that the battle was over till the time for polling had expired. If my man was 400 at the head of the poll two hours before the close, I would gallop five miles for one voter.

Above all, mind that! *never think you can do enough, and never rest while work is to be done.* It is most fortunate that I am here now, for, if at large, I should positively kill myself this election. I work like a horse, and when the blood is up I am as strong as any dozen men. You should have seen me flooring two gentlemen right and left in the streets of Dungarvan, who wanted to *steal* an elector from me, because he was *tenant to one of them.* I assure you I made them spin right and left like two tops; and before they were well upon their legs, I had my man polled and another upon my back. Believe me that that's the way to go to work.

Having said so much upon arrangement, let me now advert for one moment to those particular elections in which we have any interest, while I classify the interest according to value. I begin with

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

To the result of this election I attach the very greatest importance, and for this reason, because it will,

Firstly, (should O'Brien be returned) work into practice one of our most *beautiful maxims,* "The labourer is worthy of his hire."

Secondly, it will strongly establish the claim of the brave and virtuous working men of England to the title for gratitude.

Thirdly, it will give to the ignorant Irish revilers the best possible denial of the charge that the English people are opposed to Irish interests and to the Catholic religion, and a Repeal of the Union. O'Brien is an Irishman, a Catholic, and a Repealer.

Fourthly, it will prove the spread among our own party of O'Brien's principles, and the principles of Chartism.

Fifthly, it will prove that absence of a friend does not insure forgetfulness of him.

Sixthly, it will be a powerful incentive to other teachers, orators, and leaders, to go and do as O'Brien has done.

Seventhly, it will, above all other circumstances, prevent the enemy from again resorting to torture and persecution, from a hope, or expectation, that they will destroy the influence, character, and prospects of the leaders and supporters of democracy.

Eighthly, it must not be lost sight of that Mr. O'Connell made a great handle, in 1835, of the people of Newcastle having returned an enemy to Ireland; and though he always confounds the people and their oppressors, and talks and writes more nonsense than any other living man, let us, nevertheless, knock the leg from under his lies and nonsense, as we have from under his blarney.

I could go on to one thousandthly, shewing stronger and stronger reasons why O'Brien's return is to us of paramount importance; but with you must rest the means of making the experiment as successful as possible.

Let a general four counties' subscription be instantly entered into by Northumberland, Cumberland, Durham, and Westmoreland; and this night, that is the night on which you read this, let every man who spends a shilling with a shopkeeper say "I'll thank you for a trifle *to give moral effect to my principles,* as I am not represented in the House of Commons." Also, let a general subscription be entered upon; and, if you can get a coalition, ask the friends and supporters of the colleague of O'Brien for their mite. Believe me, they will NOW give it. Lose no chance.

Meet every evening after work, and parade the streets, peaceably and orderly, in your tens of thousands, cheering at the door of every friend, and not noticing the foe.

My principle, you see, is to save you from trouble. The affirmative, that is, supporting and applauding your friends, confers a negative upon your enemies.

Let all my instructions be read over and over again, and improved and corrected where found faulty; but HAVE A PLAN and act upon it. In short, to insure his return, you must work like *madmen with method, and like wild men with discretion.* Of all things avoid tumult—*keep you the peace,* but to preserve it, let the officers of war know and understand that you will stand NO NONSENSE. Then,

Hurrah, for O'Brien and Newcastle;
For O'Brien and Newcastle, hurrah!

NORTHAMPTON.

Here we have M'Douall, and lest I might, in my classification, be supposed, by placing him before Vincent, to hint at a distinction in point of public interest and Chartist importance, I beg to say that one must come first, and M'Douall being first in the field, I observe the rule which I have before observed, when setting forth the nomination of candidates according to the dates of their respective addresses.

M'Douall is as fine a little gentleman and Chartist as ever lived; he is very young, but not indiscreet; he is very brave, but not imprudent; he did us much, very much service, by his vigorous, manly, noble, and talented defence. He bore his incarceration like a Chartist, and came purified from the Whig furnace: he has since preserved a most manly, consistent, and straight forward course. He is a good reasoner, a good writer, and a good speaker. He is a man in every way trustworthy, and who can say that too much can be done for such a friend to the glorious cause? Then, in point of general importance, he introduces the practical illustration of Northern Union and civilization into the *great agricultural county of Northampton,* under the very nose of Earl Spencer and the high Whigs. They never read of us, but what is written in derision; but having M'Douall before them, as a living proof of our policy and line of action, will open their blinded eyes and expand their contracted brains.

Here you must make a tremendous muster upon the day of nomination, as the feudal system still lives in Northamptonshire, and the vassals will follow the Lord to the hustings, leading their will and commanding their support.

Here, also, let subscriptions be entered into at once—and, above all, make sure of the show of hands, and read all my instructions over and over again.

Then hurrah for Northampton and McDouall—
For McDouall and Northampton, hurrah!

BANBURY.

Here we have the Benjamin Franklin of Chartism. Here we have the brave and gallant Vincent. Here we have the Chartist General Gaol Inspector, sent, like a felon, through the gauntlet of Whig improved cruelty, and impervious to the oppressor's lash and the proud man's scorn. Here we have the only man honoured with a private visit from the Gaoler-General, (Lord Normanby,) paid, no doubt, for a *certain purpose,* which, however, failed. Here we have one of the most exciting and animating speakers belonging to our ranks. Here we have the establisher of the *Vindicator,* and its resuscitator, in double size, transformed from a mere local sheet to a *national* organ, the first number of which, for twopence, of immense size, appeared on Saturday last.

Now then, men of Gloucestershire, march, every man within twenty miles, in good order, and mark the difference between the knowledge of a non-elector and a qualified representative; mark it well. This is what I have long laboured to effect—to bring unrepresented knowledge and representative ignorance cheek by jowl upon the same stage.

O, what fun! O what a glorious day for the world here! Let every town meet and send in its mite, and think if we can get O'Brien, M'Douall, Vincent, Sankey, Moir, and Duncan into the House. If we can smuggle the contraband goods in, who will dare to seize the cargo, and send them back for an excise informality in the permit!

I hope Lord Normanby saw the first number of the *National Vindicator,* and that he admires Vincent's "IMPROVED STYLE."

Then hurrah for Banbury and Vincent—
For Banbury and Vincent, hurrah!

MARY-LE-BONE.

Here we have the noble Sankey, another Irishman, son of one of the gallant Irish members who refused to commit suicide by voting for a legislative Union with England.

Here the electors are at SEA, having, as the first fruits of the ballot, been experimentally handed over, in a flock, from the advocacy of a candidate with one set of principles, to the advocacy of a gallant candidate with another set of principles.

Now, what say you to the ballot, non-electors? Will this prove to you that, under its provisions, you could not have any opposition; that the minority should, for the personal and interested objects of individuals, merge in the majority, and thus appear to mix elements, discordant elements, in close fraternity, leaving the minority no organ—buried, all buried in the silent tomb of expediency, in the dark recesses of the ballot-box?

However, to the poll Sankey *goes!* and you, electors of Marylebone, take care and make your triumph as complete as possible, while the non-electors, I pledge myself, will do their duty nobly.

Sankey is a Master of Arts, that is, A.M., of Cambridge, and O'Brien is A.M. of Trinity College, Dublin; therefore, let the rotten colleges of England and Ireland be fairly represented, by sending the science of Chartism into the classic edifice about to be built for the expression of public opinion.

Men of London, will you not subscribe? will you, in the midst of surrounding misery, be backward? No, I don't believe it.

Whatever is Sankey's fate, let him be assured that according to his conduct will be his future position in Marylebone; and that that conduct will be open, frank, straightforward, and honourable, no man can doubt; he will put no one feature of our lovely Charter upon his banner; the full face of the Charter must there be presented in all its splendour to the naval hero and his rivals.

Then hurrah for Sankey and Marylebone!
For Marylebone and Sankey hurrah!

ROCHDALE.

Next comes more of a legitimatist, but not less of a Chartist, another Irishman, the bold and manly Crawford—the only man who has had honesty enough to prefer retirement to prostitution. The value of such a return must also speak in the voice of thunder to the closed ears of Ireland, and prove that Newcastle and Rochdale know no distinction in the Irishman's creed.

One great advantage of Crawford*'s return would* be this—that he would give an impetus and spur to the drowsy balance of power, or such of it as may be again returned in the event of a Whig majority. Duncombe, Wakley, Leader, Hume, and Warburton will be made more forward when pushed behind by such a man as Crawford. Mind that; for we must attach the distinct and proper value to every one of our acts, and assign a good and satisfactory reason for each.

So hurrah for Crawford and Rochdale,
For Rochdale and Crawford hurrah!

HULL.

Here we have the great gun of Chartism, the physical-force gallant Colonel. Of him you will not require me to say a word more than I have often repeated, namely, that he is the best Radical of his class to be found; he too will act as a rowel in the spur to prod the sleepy energies of the slothful. But mind, men of Hull; mind Chartists of Hull; read last week's *Leeds Mercury,* and mind, *or else.* Don't poll till the last moment! and on the first trick, give them two thumping Tories. I would strongly advise you to insist upon Mr. Clay signing the conditions. But be watchful;

And hurrah for Thompson and Hull!
For Thompson and Hull hurrah!

HALIFAX.

Here we have a man with whom I have had the honour of sitting and voting for three years in the House of Commons. A more amiable, upright, honourable, intelligent man breathes not, than Mr. Gully. No power on earth would induce him to violate a single pledge, or hold your trust for a moment after you required its resignation into your hands.

Read you also what the rascally *Mercury* dares to say of one of nature's gentlemen; and, when you see Mr. Gully, as working men and Chartists, feast your eyes by looking upon one who has raised himself to be a protector of the poor by his own merit. Upon the other hand, look at the *protegeés* of the *Mercury,* Wood and Protheroe; the one who has voted for the incarceration of your friends, and who has been a crutch for his brother-in-law, Lord Howick, in their hobbling to power; while Protheroe has disappointed your every hope.

Don't you mind Attorney-coroner-brewer-coal-merchant Stocks. Rely upon it, you have nothing to expect from that quarter. Vote for Gully, every man of you! he is for the five points of the Charter and will be another rowel in the spur. So,

Hurrah, for Gully and Halifax,
For Halifax and Gully, hurrah!

TOWER HAMLETS.

Here we have an hereditary patriot in the person of Col. Thompson's son, and we learn that the people are doing their duty, while the leaders are hanging back; and all I have to say is—to the devil with the leaders! cut the traces and let them tumble over, while the shaft-horses drag the Chartist waggon up the hill in fustian!

I knew it would come to that, in rotten London. But, fustians, down with the leaders! down, down, down, down with the leaders! they will be good company for the bloody Whigs.

I know nothing of young Thompson beyond the character which the fustians give him—it is enough. So,

Hurrah for young Thompson and the fustians,
For the fustians and young Thompson, hurrah!

BATH.

Some of my readers may suppose it strange that I should attach any importance to the return of John Arthur Roebuck but I do, and very great importance.

In my comment upon Roebuck, I shall speak of him as a whole, and not in his character of a political economist and supporter of the Poor Law Amendment Act. If the question, the only question to be decided in this next Parliament was Poor Law or no Poor Law, I should, at once, select the only foul blot in Roebuck's escutcheon for exposure; but, inasmuch, as I never have used the measure as a clap-trap to give the Tories support or preference which they do not deserve, neither shall I now allow myself to place mole-hills between the people and mountains. The Whigs are the fathers of the monster; the Tories are god-fathers—sponsers, and pledged to its training, and for which they have promised and vowed three things in its name. Firstly, that it shall renounce the people, and all that can get work. Secondly, that it shall renounce all claims to their estates. And, thirdly, it shall walk in the same all the days of THEIR POLITICAL EXISTENCE. Now, that's the plain and simple way of putting it; and if to-morrow, we had to choose between Walter and Roebuck, the Poor Law being the question at issue, I would at once, and without hesitation, vote for Walter—not supposing that the repeal of one bad measure would be any guarantee against the enactment of as bad a one by the same parties, but merely to show popular hatred to it, when that hatred could be effectually directed to hit the mark. But I look more extensively into the whole political mirror, and I ask which, in the present state of opinion and parties, is the most likely to forward the cause of democracy, Walter or Roebuck? and who, for a moment can hesitate in coming to a conclusion? The repeal of the Poor Law Bill would not advance the cause of democracy by a hair's breadth, while every step in advance by democracy, puts a nail in the devil's coffin.

I served for two years with Roebuck, (and always barring the damning spot,) he was the most efficient democrat in the House; he has since served, and he alone stood up against all the crotchet mongers and *sliding balance of* power, and by his democratic principles lost all hold of the time-serving electors.

I owe Roebuck no great compliment—he has tried to injure me; but I owe the public and the cause a duty which no personal motive on earth shall induce me to swerve from, and especially just now.

I am not one of those puling sycophants who would lose such a glorious opportunity as the present, for the mere purpose of gratifying personal feelings, or injuring a foe by injuring my cause. No, no; when it comes to that I shall retire. Now, if the contest was between Walter and Hobhouse, I should, upon the other hand, have as little hesitation in voting for Walter; because here I test the whole question at issue, and all the little good being on Walter's side, I vote for the one fair spot, and against the mass of putrid corruption. Hobhouse is a rotten thing, neither good for man or beast; and, therefore, I would vote for Walter; and the same holds good in all instances. For these reasons, do I most unhesitatingly declare, that Roebuck would be the very sharpest rowel in the democratic spur. He is naturally a democrat, and the more so, from vanity; and, as I before said, if he would bind himself for six months to a Scotch farmer, and then for six months to a Manchester cotton lord, he would speedily discover, whether population presses upon the means of production, or the landlord's condition of non-production annexed to leases, presses hardly upon population.

If I was not a good farmer, knowing the full capabilities of mother earth, and if I had not entered Lancashire College, at Oldham, six years ago this month, and, in the course of my education discovered agricultural neglect made manifest in every pale face, I might also have been a "political economist," which means nothing more or less than an ignorant booby, who, while he speaks of production, wouldn't know how to get any dinner but grass from the land, if he had it.

OLDHAM.

Here we have John Fielden, the only master manufacturer in England in whose return the white slaves have any the slightest interest; but, on the contrary, in the ousting of every other they have a great interest. A poor man being a Chartist, and a physical-force one, I can understand, without difficulty; but a man wallowing in wealth being even a moral-force Chartist, I cannot understand, otherwise than that he is the very best of men. In fact, when the poor begin to think of Fielden's wealth, position, opposition to monopoly, and support of their order, they must look upon him as the rarest novelty of the age; and so he is. There breathes not the breath of life in a more thorough philanthropist, kind-hearted, shrewd man, than Mr. John Fielden: personally I owe him no great compliment, but I do owe him a duty.

There can be no doubt but that Fielden will be returned again, along with his excellent, and in every way fitting, colleague, General Johnson.

Now, then, I have done so far, but I have not yet done half my work; So for all,

Hurrah, for our side,
For our side, hurrah!

Now, then,

EVERY WORKING MAN, WOMAN, AND CHILD IN ENGLAND, IRELAND, SCOTLAND, AND WALES.

My dear beloved Children,—Aye you are every one of you, old and young, my children; and never was fond father so doatingly fond of an only child. Never did parent look with joy for the first fruits of his union, with more intense and heartfelt anxiety, than I now look for an heir to our union. *It is just* twelve months since the *Star* warned faction of the approaching tempest which is now about to rage,—in these words:—

"BEHOLD THE STORM COMETH."

My children, for long before, and ever since, I have been on the watch tower to keep the ship "from foes or wreck," ready to warn the crew of approaching danger from whatever quarter it may threaten us. In that time, though apart, we have fought many battles together in spirit: and now I tell you the

HOUR COMETH!

when the crew must remain on deck, and when "England will expect every man to do his duty!" I have done mine! This is the week before the battle; the very eve of battle; and I have given you all the instruction that I thought necessary for your guidance. This week the *Star* should be a chart to guide you in your perilous course.—Study it; follow it; and you are safe! I have scarcely slept since Saturday last. My mind has been on the rack as to the best means of serving you.

In addition to what you will see from me this week in the *Star,* I have written an address of sixteen large pages of M.S., to the Frieze coat electors and non-electors of the County of Cork, bearing upon Irish affairs. I have had it published on a sheet by *itself,* and sent over to be distributed among the soldiers with whom I have fought and conquered, and who still love me. I cannot forget Ireland! and in my dungeon I have done my duty to all! The result of the present contest will test the value of tyranny and the increase of Chartism since the general election of 1837, and will inform the *new* Lord Chancellor of Ireland, our old *persecutor-General,* Sir John Campbell, that he was in a dose when he thought he had put Chartism to rest! He is to be a Peer and a Chancellor! and thus have the Whigs rewarded one and all of our persecutors! But no matter! we will soon be in a situation to right ourselves!

My children, the Chartist tree is growing rapidly, and spreading its luxuriant foliage over the shoots that daily and hourly spring from its fertile roots. It is deep sown, but nevertheless springs like good seed scattered in rich soil. O! how I long to walk among you, when we shall have killed tyranny; and to see you what nature intended you to be, FREEMEN! *every man with the key of his* OWN *store house filled with the produce of his* OWN *labour, in his* OWN *pocket.* These are my politics. I am for a return from an artificial, to a natural state of existence.

Mothers, for this make your sons work for the next week! Wives, for this make your husbands work for the next week! Sisters, for this make your brothers work for the next week! Sweethearts, for this make your lovers work for the next week! *All,* ALL, work for this, next week!

I am now tired and weary, and leave you with my blessing, and the blessing of God implored in your behalf: and that you may overcome every foe to liberty, and every obstacle that stands between you and your just and righteous cause, is the sincere and the earnest, the devout and never ceasing prayer of

Your fond and affectionate father,
FEARGUS O'CONNOR.

MR. O'BRIEN, O'CONNOR, AND THE *NORTHERN STAR.*

In our last number, we promised to reason with Mr. O'Brien on the subject of the policy which we have thought it our duty to recommend to the people at the coming elections. We felt sorry to lack, on any subject, the approbation of O'Brien, and were in hopes of being able to show him that his position on this matter, had been taken up more hastily than is usual with him. However, as O'Connor was equally concerned in the matter with the Editor of the *Northern Star,* he has thought proper to take it up; and on reading over his two letters to Mr. O'Brien, we at once laid aside an article which we had prepared upon the subject; satisfied that it unnecessary to occupy space with more than he has said upon the matter. To those letters we refer Mr. O'Brien and the people, and rest contented to abide the issue.

We this week give another letter from Mr. O'Brien, *following up his former ones.*

To that letter then we now request the attention of our readers, in conjunction with his former ones, and with the two letters of O'Connor in reply. It is not our practice to treat the "reasoning" of any man, least of all that of Mr. O'Brien, with affected contempt; we desire to give to it all the weight and influence to which the long labours of such a man entitle him; we would subtract nothing from it, by inuendo or otherwise; and we beg to assure him, that whatever may have been his impression, nothing was further from our purpose than, in the few remarks we last week appended to his letters, to place his opinion or our own in any undue position. We do not presume to "dogmatize to our brother Chartists," or to set up our opinion "as the established faith of the Chartist body." But we do think ourselves bound in duty to place our opinions on all great matters of policy honestly and fearlessly before the people—to give our reasons for holding those opinions—and we think we have a right to ask the people not to make up their minds "beforehand" to pay no attention to those reasons. Again, regretting that we cannot have in this matter Mr. O'Brien's approval and concurrence, we leave the whole matter with the people, reiterating our deliberate opinion, that if they suffer the present opportunity of effectually overthrowing the "Bloodies" to pass by, they will bitterly repent it.

VISIT OF THE WEST RIDING AND BOROUGH CANDIDATES TO LEEDS.

On Tuesday morning last, this town at an early hour, exhibited all the bustle and excitement of an electioneering contest, it having been announced that the whole of the candidates for both the borough and the West Riding, would make their appearance and address the people in the yard of the Coloured Cloth Hall.

The factions were early on the alert. Bands of music, blue and yellow flags and banners, borne by hired dupes, and small and large loaves of bread, decorated with blue and yellow ribbons, were marched in procession through the streets "making *morn* hideous," and arousing the lethargic from their heavy slumbers.

But in the midst of all this, there was a party moving in all the dignity of conscious superiority, who needed not the aid of "pomp and ceremony" to enforce their claims on the public attention. The Chartists, though not fearing a comparison, concontented themselves by appearing without either colours or music, conscious that they were not a whit behind either of the factions in the ability of the candidates whom they had freely chosen, or in the justice of their cause which they espoused.

Mr. George Julian Harney and Mr. Pitkethly were the Riding candidates, and Mr. James Williams and Mr. James Leech the borough candidates of the Chartists; the Hon. J. S. Wortley and Mr. Beckett Denison the Riding, and Mr. William Beckett and Lord Jocelyn, the borough candidates of the Tories; and Lords Morpeth and Milton the Riding, and Messrs. Hume and Aldam the borough candidates of the united corps of Foxes and Geese.

Each party invited their candidates to a public breakfast.

The Chartists had a numerous party to a good substantial repast, at their room, in the Fish Market.

The Tories feasted their friends at the Music Hall, in Albion-street, where a large party assembled under the presidency of Mr. Henry Hall. Of course the great and mighty of the land were there—"where the carcase is, there will the *vultures* be gathered together."

The Whigs occupied the large room of the Commercial Buildings, and if we could believe the *extraordinary* liar, we might suppose that they far "out-Heroded Herod" in numbers, respectability, wealth, talent, grandeur, show, and everything else, but we have learnt to place a proper value on Neddy's statements.

The good things of this life having been done ample justice to, some time was spent by each of the factions in raising their spirits, and preparing them for what might cross their path in the course of the next few hours. Neddy's *Extraordinary* says the speeches of the "Bloodies," after the gormandizing was over, were "extraordinary" indeed, and "extraordinary" must have been the stomachs of the *gulls who swallowed them.*

About half-past nine o'clock, a move was made *towards the Cloth Hall Yard.*

The Chartists, conscious of the purity of their principles, were the first who arrived, in procession, certainly, but unaided by decoration, or the least display. Their numbers were, as they always are, formidable; and, though slighted and insulted by the "Liar Extraordinary," were strong enough to make him quail when he looked upon them.

We ought to remark here that a commodious hustings, in two divisions, had been erected by the two *great* parties, without any seeming provision for the greatest party of all—the party of the people. The candidates and leaders, however, were supplied with tickets of admission to the hustings, and they took up their position in the centre.

The Blues arrived next, after parading the streets in procession, with their bands and banners, and took up position at the far end of the yard, the candidates and their supporters occupying that end of the hustings.

These had no sooner taken their places, than the Whigs arrived and occupied the vacant part of the hustings allotted to them—their supporters *apparently* filling the end of the yard from the steps to the gates.

We say apparently, because we happen to know that it was not really so, notwithstanding certain *extraordinary* statements which have been since published. The fact is that in this, as in everything else, the Whigs must have some trick; they had planned to have the entrance to the yard allotted to them, knowing that they would be sure of all the droppers-in, who would thus be made to swell their numbers. And this was more easily effected, and made more apparent, by the fact that the Chartists wore no colours, and that those Blues who arrived late, and in straggling divisions, dispensed with their usual insignia also. But their veil was torn aside during the addresses of the candidates, and was made particularly apparent even to the *extraordinary* optics of the "Queen-groaner," when, during the spirited and effective address of Mr. J. G. Harney, the cheers of those who were thought to be yellow told so effectually in favour of the candidate of the people's choice, and placed beyond all doubt the opinions of the great majority of those who occupied the first portion of the yard. The *Mercury* knows the fact; "Let the galled jade wince."

The number of persons assembled to listen to the proceedings could not be fewer than fifteen thousand; we should say more. The greater part of the persons with orange cards in their hats consisted of men hired for the occasion; and of lads of from sixteen to eighteen; the latter were, occasionally, very noisy and unsteady; but on the whole, the crowd behaved extremely well.

THE WEST RIDING CANDIDATES.

Lord Viscount MORPETH addressed the multitude at considerable length, in one of his usual carefully prepared and deliberately conned "themes," on which we imagine that some boarding school miss had bestowed no small amount of feminine taste and pains taking, in the nicely stringing together of neat fitting representatives of nothing. The Noble Lord's speech was a tolerably "correct composition," by whom written we, of course, know not; but, as a literary effort, it might be considered passable from a fourth form boy in the Leeds Free Grammar School. His harangue, of course, gave much credit to the Government for their determined efforts against "monopoly," and predicted sad things for the country if the said Government should be "thrown on their own resources." He began by stating that the very echoes lingering in the Cloth Hall Yard were charged with the death-knell of monopoly—that he had heard from that place in 1830 was proclaimed against the monopoly of representation—that he had afterwards heard condemned in that place the monopoly of traffic in human flesh—that these monopolies were now at an end, and he confidently augured the same fact for the monopoly of corn, commerce, and trade. After some left-handed compliments to his Tory opponents, which were too palpable to be well received, he went on to say,—"I believe, Gentlemen, the Supreme Ruler of events has so formed this world, with all its diversities of land and of sea, separating land from land, and island from island, by waters, and rivers, and oceans, endowing one portion of the earth with exuberant richness of soil, and with the genial influence of climate; appropriating another portion to more hardy enterprise by giving to it stores of mineral wealth; making the cotton plant, the tea plant, and coffee plant, thrive in another region, making iron harden, coal blacken, or diamonds blaze, in another region. (Cheers.) I humbly conceive that in making these, the Supreme Architect of nature intended that man should enjoy, and that in order to enjoy, he should work, and he should exchange. (Loud applause.) I need not ask you whether you have not proved yourselves willing to work. (Cries of 'we have.') There has been no failure with you in this respect. It can't be pretended that you have not done your duty to the utmost, in working honestly for your livelihood, and for the comfort and maintenance of your families." (Hear, hear, and cheers.") Then came a great lot of declamation about the scarcity of manufacturing employment and the driving of our trade into foreign countries by the naughty Corn Laws. The Noble Lord proceeded then to argue that inasmuch as the public revenue is not equal to the public expenditure, the Tories, if they take office must increase the revenue by imposing fresh taxes, whereas he and his friends were disposed to do it by taking off taxes! Not a word about reducing the public expenditure to meet the revenue: in that part of the tune, the performers are too well studied to let a jarring note be heard. After adverting to the desperate circumstances of his faction, which had rendered it necessary for them to invoke the power of the "House of Wentworth." The Noble Lord wound up his recitation with the following pithy words which we fancy he will find to be truer than he ever intended they should be. "The word has gone forth against prohibitions, against exclusion, and against undue preference to favoured classes. (Cheers.) The hand-writing is on the wall—the cause of monopoly has had its day."

Lord MILTON, having been introduced by James Brown, Jun., Esq., next presented himself, and a pitiable exhibition it was. The poor lad was evidently frightened at the unusual position in which he found himself. Some careful grandmother had put down for him a string of ordinary mean-naughts about his father and free trade, which the luckless youth in trying to repeat from memory, stuck repeatedly fast in, and then referring to his prompt book, lost the line of his lesson, and, reading wrong, made all sorts of rediculous blunders—talking about "driving the free-trade gentlemen from the field," &c.—his friends behind and around him on the hustings, several times interfered to keep the Noble Lordling right in his lesson; but to no purpose. We suppose that such an exhibition of impudent purse-calculating imbecility was scarcely ever before made, as that which his "friends" are now making of this unfortunate young man.

The Hon. J. S. WORTLEY then came forward, and was received with cheers by the Blue party. He said the Whig Government had now been in office for eleven years, and during the whole time they have never ventured to make any proposal on the subject on which they now choose to agitate the country. It is only at the last moment, when they find themselves sinking in the estimation of the country, to the lowest step in the scale (A shout of "Will you do it then?") It is only when they find their own House of Commons rejects them, and tells them they are bound in principle to resign their situations; it is only then they throw out this question as a bait for popularity, and in order to keep their situations. What kind of question is this on which they think agitation justifiable to raise the passions of the people—for I can call the attempt nothing else, though it has failed? What is the question? A question on which the first and most intelligent authorities differ almost as often as they write or speak on it. Let us look to the authorities on this very subject—the Corn Laws. At the present moment, we have a nobleman whose son now appears before you as a candidate, whose private character we must respect—my Lord Fitzwilliam, who has taken a prominent and leading part in the attack on these laws. (Cheers.) What does he tell us? That if these laws were repealed, you would not have corn cheaper than at present; that the farmer need not be afraid, because the price of corn would remain the same as at present. A pamphlet has been written by Mr. M'Culloch, another of these great authorities, and what does he say? He says the same thing. (Shouts of "What do you say?") He attempts to prove that there would be no reduction in the price of corn. Then we have Mr. Villiers, an advocate for the repeal of the Corn Laws, and certainly no partizan of ours—what does he say? He says that the sole object is to reduce wages. (Disapprobation.) He says that wages must be reduced in order to enable our manufacturers to compete with our rivals. Another authority, no less esteemed, Colonel Torrens, who has given his life to the consideration of these subjects, says on the contrary, you would get nothing from it, because it would raise wages, and raise rents. Is this, then, a question on which any Government is justified in attempting to impose on the great mass of the people? (Hear.) I contend that the attempt is nothing else than an electioneering clap-trap. And for this reason. When we look back to the history of the Government, we find that for eleven years they proposed nothing on this subject, but not only that, for we find the first Minister of the country, the principal organ of the Government, has more than once declared in the most positive terms against the change. In March, 1839, he used these words:—"When you find," (said he) "my noble friend Earl Fitzwilliam proposing to leave the whole agricultural interest without protection, I declare before God, I think it the wildest and the maddest scheme that ever entered into the imagination of man to conceive, and it is my opinion that it is not wise to depend on foreign countries for a supply of food." This, gentlemen, is the assertion of Lord Melbourne not more than two years since, but he comes a little nearer than that, for it was only last year that he said, when it was urged you will be able to get an increase of trade, in consequence of the repeal of the Corn Laws, what did he say to it? He said, "you will never get into the markets of the continent whether you repeal the Corn Laws or not." These are the sentiments expressed by Lord Melbourne, and I say when a government, having treated this question in this style, for eleven years, and now when it is known to be at the last gasp of its existence, throwing overboard the principles it had expressed before, on the eve of its dissolution putting forward these measures. In reference to the retirement of Sir Geo. Strickland, the Hon Speaker asked, why has he been withdrawn? Was it because he wanted to retire from Parliament? No such thing. He does not want to retire from Parliament. At this moment he, your old and Radical representative, Sir George Strickland, is engaged in a popular contest for Preston, in Lancashire. Why did he not fight in the battle here instead of at Preston? (Cries of "question, question.") It is because my Noble Friend here, to whom I have the greatest possible respect, is to bring the great influence of his noble house into the contest. He is to serve the purpose of a budget in Yorkshire. He, Gentlemen, is our Yorkshire budget, and he is brought here to produce the same effect as the Government sought to produce by their budget. He is to carry it by the influence of his noble house. It is in order that the deficiency of influence of Sir George Strickland may be supplied, and in order to obtain enough assistance for the electors to win the election. Gentlemen, allow me then to state my views of the Corn Laws. My firm belief is, and I proclaim it without hesitation, that a material reduction or repeal of those duties would have the effect of distressing and ruining the agricultural community of these countries (Disapprobation.) It is not, then, for the interests of the country at large. I am speaking to the manufacturers. I deny that even the manufacturers would gain by such a consequence, and I will tell you how I prove it. I do not think it is the interest of any man to thrive, if he should thrive by ruining his neighbour. But, Gentlemen, I deny that he would even thrive. (Cries of "Its the aristocracy that thrives.") We must recollect that large portions of land in this country—the brother of Lord John Russell said no less than two millions of acres—are not susceptible of profitable cultivation, except under a protection. If those lands were thrown out of cultivation, what must necessarily follow? Why, the cultivators must be ruined, their labourers would be thrown out of employment, and what is to become of this mass of labourers? I do not speak this on my own authority. I will take an authority certainly not aristocratic—the Radical Member for Birmingham. Mr. Muntz. Did he not tell you, and surely he has no bias to the aristocratic landowners, that the repeal of the Corn Laws was a mere delusion, and that the infallible effect must be to reduce the rate of wages? (Great disapprobation.) And I will tell you another authority, and that is, a member of the Chartist body, who has lately printed a letter to his associates. Those gentlemen standing near me, I doubt not know both the name and the individual. Mr. Hick has lately published a letter, and in that letter you will find the most explicit assertions of the same kind, and that the repeal of the Corn Laws would not be for the benefit of the working classes. The fact is not even concealed by the advocates of repeal. What do you hear from the Manchester Chamber of Commerce? What does Mr. Villiers tell us? That the object of the repeal of the Corn Laws is to cheapen manufactured goods. I will ask any man here of common sense how the repeal of the Corn Laws is to cheapen manufactured goods, except by reducing wages? The consequence is inevitable. It would take place in this way. There is a superabundance of labour, as you all well know, in the manufacturing districts of this country. You know that there are more labourers than there is employment for. So long as there are superfluous labourers, wages will fall accordingly. If you can prove to me—if you can shew to me, that there is a sufficient supply of labour here at present, and that persons cannot obtain operatives and artisans enough for their manufactories, I will be silent and drop the argument. But I am perfectly aware if the supply and demand are in such proportion as to render the supply insufficient for the demand, you will get better wages together with your cheap loaf. So long as one labourer is superabundant, the reduction in the price of labour must take place, according to the rate of sustenance. Let us not forget another effect that must aggravate this consequence. It is infallibly true, that if large portions of land are thrown out of cultivation, the population of those districts must seek employment here. If they do not go back to the Union workhouses, they must, as they have done before, come here to find employment. I am not even here talking without authority. I am able to tell you where the thing actually occurred a short time since. There was a great superabundance of labour, or supposed to be so, in the South of England. Certain masters, Messrs. Ashworth, in one of the manufacturing towns in Lancashire, who thought that they could get labour cheaper by sending to these agricultural counties, did send for them, and these labourers were actually brought into Lancashire. What was the result? It had an effect on the rate of wages, and if the opposition on the part of the operatives of the country had not been so determined, as it turned out to be, these persons would have occupied the places of the manufacturing labourers, and wages would have been reduced. Once more. If I do not support this assertion by argument, I am content that you should think it a mere clap-trap. I have one word more on this subject. Look to examples elsewhere, and why, I want to know, are you to suppose this favoured country is to be exempt from the fate of those where labour is superabundant, and food cheap, and where the universal consequence is a reduction in the rate of wages, and the standard of living of the labourer. I speak again on authority—an authority which will not be suspected—that of Mr. Gregg, of Manchester. In his evidence before an inquiry in the House of Commons, he stated that from inquiries he had made as to the rate of wages of different countries where corn was cheap, the wages were 6½d a-day. (Cries of "America.") We know that those labourers live on different scale or standard of sustenance; they feed not on wheaten bread, but on black rye bread, and inferior vegetables. Every body who has been in those countries knows that that is the common food of the labourer. (Another cry of "America.") I will touch upon that in a moment. In a comparatively prosperous country—France, where you would imagine, that though they have Corn Laws they would be better off. In a report presented to Government a short time past, it was deliberately stated, that scarcely a third of the population of that country eat wheaten bread. I will tell you how it is in America. In America, we must recollect, in the first instance, that there are immense tracts of fine uncultivated, unoccupied soil. The Americans have enormous tracts of soil, not only unoccupied, but extremely fertile, and therefore, of course, the supply of corn is abundant. Whenever any man can show me in this country, large extensive tracts of the same kind, fertile and unoccupied, then I will say you may repeal the Corn Laws, and you will get an abundant supply here. I will tell you something more on this subject of America. In spite of the abundant supply, in spite of the great resources they possess, perhaps you are not aware that at this very moment the people of the United States have a duty on the import of foreign corn higher than that now proposed by the Government of this country. It was only a few months since the President of the United States—the chief magistrate of that great republic, told his fellow-countrymen, in a written address, prepared with great care, that he thought it the duty of every country to see that it did not depend on foreign countries for the supply of food.

E. B. DENISON, Esq., then presented himself, and was received with uproarious cheering from his supporters, and with some hissing from the Liberal party. He said that during the eleven years which the Whigs have been in office, the Noble Lord (Morpeth) has been a Member of the Queen's Government for a considerable time. He appeals to you in his own defence and that of his fellow statesmen, and he asks you to send him again to Parliament one of the vaunting champions of the cause which he advocates. ("We won't have him," followed by cries of "We will.") Permit me just to call your attention to a common sense question. Try the Government by what they have promised and by what they have done, and if, on a calm and dispassionate review of this proposition you find them worthy of your support, then, in God's name, return my opponents to Parliament, and send us about our business. (Shouts of "We will.") But I will not believe that Yorkshiremen will be so gulled. I know perfectly well that the great majority of you are in the habit of looking into your ledgers, of casting up your accounts, and of taking stock at the end of the year, in order to see whether your affairs are in a satisfactory state or not, and I also know perfectly well that you are in the habit of calling your managers and chief clerks to account, if you find they have been mismanaging your busin ss. (Hear, hear.) What did those who compose the Government commence their public career by promising you? First of all, they said that peace was to reign throughout the world under their beneficent rule. (Laughter.) Well, have they kept their word? (No.) Why, they themselves fomented a rebellion in Canada. (Cheers.) They have been very nearly at war with every European power, and they are now prosecuting a war in China, which nobody in the world knows how it will end. (Hear, hear.) The standing army is larger than they found it. The naval establishment is more expensive than it was, and all these expenses have been created by their own absurd acts and deeds. (Cheers.) And still, notwithstanding this, the electors of the West Riding are appealed to by a Government which, a few years ago, was so popular that it could command almost any majority in the House of Commons, which could every night raise the laugh against its opponents, and turn them into ridicule. (Hear, hear.) But how has the tide changed! (Hear, hear.) We have seen these majorities gradually dwindle down to nothing, and at last they are in a minority on the most vital question that can ever be discussed in the House of Commons—I mean the question of confidence. (Loud cheers.) Yet, notwithstanding this, instead of retiring like gentlemen—(cheers)—when they found they could not longer carry on the government, they say—"No, we will appeal to the electors of Great Britain, and we will appeal to their passions and not to their common sense." (Cheers and cries of "No, no.") They throw out the bait of cheap corn, cheap sugar, and cheap timber, and they are attemping to gull the people by what I will call their humbug of free trade. (Cheers and hissing.) Why, Gentlemen, they arrogate to themselves all the credit of free trade. Why, will they tell me of one article in which we have free trade. Is a fixed duty of eight shillings per quarter on corn free trade. ("No, no.") Do they tell me that it is free trade when they propose a reduction on sugar of 27s. or 29s. a cwt.? ("No, no.") Is that free trade? ("No, no.") They propose to alter the duties on timber. Is that free trade? ("No, no.") Then away with their humbug, for it is nothing else. (Cheers.) Who was the original author of an alteration and modification of the protective duties? Why, the man whom they so often quote, Mr. Huskisson. (Hear, hear.) He was a Tory. He led the van with respect to the modification of the restrictive system. He was supported by Sir Robert Peel, followed by Lord Stanley—(Hisses)—and backed by Mr. Goulburn. (Hear, hear.) The Whigs promised you retrenchment and economy. Have they fulfilled the promise? (Cries of "No, no," and "Yes, yes.") Their predecessors left them in office with a surplus of two millions, besides having paid off a portion of the national debt. (Hear, hear.) In what situation are they now? Why, notwithstanding that they have been bolstered up by the editors of the *Leeds Mercury*, those celebrated financial doctors—(cheers and laughter)—we find that at the end of ten or eleven years, during which the sinews of every man whom I now see before me have been exerted to the utmost, they find themselves in a woful deficiency, which is almost an annual one, for it has existed for three or four years, besides not having paid off a single fraction of the public debt, but, on the contrary, rather added to it. (Cheers.) I say, try them by what they have done, and if you think that the mode in which they have conducted the affairs of the country is such as you would wish to have your own affairs conducted, then send our opponents back to Parliament. (Shouts of "Never.") But what else did the Whigs promise? They promised to govern without patronage. (Laughter.) Why, of all the men that ever existed, they have exercised the most patronage. They have created offices out of count, and they have endeavoured to thrust every one of their dependents into them.

Mr. BRIGGS, a Chartist, next introduced to the meeting Mr. George Julian Harney, not as an esquire—not as one of the aristocracy—but as a man whose conduct had always met the approbation of his fellow-men.

Mr. HEAPS for some time caused an interruption, by his desire to put some questions to the previous speaker, and Mr. Harney made one or two unsuccessful attempts to proceed. Between Mr. Heaps and Mr. Gardner, and the Chartist chairman also, some warm expressions were exchanged—Mr. Gardner applying to Mr. Heaps the term blackguard. The confusion continued for some minutes, and Mr. Hatton Stansfeld made the matter worse by his interference.

Mr. HARNEY at length proceeded. He said he appeared before them as a working man, younger than any others of either party. He was unblessed with that liberal education, which they had had the good fortune to receive, and he hoped they would bear with him for any imperfections of manner his address might possess—he asked no favour for the matter. The gentlemen who had preceded him, had addressed them as the freeholders and electors of the West Riding, whilst they appeared to have forgotten that there was such a body as the non-electors in existence. (Cheers.) He appeared before them at the request of thousands of non-electors. He would rather have seen an older man, one of more experience, in his situation; but he had consented to be brought forward at the reqest of his friends, and for them he would go through the work which they had put into his hands. He was attached to neither of the parties which had already addressed them, though perhaps he could tell something to both of them, while he would flatter neither. (Cheers.) The Noble Lord (Morpeth) had said that there was an era approaching in the politics of this country, and he (Mr. Harney) could assure him that there was an era close at hand when the working classes would be represented—when they would be no longer content without the Suffrage being conferred upon them. He had taken notes of what the Noble Lord had said, and he owed it to the meeting that he should make some comments on his speech. The Noble Lord occupied a large portion of their time in praising himself and the other members of the Government for their patriotism and philanthropy, words which he thought sounded very strangely when used by a Whig. [A shower of rain here began to descend, which rendered the task of following of Mr. H. impossible.] A gentleman on the platform handed to Mr. H. an umbrella, and he proceeded with his address, castigating the Whigs, laying bare their sophistries, and exposing them to the public gaze in all their hideous deformity. He said they had come out as advocates of free trade only at the eleventh hour, when they could find no other subterfuge likely to keep them in office, advocating to-day what they repudiated yesterday, and conceding to expediency what they had almost in the same breath denied on principle. If they were sincere in their desire to repeal or alter the sugar duties now, why did they bring their official influence to bear, in order to defeat Mr. Ewart on the same question last year? (Cheering.) He then alluded to the increase of population which had taken place, not only in Great Britain, but in Germany, and contended that the Germans having established manufactures, would not break them up now to take our surplus products; if, therefore, the Government were sincere in their desire to establish free trade, they should have come out with it a little sooner—(cheers)—should have shown a little more zeal and greater alacrity in the cause of that people whom they now professed so much willingness to serve, and whose interests were with them, now it served their purpose, above every other consideration He should like to know where were the Whigs in 1819, when the people were sabred at Manchester for meeting to petition Parliament for a reform in the representation of the people. (Cries of "That was the Tories; and great cheering.) Yes, he knew the Tories were in power; he was not so ignorant of the history of his country as not to know that—he was almost old enough to remember it; but he knew also that it was the Hon. Mr. Lamb, the present Lord Melbourne, the head of her Majesty's Government, who moved the thanks of the House of Commons to the Cheshire Yeomanry on that occasion. (Hear, hear.) He regretted as much as any man the loss of our foreign trade, and compared the exports and imports in 1689, when there were no barracks, no bastiles, no rural police, and no inclosure acts to rob the poor of their right to the soil, with those of the present period. The speaker was assailed with exclamations that he was a Tory tool; and to this he replied that if he was, he was afraid the Tories would find him a very poor tool; and not worth their purchase; at any rate he could assure them that he was sharp enough to cut both ways, and was very glad to know that he was not a Whig tool. (Laughter and cheers.) He continued; he was speaking of the trade of the country. England now traded with fifty or sixty foreign states—her merchants were traders to all parts of the world, while the working classes were worse off than at any former period. And what was the cause of this? It was because they had now a national debt of eight hundred millions, they had now a most enormous civil list, they had now a long parade of useless pensions and sinecures, they had the rural police, the poor law bastiles, and other Whig blessings unknown in former periods of our history, which impoverished the millions, and benefitted only the few who traded in human spoil. (Hear, hear, and great cheering.) Those men would sell the working classes themselves—they would not care if at this moment they were sacrificed to their unholy gain. (Cheers.) The speaker then went on to contend that a repeal of the Corn Laws would not benefit the working classes; he showed that before there was any Corn Law imposed there was more wages paid in the manufacturing districts, but that, notwithstanding the increase of trade which had taken place, there had not been a corresponding increase of manual toil, its place having been supplied by an increased quantity of improved machinery. Some person had said that he was a Tory tool: he cared not for that cry; for he could assure them, which ever party spoke the truth, whether Whig or Tory, should have his support. (Cheers.) He agreed with all that had fallen from Mr. Wortley on the subject of the Corn Laws—(cheers)—he fully agreed that a repeal of the Corn Laws only meant a reduction of wages; nevertheless the repealers were determined they should have a big loaf whether they would or not; the big loaf was to be crammed down their throat whether they would or not, as it had been at Manchester, with the truncheons of the Whig police. (Cheers, and some interruption.) He had the authority of a paper printed at Leeds for this—a paper which on some occasions professed to be a Whig and something more, on others, a Radical and something more, and when a purpose was to be served, was a Republican and something more—that paper asserted that the repealers were preparing staves to use against the Chartists in Huddersfield on that day. All he could say was, let them try it on. (Cheers, and continued confusion, during which, Mr. Harney said he would take his time, and assured them, the more interruption he experienced, the longer he should be.) Lord Morpeth had been asked a question about the Poor Laws, but he had not given an answer; in fact, the Noble Lord contrived to be as brief as possible on the subject. He said that Ministers were desirous to give such alterations as would enable them to dispense with the Poor Laws altogether; he had no doubt they wished to do this; he had no doubt that the present Poor Law was intended as a preparatory step to abolishing Poor Laws altogether. The speaker then entered into a review of the measures proposed by Government, to show that they were not calculated to answer the ends for which they were proposed—that they would not at all benefit the working classes. The alteration in the timber duties would make a reduction of about six shillings in the cost of the erection of a cottage, even if a poor man could afford to build one, and what a saving the interest of six shillings a year would be to him! (Hear, hear.) With regard to sugar, it was stated that the saving would probably be to the extent of one penny a pound. But he should like to know how much even of that sum would go into the pockets of the poor, after it had passed through two or three wholesale dealers' hands. (Hear, hear.) The repeal of the Corn Laws was got up to delude the people with the fallacious cry of cheap bread, while Mr. M'Culloch, the Whig authority, proved that under no circumstances could we have wheat lower than 56s. per quarter—a boon which he did not think they would feel it necessary to spend their energies in obtaining. But whether these things were productive of benefit to the working class or not, they must be adopted in order to raise the revenue; not to increase the comforts of the poor, not because he had any interest in the matter, but because the revenue was sinking, and they must consequently have it speedily replenished, which resolved itself to just this, that more labour must be wrung from the toiling millions. (Hear, hear.) He hoped they would inquire into these things before they gave their support to the Whigs. The speaker then went on to inquire how the deficiency in the revenue had been caused, and contrasted the difference between the income and expenditure by the Whig and Tory Administration, the latter of whom left upwards of two millions in the Exchequer, which the former had wasted besides increasing the the national debt by several millions more. This he contended they had done by engaging in unnecessary and dishonourable wars, by excessive expenditure on Poor Law commissions and bastiles, and the rural police. Two millions had been spent in Spain, one million in Canada, a large sum had been spent in Egypt, another in Syria, and more still in China, in a war of which no one could see the end, but which must terminate in disgrace and ruin. (Cheers.) In 1832, they were told the Reform Bill was to work wonders; the Whigs promised that it should be a stepping stone to other measures until universal justice prevailed throughout the land. Every promise had been broken, and the fruits of reform had been the accursed new Poor Law and the Rural Police. But when the people took their affairs into their own hands, as the Whigs had advised them to do, they had turned round upon them and spent thousands of pounds in prosecuting Chartist leaders. This had helped them to make their deficiency; but they had done something else. They had sent their constabulary police to Birmingham, Manchester, and all the manufacturing districts to put down the legal assemblages of the people; they had sent well paid spies and hired traitors amongst the people to entrap them into acts of violence, and then to betray them to their oppressors, emulating the worst features of Toryism, and exceeding in atrocity the acts of Sidmouth and Castlereagh. He could go on further still, but it was enough; there was a deficiency in the revenue, and the Noble Lord had told them that it must be supplied either in the manner which the Whigs had now proposed, or by laying on more taxes. But he could tell the Noble Lord of another mode of supplying the deficiency. His mode would not add to the burthens of the people. (Hear.) Let the Noble Lord reduce his own salary to £1,000 a year. (Great cheering, and an "unutterable" look from Lord Morpeth, who did not seem at all to relish the allusion to his own salary.) Then let all his colleagues reduce theirs to the same standard. (Great cheering.) The hand-loom weavers had had their wages reduced 20, 30, and 40 per cent. over and over again; and if the Ministers would reduce their's in proportion, they might have both reduced wages and reduced taxation, and no deficiency would exist in the revenue. (Great cheering.) They might reduce also pensions and sinecures; knock off 400 or 500 generals; and when they had carried retrenchment as far as they could, and carried out Reform to its full extent, they might fully carry out the principles of the New Poor Law, and throw the aristocracy, as they had thrown the people, on their own resources. (Hear, and cheers.) Mr. Harney went on at great length, castigating the Whigs most unmercifully, for the snail-like pace at which they advanced their measures, and exposing further their shallow subterfuge of cheap bread. He then commented on the speeches which had been delivered by the Hon. John S. Wortley and Mr. Beckett Denison, and complained that neither of these gentlemen, whilst stating the evils under which the country laboured, had propounded a remedy. He freely gave his opinion of the Tories, and said the worst measure they had been guilty of was in supporting the Whigs in all their worst measures. He had no faith or confidence in either party—he stood aloof from them both. He advised the people to depend on themselves, and to stand by their own order, as the only way in which they could be delivered from the tyranny under which they had so long groaned. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) The Whigs had violated their past promises, and he would not trust them again. The Tories made no promises at all; but judging from their past conduct, if they were to come into power to-morrow they would only act as they had done previously, and he would therefore serve both parties alike, and throw them both overboard. His remedy for all was Universal Suffrage, to place all upon a footing of political equality, and to give every man a voice in making the laws which he had to obey. There could then be no cause of complaint. On these principles he came forward to offer himself as a candidate for their suffrages; he solicited their confidence, promising that he would exercise the trust for the well-being of the whole country. He thanked them for the comparative attention with which he had been heard, and retired amidst loud and long-continued cheering.

THE BOROUGH CANDIDATES.

J. G. MARSHALL, Esq., introduced

Mr. HUME, who was loudly cheered by his party, the Whigs making a sort of constrained effort to evince the cordiality of their joy. He began by saying that, having been called forward as a candidate, he now appeared to state his opinions, and to say that, if elected, he would devote his services to the cause. He complained that three of the speeches he had heard were evidently intended to call away the attention of the meeting from the real questions to be discussed there—namely, the remedies for the prevalent distress. That remedy was to lighten taxation. He made efforts to induce Government to raise the deficiency in the revenue by placing the descent of landed property on the same footing as personal property; and he went into an extended statement to show the hardships of the legacy duties; and called the Tories robbers and plunderers on the ground of what Billy Pitt had done. The industry of the country, he said, paid seventy-four per cent. of the whole taxation. He was in favour of the plan proposed by Government for making up the revenue.

Lord JOCELYN, having been introduced by John Howard, Esq., replied to the speeches of Morpeth and Hume, on the free trade question, in a speech of about an average Tory merit. He insisted that no case of reciprocity, justifying the application of their principles, had been made out by the free traders; that the preference of foreign to colonial sugar would be an encouragement to slave labour, and consequently stultifying all the noble exertions of the British people against slavery. He denounced the New Poor Law, and supported the Church Establishment.

Mr. BROOK said he had the honour to name to them a gentleman who, though a comparative stranger, had made himself known to many who were then present by his excellent speech on the preceding evening. He then introduced

Mr. JAMES WILLIAMS, who stood forward, and was received in a manner which at once showed that, though a stranger to a large portion of the assembly, the principles which he was there to advocate were reciprocated by the thousands of the "hard hands, fustian jackets, and unshorn chins," by whom he was surrounded. The enthusiastic cheering having subsided, he commenced his address by saying, that in appearing before them he had not the qualifications to offer to which the other gentlemen who had addressed them could lay claim. He did not, like my Lords Morpeth and Milton, claim their suffrages on the ground that he was of ancient family; he could not trace his ancestry centuries back; nor could he, like J. S. Wortley, offer himself as the owner of a thousand acres, nor like Mr. Beckett Dehnison as one of the aristocracy of wealth;—nor could he, like Lord Joselyn, offer himself to their notice as one who had travelled over most parts of the habitable globe; he had not the qualifications of a Captain Cook, which by-the-bye were not the necessary qualifications of a legislator; he could not, like the Noble Lord, boast his accquaintance with the form of a Chinese hat, or the shape of a Chinese lady's foot, yet he was willing to subject himself to a scrutiny as that which the Noble Lord had received from the lady he had seen behind the lattice work in the city of Chuson. (Laughter.) He had not fought side by side in China, with Captain Elliott, the man who was troubled with a palpitation at the heart. (Laughter.) He could not boast of all these; but although personally unknown he had claims to offer which he trusted would be recognised as superior to any which his competitors had put forward. (Hear, hear and cheers.) He stood there as the advocate of the unlimited freedom of trade, the abolition of all monopolies—(hear)—and most of all, the abolition of that monstrous monopoly, the source of all other monopolies, the monopoly of law making. (Hear, and loud cheers.) He called attention to the admissions made by his opponents generally, of the existence of great and crying evils, though they had forgotten to point out the remedy. He would select the mottoes of Lord Morpeth, on which he would found the few observations he should make. His Lordship said that "true self-love and social was the same." In this he entirely *agreed; what was good for a part is, or ought to be,* good for all classes. His Lordship had next observed, that such was the selfishness of human nature, that each individual was disposed when practicable to promote his own interests without reference to others, and to suppose that which filled his purse ought to be sanctioned by those principles. Now, on those *positions of the Noble Lord, he founded those* views on which he rested his claims to their support. These principles were that each member of the state ought to be invested with that political power which was needful to protect him against the selfishness of others. (Hear, and cheers.) This, if conceded, being an act of justice to all, was consistent with the truest honour and highest happiness to all. (Cheers.) He then alluded to statements made by Mr. Hearne, Catholic priest of Manchester, and also by Mr. Hume, as to the existence of distress throughout the country; and passed from that to the state and prospects of trade, advocating, as he went on, the views held by the Chartists, and contended that until their principles were the law of the land, it was useless to attempt either different measures or fresh taxes to benefit the revenue. The alteration in the corn, sugar, and timber duties could not possibly and materially benefit the country, even if attainable, which, without representative changes, they were not; and whether or not, they were utterly insufficient to rescue the country from the perilous position in which it was placed. (Cheers.) He ridiculed the Whigs for having brought forward these measures on the spur of the moment, measures on which, twelve months ago, they held quite contrary opinions, but then perhaps their judgments were not sufficiently matured to enable them to judge. Misery and starvation were staring them in the face at every turn, and yet they did not attempt to reduce the immense expenditure of the country, which Lord Morpeth had said must be maintained in its integrity, and yet he acknowledged it was impossible to increase the income by any additional taxes. (Hear, hear.) There was another course which appeared to have escaped the attention of the Noble Lord, which was the only practical and rational course by which they could extricate themselves from their present difficulties. Let them discharge the supernumerary officers in the army and navy—(hear, hear);—let them reduce the salaries of those really necessary—(hear, hear)—to an amount corresponding to the value of their services, setting the example by reducing their own salaries first—(hear, and cheers);—let sinecures and pensions be abolished, and a tax on property substituted for all other taxes. (Cheers.) That was the way to get out of their financial difficulties (Great cheering.) He had heard national education alluded to, and was told, when a poor man asked for the suffrage, that he was not sufficiently intelligent. He put it to them whether they could understand the addresses which had been delivered by the college-bred gentlemen who had preceded him; if they could, then he would say they could understand perfectly how to manage their own, and would know how to manage the franchise if it were conferred upon them. (Cheers.) How inconsistently the legislature dealt with the people; they allowed them the right of sending for a physician or a surgeon when ill, when life, the most valuable of all possessions, was in peril, but did not require as a qualification for that right, that they should be profoundly versed in the science of medicine or surgery. (Hear, hear.) They were not required to have a profound acquaintance with theology to entitle them to choose their own religious instructors; and yet he would ask the gentlemen, if they did not regard religion and religious instruction as the most important of all concerns. (Hear, hear, and loud cheering.) Why, then, deny the people the right to choose their own law makers? (Hear, hear.) The want of this right was a great evil; and he would do all he could to secure to all who live under the institutions of the country a voice in the making of the laws by which they were to be governed. Mr. Hume was for expediency; for giving them an instalment, and for step by step reform, while he would resist all greater reforms. It was the policy of the aristocracy to resist the introduction of the wedge as long as they could; how absurd then to suppose that they would permit the people to obtain instalments, which it was avowed were intended to be used to extort more extensive changes, destructive to the existence of the aristocracy; but the people were determined to raise the banner of equal rights, that justice might be done to all. He was, therefore, for the Charter, the most comprehensive and the most practical measure ever propounded, and for this he hoped they would assist him, and to support this he hoped they would return him. The speaker was repeatedly cheered during his address, and retired amidst much applause.

Mr. ALDAM, who was introduced by William Smith, Esq., amused the meeting for some time with an enumeration of his claims to their electoral support; the chief of which were, that his father had been a tradesman 30 years; that he, Mr. A., had travelled; that he had been at York and Darlington; that he had been at College, and that he was three years older than Lord Jocelyn.

WILLIAM BECKETT, Esq., was received with great cheering and some expressions of dissent. When the applause had subsided, he said, Gentlemen, I delight in the expressions of your approbation. (Cheers.) I respect those marks of your dissent—(a laugh)—because, Gentlemen, it proves to me that in the discharge of your important duties as electors of this Borough, you are aware of the responsibility of those duties—(hear, hear)—it shows to me you know what depends upon yourselves—(cheers)—and that you are determined, without fear of favour, to exercise those duties in an independent manner. (Loud cheers.) Gentlemen, it is my misfortune to have come last in this long list of speakers we have had, so that I really am at a loss to say any thing new that would either captivate your senses or instruct your minds. (Hear.) You have heard much already; the previous speakers have travelled to almost every part of the globe. (A laugh and cheers.) But there is one thing which I think has rather been overlooked by them. We are met here to consult for Leeds people—(hear, hear)—and to consult for Leeds interests—(hear);—that I think has been in some degree forgotten. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, I can only appear here before you in the humble character of a Leeds tradesman like yourselves. (Hear.) I have no extensive knowledge to boast—I have no claims on your attention from parliamentary experience—I have only to offer you the remarks of that common sense which I have used hitherto in private life, and to promise the application of it to public subjects. (Applause.) But it will be with me a consideration of importance, that in the exercise of that judgment I shall follow an independent course. (Cheers.) I will look neither to one side nor another—(cheers)—but pursue that line of conduct which I consider to be right and proper. (Loud cheers.) My duty, then, in standing here before you, is to shew that it is my intention to consult the interests of the whole body of the people. (Loud cheering.) I maintain that neither the interests of the landlord, nor those of the fundholder, nor the moneyholder can ever be successful—they can never be kept in prosperity unless we also consider the contentment and good condition of the working classes. (Cheers.) Now, I think it is my duty to say, in coming before you now, that no man is more deeply sensible of the distress that prevails—(hear)—and no man more deeply laments it or feels it more than I do. (Cheers.) But whatever may be said about the Corn Laws, or the repeal of the Corn Laws, nothing shall prevent me from telling you what my opinions are with respect to our present deplorable condition. (Cheers.) I do not attribute our present distress to the operation of the Corn Law. (Hear, and disapprobation.) The cause of the present distress is not a new one; it has prevailed here, I am sorry to say, for years, and I appeal to every gentleman on these *hustings* whether we have not been gradually getting worse and worse. (Cheers.) Don't imagine that I am casting blame upon individuals or Governments in speaking thus. (Hear.) It is my duty to state that I have long seen that we are getting into a worse condition. Now to account for the cause of that distress. In the first place, let me tell you that our trade has been, from a variety of circumstances, unduly excited. (Cheers.) We have made more goods than we can sell. The power of production has overtaken the power of consumption. (Cheers.) And, Gentlemen, until we recover the just balance between the two, you and we must suffer. (Cheers.) Now, Gentlemen, if that be the cause, I'll tell you why it is. There has been an undue application of capital, which has given an undue impulse to trade; the monetary system has been employed too far. Gentlemen, there has been too much capital—(cheers)—the bankers have been too free; we have opened the money-drawers too much—there has been too much machinery built. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, the beam of the steam-engine has made too many strokes—(cheers)—the fly-wheel has made too many revolutions, and it is only this shock which we are now undergoing, under which we now suffer, that can bring us to anything like a healthy state. (Hear and cheers.) Whatever the consequences of these opinions may be, they are my honest opinions—and I am ready and determined to state them and support them everywhere. (Cheers.) Now, I do tell you that the trade of this country has been unduly excited. How has it been met by any of the markets which have been spoken of. Would any gentleman on the hustings say that the lamentable state of the American market was not the cause of the present distress? (No, no, "the Corn Laws.") I appeal to the gentlemen who differ with me in opinion, to consider the present condition of the American markets; and I desire them to consider what those markets have been, and what they are at present. (Cheers.) That is one source of the present depressed condition of our trade, and deeply do I lament that it is so. I appeal to gentlemen who are acquainted with the circumstances, whether, if the trade, which has for a few years back gone on with that country, had continued, we should have been in the condition in which we are at present. (Applause.) The home trade, too, has not been so good as usual, in consequence of our not having had good harvests for two or three years. When I deplore the consequences of these bad harvests, I behold with pleasure the gleam of prosperity which is now beginning to spread over the cloudy horizon of our commercial affairs—(cheers)—and I look at the consequences of a good harvest as of more benefit to the people of this country than any change of Administration.—(Loud applause.) We are told that the repeal or alteration of the Corn Law will be a panacea for all our present evils, and that will bring us trade. (Cheers.) Now, Gentlemen, I dispute that, and I'll give you my reasons. (Cheers.) *In reference to an alteration of the Corn Law, it is contended* that we shall introduce foreign corn, and if foreign corn is eaten in this country in place of home grain. (A voice, "Eat them both.") But we have enough. (Tremendous cheering.) A gentleman on my left reminds me that we have both—we have had both, and I wish to continue both. But, Gentlemen, stick *first to English agriculture, and then go to foreign* agriculture. I say to you, stick fast to English agriculture. (Cheering.) I am sorry to say that words were used this day by a gentleman on these hustings which are not creditable to the gentleman who made use of them. (Cheers.) He called the landlords of this country monopolists. (Laughter.) It is strange to me that it *should be left to a commercial man like myself to* defend the character of the agriculturists of this country. (Hear.) But I will not shrink from that duty. (Cheers.) Why do I ask you to stick to English agriculture? I'll prove that it is your interest. I'll prove that it is to the interest of the working man to do it. Now, I am not going to make assertions without giving you proof. Upon what terms are we treated by those misnamed monopolists the landowners of this country? What do the landowners get from agriculture in this country? I tell you that upon an average the wheat land of this country does not pay more than 24s. an acre to the landlords who possess it. (Oh!) No man who lays out his money in land can get more than three per cent. for his money. (Applause.) The consequence is this, that we have the use of the whole capital of the agriculturists of this kingdom—the landlords, the owners of the soil—we have it at the low rate of return of three per cent. Now, I ask you if there is a manufacturer among us that has ever received so low a rate of interest on his capital as three per cent.? (Hear, hear.) But again, look at the condition of the tenant. The tenant, it is calculated, has about five pounds an acre for capital laid out, in what I call the moveable machinery of agriculture; after his toil and labour, and the expences of seed and other things, he gets—what do you think? He gets not more than five per cent. Then comes the labourer; and he gets no more than twelve shillings a week. Do you grudge him that? Do you say that that is too much? No, you are Englishmen, and you do not grudge that small remuneration. (Cheers and cries of "lower the rents.") How can the rent be made lower? I want to disabuse your minds; and it was the duty of those who addressed you upon the subject of the Corn Laws to have told you how the matter stood in all its bearings. (Hear, hear, hear.) Many able arguments have been used—many books have been written—many discourses have been delivered on this subject; but I do say this, that from the beginning to the end, it has been a one-sided argument—(hear, hear, and cheers)—and you have not been told the expences which attend the agriculture of this country, in comparison with that which is expended by foreigners. (What will you do to relieve us?) Let me tell you what is the matter first. (Hear.) If I am your doctor I must understand your disease. (Loud cheering.) In addition to these three classes, namely, the landlord, the tenant, and the labourer, and they are the only three connected with agriculture—there is this horrid Corn Law, which robs the people of their rights, and prevents them from enjoying comforts. (Loud cries of hear, hear.) Now what has been the actual effect of the Corn Law? I have endeavoured to read two books, which may be considered as acknowledged authorities on this—the one was the work of Mr. M'Culloch, and the other that of Mr. James Wilson (for which I am indebted to a friend on the hustings). Now from them I learn, that for forty years before the year 1815, when there was no Corn Law in operation, the average price of wheat was 55s. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) Again, the same authority informs me, that for the last seven years the average price of Wheat has been 54s. 11d., being exactly one penny less, since the protective duty was put on, than what it was previously. (Cheers.) Now, I am only endeavouring to explain to you my opinions—I have considered it my duty, as standing here a candidate for your suffrages, to state to you the grounds for the opinions which I hold. (Loud cries of "Hear.") With regard to the Corn Law, I am decidedly favourable to protection,—but, Gentlemen, I am not an advocate for protection for the sake of the landlords—not for the sake of the farmer—not for the sake of the agricultural labourer—but for the sake of the commercial community. (Loud cheers.) The agriculturists of this country demand our serious attention in every point. (Hear, hear.) The authorities to which I have already referred tell me this:—the climate of England is the most propitious—the soil of England is the most productive, and the English soil is highly approved for the growth of Wheat, for there is no climate or country of the same area that can produce the same amount of grain, of the same value, and of the same price as England. (Loud cheers, and hisses.) I want you all to live in comfort, and not to desert that which I think tends materially to increase your comfort. (Hear, hear.) So far for the agriculture of the country. I maintain that under the circumstances in which it comes to us—under which it is offered to the commercial community of this country—we should be bound to our own interests if we introduced Foreign Corn beyond the supply which was requisite should be had to make up any deficiency which might arise. (Cheers.) We are told that if we have free trade we shall immediately have large quantities of corn. (Hear and cheers.) Now, I ask you, where is this corn to come from? (Several voices "from North America.") Yes, we are to get it from America, from Poland, from Prussia, and from the Black Sea. Now I would say this to you, don't desert the wheaten loaves of England—if you do, you'll make a mistake. (Cheers and disapprobation.) But mark this, and I again recur to the same respectable authority which I have already quoted. The foreign corn of doubtful quality, and which you cannot meet with in any quantity of the same quality as native grown—this corn, if imported, *cannot reach these shores* except at very nearly the same price at which you eat your own English wheat. (Cheers, and a cry of "Why oppose the alteration of the Corn Laws, then?") Why, for your protection; do you want to eat bad bread? (Cheers.) Look where you spend your money, if we have to give the same price for foreign corn which we pay for that of England. If you want to increase the sale of your manufactured goods, don't forget the home trade—don't be led away by the idea of enriching your pockets—don't lose the substance for the sake of the shadow. (Hear, and cheers.) Then the next proposition is for an alteration of the Timber and Sugar Duties. (Hear.) This subject I don't understand so well as I ought to do; but I do think that we are bound, as the mother country, to look to our colonies. The colonies acknowledge the laws of England,—acknowledge the decisions of the Parliament of England, to which you are bound to send proper representatives. (Hear, and "we will.") If the colonies acknowledge our laws, let them enjoy the blessings of our Constitution—don't deprive them of the most precious jewel of an Englishman, his independence, and hatred of slavery. (Cheers.) Don't let us destroy markets which we have now in our colonies, and which are increasing at so tremendous and rapid a rate. (Hear, hear) Look to the West Indies, and to the East Indies, and we shall be able to procure sugar not made by slave labour, to the exclusion of those who produce sugar by the labour of slaves. Such is the abundance of the sugar there that we have no occasion whatever to go for that article beyond the precincts of our own colonies. (Hear, hear.) Now, with regard to the removal of the Timber Duties, the same principle will apply. Stick to your own colonies—stick to your own British ships—stick to your own people—and if you then cannot get timber at a reasonable rate, reduce the duty. (Hear.) I will not address you any further upon these topics. I am not going to excite your passions on the Poor Law, but I do lament that any law should have been passed which presses heavily upon the aged, the decrepid, and the unfortunate; and I should be sorry to see any class of persons who could not provide themselves with work in that condition, and that they should not receive assistance to put them into employment. (Hear.) I have taken the trouble to look at the first poor law which was passed, namely, the 43rd of Queen Elizabeth; that law has been always recognised in every statute that has been passed upon the subject since that time. (A voice in the crowd—"What about the Charter?") Why, the Poor Law is your Charter. (Loud applause.) I could amuse your fancy, but I want to speak to your good sense. What says the preamble of this law of England? (Hear.) Overseers are there told to be careful to provide for the aged, for the infirm, and for those persons under misfortune, and to provide implements of husbandry, and materials for work, to set these people to work who cannot provide it for themselves. (Cheers.) Now, this is the foundation of the English Poor Law. Subsequently to this, different enactments have been passed for the regulation of the poor; and whether it is from the negligence of the Parliam[illegible] or from the improper conduct of the Poor Law Co[illegible]ioners, that the rights of the Poor have been encro[illegible] upon, I am ready to stand up, my friends, in [illegible]tection of your rights. (Cheers.) I glory in th[illegible], I glory in the generosity of my countrymen that carried that law into effect. It shows what they thought of the people; it shows that they thought the property of the rich man might be applied to the support of the poor man. I hold my estate on that condition, and, gentlemen, I will never swerve from that condition. (Loud cheers.) We must now pass on to another subject, and that is to the conduct—(Cry of "Pious Use.) I am not a trustee of the pious use fund, but I am connected with those who are, and I am proud of that connexion. (Applause.) I now come to a subject on which we shall differ in opinion, and that is as to what claim her Majesty's Ministers have to continue in office. (Hear, hear, and hisses.) An indictment has been made by the House of Commons against the Ministers, the public servants of this country, that they are unfit to govern the country—that they are unworthy of the confidence of the country. That question has been submitted to the Queen, and through that prerogative of the Queen which I hope will be always supported by Englishmen—(hear, hear)—that question has been referred to you, the constituencies of this country. (Hear.) You know what the acts of this Administration have been. Examine into what they have done, and if you think that they have served you, stick to them. ("We will," and cheers.) But if you think they are unworthy of your confidence, throw them from you, and employ other people. (Cheers.) Let me only say this to you—judge for yourselves. The ministers are accused of not doing their duty, of not being able to do their duty to their country. I will say this, if they are unable to do their duty, they must be dismissed. (No, no.) *If they cannot render the services required of* them by the crown, they cannot be paid as servants of the crown. (Great confusion.) All that I shall say to you in conclusion is this, recollect that we are all Englishmen. Stick fast to the interests of England—stick fast to English agriculture—stick fast to English commerce—stick fast to *English ships*—stick fast to *English colonies*—stick fast to the English Constitution, and we shall still, with a long pull, and a strong pull, and a pull altogether, get out of the horrible misery in which we are at present involved. (Loud cheering for some time.)

Mr. WHITEHEAD, tea-dealer, &c., came forward to question the Conservative candidates, but was told that he must wait till *all* the candidates had been heard.

Mr. JOSHUA HOBSON, in a few remarks, then introduced

Mr. JAMES LEECH, of Manchester, the other Chartist candidate. Mr. Leech spoke at considerable length, avowing himself in favour of a more equal distribution of labour, so as to prevent one-half of the country from living in inexhaustless wealth, while the other were starving in their competition with improved machinery. Mr. Hume had asserted that increased labour was attended by increased wages, whilst it was a fact that for the last fifty years, although trade had gone on increasing to an almost indefinite extent, wages had been rapidly decreasing. (Hear, hear, and great cheering.) Mr. Baines, in his history of Lancashire, stated that in the early period of the cotton trade there were in Lancashire 50,000 spindles employing 50,000 spinners, whilst at the present time he (Mr. L.) could go to one mill in Manchester in which fourteen spinners were now doing as much work as used to employ the whole 50,000, and even these were not getting remuneration for their labour. (Hear, hear.) The reason was to be found in the fact that while protection had been extended in every other direction, the interests of the poor had never yet been protected at all, an anomaly which proved the little interest taken in the qualification of persons who had to legislate for the people—(hear, hear)—when parties had come there that day to fall out about their ages, and to squabble about which of them was the oldest. He thought both parties were old enough in iniquity. (Laughter and cheers.) It was the boast of the British constitution that it consisted of three branches, King, Lords, and Commons; but now the Commons were superseded, and the constitution was composed of King, Lords, and Aristocracy. All the speakers had agreed on one point, that great distress was existing throughout the country, that the middle classes were fast sinking to a level with themselves; but they agreed not as to the remedy. Some of those who had preceded him said we wanted foreign markets; Mr. Aldam told them one tale; Mr. Hume another. He (Mr. L.) contended that the parties who had ruined England were the middle classes; and now that they had began to feel the screw pinch them as it had long done the working classes, they came forward and expressed an anxiety to take off a little of what themselves felt, but said not a word about offering to the poor a share of what they themselves enjoyed. (Hear, hear.) Both Whig and Tory had laid claim to having reduced taxation, forgetting that while taxation had been reduced by fragments, wages had been reduced by wholesale, and the poor ground down to the lowest point at which it was possible to arrive. (Hear, hear.) He ridiculed the idea that the reduction in the timber duties proposed would be of any benefit to the working community. The difference it would make in the cost of the erection of a cottage, even suppose that he could build one, would be about six shillings; and what a tremendous sum was the interest of this to save to the working man. Increased trade would not arise from it, while wages would be continually getting less. (Hear, hear.) Their warehouses, it was said, were crammed with goods, for which they had no markets, and well they might be so long, as there was such an entire absence of home demand. Gentlemen talked of export markets, let them encourage and extend their own, and then if they had any goods to spare, they might find the best markets they could for them abroad; but it was sheer nonsense to send our manufactures abroad, while the people were going naked for want of them at home. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) He then went into the question of wages on the Continent, in America, and in England, and contended that the high scale in America was not owing to the land being so very prolific, but to the fact that they were not robbed by being taxed to the amount of twenty-nine millions a year for the interest of a national debt, and from sixteen to twenty millions to carry on the government. The poor were often taunted by being told that they paid no taxes; he had no objection that gentlemen should pay taxes, but he should like to know who first put the money into their pockets to pay them with. Look at the enormous amount paid for the new police; at the nine millions paid to support a state church, whose priests preach passive obedience and non-resistance. (Marks of disapprobation on the hustings.) Gentlemen, he said, did not seem to like his allusion to their doctrines, but they were not the less true on that account. (Hear, hear.) After some other observations, the speaker proceeded to remark in reply to the argument for free trade, which would increase the markets for our manufacturers, that trade had extended rapidly enough, but wages had not improved in the same proportion; on the contrary, increased demand had led to reduction. They were now, it was admitted, arrived at the very verge of a crisis; the present was a parliamentary crisis; and if something was not done for the people speedily, there might arrive a bloody revolution.—He would say, then, to the upper classes, confer power on the working classes, to enable them to assist you in carrying out those measures which can alone give strength and security to the throne and the country. Let the people have their Charter that they may have a voice in the affairs of the nation, and in making those laws which they were called upon to obey. By this would the intelligence of the working classes be brought out, and by it alone would be secured the happiness of all. The speaker concluded amidst loud cheers, after thanking them for the manner in which he had been heard.

Mr. WHITEHEAD again stood forward to propound his questions to Mr. Beckett. When he first announced his intention to put questions, Mr. Beckett asked to have them handed to him, but Mr. Whitehead said they were not written; and yet, when he came forward this time, though he had not in the interval left the hustings, he produced two or three sheets of paper, from which he was about to read them.

Mr. JOSHUA HOBSON, however, suggested that no question should be put to one that was not asked of another; and that the questions should be put to the candidates in the order of precedence. Mr. Whitehead assented, but on turning round to read his questions to Mr. Hume, he found that he and Mr. Aldam had left the hustings without hearing the speech of Mr. Leech. After waiting a short time to see if they returned, as they did not make their appearance Mr. Beckett and Lord Jocelyn made their bow and retired amidst the cordial greetings of their friends, Messrs. Leech and Williams, and their friends followed their example.

Thus ended the largest out-door meeting ever held in Leeds, a meeting also which must be attended with the most important results. The truths spoken by the people's candidates made a deep impression, and though they have been as usual *burked* in the "*Extraordinary Liar*," we have reason to know that their influence has been felt, and that deep execration has been poured out on all sides on the editor of the base and tricky publication.

LONDON.—City of London.—At the usual weekly meeting at No. 55, Old Bailey, 15s. were voted for the executive.—The Metropolitan General Election Committee had a meeting on the same evening, June the 22d, in the above place. Mr. Watkins produced a very able address to the electors and non-electors, especially of this city, condemnatory of the policy of the dastardly Whigs, especially "Finality Jack," who has the effrontery to attempt to disgrace this city by his extraordinary Thug and China juggling principles. Sub-Committees were appointed to assist in the elections of Mr. Thompson and Mr. W. V. Sankey. The Committee sit every night but Sunday. Let the Metropolitan Chartists see that they be not crippled for funds.

The Bloomsbury Election Committee held their usual weekly meeting at the Magnet Coffee House, Davy-lane, on Monday evening last, when Messrs. Baldwin and Hopper were appointed to co-operate [illegible] committee of Mr. W. V. Sankey, the [illegible] candidate for Marylebone; collecting [illegible] issued for subscriptions to defray the [illegible] the Chartist candidates. A number of [illegible] enrolled their names on the committee. The [illegible] adjourned to Monday evening next, when all [illegible] in this district are particularly requested to [illegible]

Election Movements.

GATESHEAD.—A public meeting of the inhabitants of Gateshead was held on Wednesday evening, the 16th, for the purpose of considering the propriety of selecting a candidate that would really represent them in Parliament; Mr. James Sinclair in the chair. Mr. Cross moved the first resolution, which was seconded by Mr. W. Henderson, and carried unanimously—viz. Resolved—"That the non-electors of this borough pledge themselves to exercise their legitimate influence in promoting the election of a man whose principles best meet their approbation." Mr. William Cook, in a very able speech, in which he showed in proper colours the villany of this administration of which Mr. Hutt was a supporter; then very beautifully analized the ambiguous bait which Mr. Hutt had thrown out to catch the electors of Gateshead, in the shape of an address. Mr. C. was loudly cheered throughout his very eloquent address. He moved the second resolution—"That this meeting recommends to the electors of Gateshead the necessity of supporting candidates pledged to advocate the principles of the People's Charter—to vote for the restoration of Frost, Williams, and Jones, and the liberation of all political prisoners." The resolution was carried unanimously. Mr. Kirker proposed Mr. John Mason as a fit and proper person to represent this Borough in Parliament, which being seconded by Mr. P. Murray, and put from the chair, was carried unanimously. Mr. Mason was then introduced to the meeting, and was hailed with the most enthusiastic cheers. Mr. M., in a very energetic speech, gave them an outline of his political opinions. He would "go the whole hog" for the Charter; he would struggle for the restoration of Frost, Williams, and Jones, and the liberation of all political prisoners. He would use his endeavours to repeal the villanous New Poor Law, and every other law oppressive to the majority of the nation, &c., &c., &c. Mr. Martin moved, and Mr. Morgan seconded, in a humorous speech, the following resolution, viz.—"That it is the opinion of this meeting that the Tory party ought to bring forward R. S. Surtees, Esq., as a candidate for this borough."—Carried. Mr. Cross moved the fifth resolution, seconded by Mr. Henderson, and carried unanimously, viz.—"That this meeting cannot find epithets sufficiently strong to deprecate the cowardly and brutal conduct of the Whig Ministerial clique in hiring bludgeon men to force their unreasonable and treacherous arguments at the recent meeting in Manchester." Thanks and three cheers being given to the chairman, the meeting separated. Several names were enrolled at the conclusion of the meeting.

STOCKTON.—The "lads" are all alive here. Lord Harry Vane paid his respects to the good folks of this place on the Wednesday in last week, as candidate for the Southern Division of the County of Durham. The noble candidate amused the men for some time, and was heartily laughed at. Some questions put to him by Mr. Maw, touching his support of Universal Suffrage, seemed to produce a chemical effect upon his physical constitution, and, with various personal contortions, he housed himself in the Black Lion, from the window of which he had been speaking, as speedily as possible; after which the people retired to the Hall of Science, where they were addressed by Mr. Maw, in an excellent and patriotic speech. Cheers were given for the Welsh martyrs, for Feargus O'Connor, and all the other victims.

STOCKPORT.—CANDIDATES FOR THE BOROUGH.—In compliance with a requisition of the inhabitants of Stockport, calling upon Mr. Bairstow to come forward as a candidate at the coming election for the representation of this important borough in the Commons' House of Parliament, upon Chartist principles, he arrived on Tuesday week, for the purpose of personally explaining his views. On Wednesday, a numerous meeting was convened at the large room, Bomber's Brow, Hillgate, and Mr. Bairstow addressed the people at great length, shewing how they had hitherto been deceived by both Whig and Tory. At the conclusion, a resolution was carried unanimously, "That Mr. Bairstow and Mr. George Julian Harney are fit and proper persons to represent this borough in the Commons' House of Parliament, and that they deserve the support of all friends to the interests of the working classes." Up to this time various reports were in circulation as to what step the Chartists would take at the coming election, consequently, the announcement of two more candidates being brought into the field created excitement amongst both the factions, as both parties had been canvassing for many weeks. On Thursday Mr. Bairstow's committee issued a splendid placard convening a meeting in the Market-place, that evening, to give an opportunity to Mr. Bairstow to explain his views, and likewise to give the electors and non-electors a chance of hearing upon what principles he claimed their support. The meeting was called for eight o'clock, but long before that time people were seen coming in all directions to the place of meeting. At eight o'clock the numbers were estimated to be from ten to twelve thousand. It is our firm conviction that there could not have been less than the latter calculation. A message was sent to the committee to inform them that the people had assembled numerously, and that it was time to commence business. Accordingly, Mr. Bairstow, accompanied by two others, repaired to the meeting. Mr. Joseph Carter was called to the chair, who observed that there was their old and well-tried friend Mitchell, present, who would first address them; after which Mr. Nathan Bairstow, the ever ready and faithful advocate of the rights of the hitherto enslaved millions, would address them. (Loud cheers.) He would, therefore, not take up any of their time by any remarks of his own; but would at once introduce to their notice the unflinching advocate of the People's Charter, James Mitchell, late member of the College, at Chester. Mr. Mitchell rose and was greeted with long, loud, and enthusiastic cheering, clapping of hands, &c. He said a time had arrived when it behoved the working men of Stockport, to shew to the factions that they were something in the scale of society. (Cheers.) A time had arrived when it behoved them, as working men, to let the country understand that they were not that degraded race of beings which the enemies of the people and an hireling press had represented them to be. (Cheers.) There had been a time when the working people—the despised Chartists were scorned and scoffed at. They were not then called upon to exercise their influence, in favour of a faction, but they were then called upon to use their influence on behalf of a candidate who would, if returned, vote for their political enfranchisement. (Cheers.) In walking out that day he had met with another gentleman, who was likewise a candidate for the Borough, at an Inn, sign of the Bishop Blaize. He caught him by the arm, and asked him whether he would have a word or two with Mitchell. He (the gentleman) turned round and looked at him, and asked him (Mitchell) whether he was an elector or not. Mr. Mitchell replied by saying he was not. Mr. Coppock was by at the time, who also told him that he (Mitchell) was not a voter. The candidate then said that his business was with the electors, and not with him—a non-elector. (Here a many voices cried out "name." Mr. Mitchell said it was the humane Stephenson's-square chairman, Mr. Cobden. (Groans.) The speaker went on to say that if a person could afford to rent a £10 house, he was not worthy of Mr. Cobden's notice, unless it was, by the bye, to witness, as he (Cobden) did, one party of working men breaking the heads of another party. (Hear, hear, hear.) It had been stated by the Whig party that the Chartists were in the pay of the Tories, and that they were endeavouring as far as lay in their power to assist the Tories. Now, in answer to that, he (Mitchell) would ask when it was that he, as an inhabitant of that borough, took sides with the Tories? They all well knew that, previous to his arrest, he was employed by Major Marsland for five years, and while he was under his employ, he opposed him at the first election, and, consequently, ran the risk of losing his situation. He would not praise the Major as a Tory, for he detested both; but, to give the d——l his due, he was a good master. At another time, when he was working for Mr. Thomas Steele, that gentleman called his hands together, and told them he considered the Major a fit and proper person to represent the people of Stockport; he (Steele) would support him himself, and requested that all the hands would accompany him to the hustings: at this his blood boiled within him, and he told him he would do no such thing. Then, again, when Mr. Davenport put up as candidate for the borough of Stockport, he was the favourite among the people; he, however, instead of supporting the Major, spoke at every meeting where he had a chance, in favour of Lloyd and Davenport. Mr. Mitchell then went on to say that if he had the least inclination to take side with the Tories, it would have been when he was in a good situation under the Mayor, and not when he had nothing to lose. (Cheers.) He would support neither Whigs nor Tories but support a candidate who came nearer his own principles, and one who has offered himself and who they would have a chance of hearing shortly, and that gentleman was Mr. Bairstow. (Cheers.) Mr. Mitchell then denounced Mr. Cobden for his conduct as Chairman of the Stephenson's-square butchery, and remarked that however much he might have respected him before, that he saw sufficient on that occasion to give him a surfeit and to lead him to the Conviction that he was not the man for Stockport. (Hear.) A man who could unblushingly stand by and witness the blood of his fellow creatures being spilt without taking the least steps to prevent it, but on the contrary, laugh and rejoice at it, was not the man for him. (Hear, hear.) He concluded that such a man could not have much sympathy for the working classes; that he was a middle class man only and would vote for their interests only. (Hear.) The speaker then commented at some length upon the conduct of Mr. Thorne, the Roman Catholic Priest, and said he would speak the sentiments of his mind honestly and impartially; he believed he did all he could to prevent his countrymen from resorting to such brutal conduct. After giving priest Thorne credit for his candour at Stephenson-square, and touching on many other topics, he concluded by exhorting the electors and non-electors to use their influence on behalf of Mr. Bairstow, as a candidate who would, if returned, go further than any other candidate then in the field soliciting their suffrages, and sat down amid the plaudits of the vast assembly. The chairman then rose and said, that he had the pleasure to introduce that eloquent advocate of the people's rights, Mr. Bairstow. (Loud cheering.) Mr. Bairstow then rose, and said he came before them that evening for the purpose of explaining to them his political principles, and to answer any questions bearing upon his political life and opinions which might be asked by the parties present, and likewise to explain the reasons why he had consented to offer himself as a candidate for the representation of that borough in Parliament. No doubt the idea of a Chartist coming forward and contesting the election of so important a borough as that of Stockport, might cause many an antiquated Tory to laugh, and many an hollow hearted Whigling to curl the lip of contempt; he could allow the grimacing hyænas to laugh and sneer at his expense, as that seemed to be their only original propensity. They knew, from painful experiment, that the Whigs would not hesitate at the perpetration of any crime, however dark, nor any deeds, however atrocious, to effect their own sinister and mercenary objects. (Cheers.) Without being in the least affected by the supercilious, grovelling conduct of the Whigs, he would proceed in the task he had undertaken, cutting away right and left, so long as the nation was cursed with such a cowardly, imbecile, and cruel faction. (Cheers.) Although he had consented to offer himself at that important crisis, he wished it to be distinctly understood that he had not the slightest conception, at the coming election, of gaining a majority of votes. The Whig rag, the *Stockport Chronicle*, had denominated the Chartists of Stockport a mere nominal party; but they were going to prove whether it was so or not. It had been said they were weak and powerless, but they would test the truth for once, and they (the Chartists) will have learnt in what their strength consisted, and what force they had, and would prove who were their real or professed friends, and would put a veto upon the false delusions of many who professed to be the friends of the industrious millions to their face, but when tried were found to be, by their actions, their avowed and inveterate enemies; and if he gained nothing else, he and they would do that. In even doing so much, they were justified, because it would bring the Whigs, Tories, and Chartists to an understanding with each other, which was, he considered, a very desirable and essential point to arrive at. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) Before the Nottingham election, the Chartists were sneered at by all the hireling press in country; but the conduct of the Chartists on that occasion had proved to a demonstration, the strength of the Chartists, when they think prudent to put it in force, more than anything the Chartists had done since the name of Chartism was heard—(cheers)—and since that, the factions had been compelled to acknowledge them as a party. (Cheers.) The Chartists of Nottingham brought forward a liberal man as a candidate, but the Whigs would not support him. Mr. Bairstow then gave a full explanation of the conduct of the Whigs during the election, and analyzed the principles of Mr. Larpent, and remarked that, because the Whigs would not support the Chartists, they would not support them, and the result was that the Conservative gained the seat. Since that event, the Whigs have denounced the Chartist leaders as Tory Chartists; the press has been equally as severe in declamation in wreaking their vengeance, so much so, that when a person who is said to be a Chartist, attends a public meeting, and claims a fair and impartial hearing, if the Whigs have the power either by physical or moral means to prevent him from obtaining a hearing, they never hesitate to put it in force. (Hear, hear.) The speaker commented upon the conduct of a Whig druggist, who had put a paper in his window, certifying that at a public meeting the evening before, at which Mr. Bairstow was present, it was all but unanimously passed, that Mr. Bairstow was a fit and proper person to represent the borough of Stockport along with Major Marsland. He said that if this lying and officious druggist had lived forty or fifty miles from the place where the meeting was held, he should not have been so much surprised, and again there would have been more excuse had it been a month from the time when the meeting had been held; but when it was within three hundred yards of the house where this ambitious druggist lived and put up such a lying statement, and indeed in less than twenty-six hours, between the close of the meeting, he could attribute such base, mean, loose-minded villany, to nothing but the consistency of Whiggery. (Cheers.) Here Mr. Bairstow read the resolution alluded to:—"That this meeting is of opinion that Mr. Bairstow and George Julian Harney are fit and proper persons to represent this borough in Parliament." The Whigs were the best adepts at lying; they lie so often that they are best satisfied and more in their element, when they are hatching them. Their tongues were hung upon a swivel betwixt truth and falsehood, and their propensities for the latter, overbalanced the former, and thus gain the mastery, and produce what the Whigs appear to take most delight in—scandal, calumny, and unblushing barefaced lies. (Here a score voices cried out that no such resolution as the druggist alluded to was passed.) They could not conceive, said the speaker, the difference betwixt telling lies and truth, and if ever they did tell the truth, it was only by mistake; but Bonaparte was ambitious, the Duke of Wellington has been ambitious, and many other men have been ambitious; and, forsooth, this druggist, in order to show that he *espoused* Whiggery, that he was a consistent member of the fraternity—that he could play his part in the game—and that nothing, however dirty, mean, and atrocious, came amiss to him, could, for the sake of blasting the characters of the Chartists, and rake up all the prejudice and odium of the deluded and unthinking against them—went home, and wrote a paper, and construed the name Harney into Marsland. (Shame, and numerous voices "Name.") Mr. Bairstow—Why, it was they'clept Patten, of Heaton Lane. (Groans, and other marks of execration.) The speaker then castigated Cobden and his party, who profess to wish to give the people a big loaf, and could turn up their eyes like a duck at thunder, could pull as long a face as any saint, exhibited all the symptoms of benevolence and charity, with as mealy a mouth and oily tongue as the biggest hypocrite in Christendom. O, said the speaker, what bowels of compassion those guardians of the poor—those kind hearted benefactors of the poor, those men who had so boldly and manfully denounced the cruel landlords for robbing the poor. In a word, these men who never studied their own interest, so that by their labours they could benefit the poor—who could almost go on their knees one day on behalf of the poor and next *day hire a number of working men* to break the heads of their fellow creatures with bludgeons, and while the poor helpless creatures were being slaughtered in their presence, called it a fair demonstration of public opinion. (Execration.) Was such a cold blooded wretch as that a fit person to represent the people of Stockport? (Cries of "No.") Why did the pretended friends of the labourer not join the working classes to obtain their political rights, which would enable us, not only to Repeal the Corn Laws, but protect labour. (Cheers.) What would the middle classes do without labour? Labour, which cut all the navigations and constructed the railroads; labour, which made the raw material valuable, which tilled the land, produced all the hats, coats, shoes, and all the necessaries of life; which erected the mansions and splendid palaces; and lastly, without which the world would soon be a desert; from the king to the peasant, all had to subsist upon it: and though it did all that, yet it was the only thing which was unprotected. God had said that man should eat his bread by the sweat of his brow. St. Paul declared that those who would not work should not eat. (Cheers.) Here Mr. Easby, the Editor of *Bob Logic's Budget*, got upon a wall, and began addressing the people; a general rush was made towards him, which stopped Mr. Bairstow for a short time; but no sooner was it found out, than they groaned and hissed him down, and came back again to the speaker, and those who stood by him. Mr. Bairstow then broke off his former discussions, and exposed the Whig trick in sending their tool to disturb a peaceable meeting; after giving the Whigs and Mr. Easby a sound thrashing for their attempt to disturb the peace, he continued to say that the Whigs may attempt the same game at Stockport as they had played in the Staffordshire Potteries. They, perhaps, would resort to the same means as they had resorted to at Manchester, where his life had been threatened. But he would have them to understand that if there was no protection afforded for the life and property of a Chartist—if they were not allowed peaceably to explain their principles, *there should be no security for the lives and property of the Whigs.* If they were determined to stop the mouths of Chartists, the Whigs would find that others could play the same game towards themselves. (Cheers.) He had come there to assert the rights of man; he would continue, fearless of consequences, to advocate those rights, and would never cease till the working people were in possession of a voice in the legislature of the country—till labour as well as property was protected.—(Cheers.) He would set both parties at defiance, and teach the people not to be led astray, but for the future to be determined to play their own card, irrespective of either party. The achievement of those objects which they had so long been in pursuit of, would tend to secure the peace, happiness, and prosperity of the nation. The working millions had declared that they would never rest satisfied until they were brought into Political existence. They had not hitherto been looked upon as having any part or lot in the happiness and prosperity of the nation, yet on the working classes depended the existence of all other classes. Mr. Bairstow then drew a horrible picture of the New Poor Law, and the three Devil Kings who sat at Somerset House, and asked whether they would have a man who supported them to represent their interest in Parliament. (Loud shouts of "No.") Then down, down with Cobden, and the infernal New Poor Law! (Loud cheers. Several women—"We won't have it.") Mr. Bairstow then commented on the proceedings at Manchester, in a strain of manly and forcible and cutting language, and concluded by protesting against the return of Mr. Cobden for Stockport; and on withdrawing was greeted with loud cheers. Mr. Isaac Johnson rose and said he had been delighted with the sentiments uttered by their candidate, and was glad to hear that the Chartists of Stockport had come to the resolution to support neither party. He detested the New Poor Law Bill from the time it was passed; but where was Major Marsland when it passed? (A voice—"In the House.") Then (said the speaker) he had given it his support, and he thought he deserved denouncing as well as Cobden, and hoped they would not return him to Parliament. A gentleman of the name of Williamson then stepped upon the platform to put a few questions to Mr. Bairstow. Mr. Williamson—"Sir, will you vote for a repeal of the Corn Law, if returned to Parliament?" Mr. Bairstow said he deemed the Corn Law to be unjust in principle, oppressive and injurious in its operation, and ruinously fatal in its effects. He detested it as a monopoly; he would vote for its repeal when the working classes grasp the suffrage, with which to control the benefits of such a change, convinced as he was that, under the present limited suffrage it never would, or could be repealed—that the working millions must first be enfranchised ere that law would be repealed. (Loud cheering.) When the People's Charter was made the law of the land, then, and not till then, would he vote for its repeal. (Cheers.) The result of its repeal at present would simply be a transfer of the power of plunder from the hands of landlords to the cotton lords, money-mongers, and our *soi-disant* enterprising manufacturers, whose interest *it was to carry labour to the cheapest market*, in order to ensure a flourishing trade, always deducting *the loss in the prices obtained from the wages* of the artizan—not from the profits of the speculating master. (Loud and repeated cheers.) Therefore, he was a Corn Law Repealer with the Charter in his hand. (Tremendous cheering.) Mr. Williamson—Sir, will you, if returned to Parliament, vote for the repeal of the New Poor Law? Mr. Bairstow said he was, under all circumstances, a decided enemy to that Bill, and would vote for its unconditional repeal. (Rapturous applause, which continued some moments.) Mr. Williamson—Sir, will you in Parliament vote for a repeal of the law of primogeniture? Mr. Bairstow said he was a decided enemy to the law of primogeniture; its tendency being to transmit the property of the father to the eldest son, leaving the rest of the family, who had neither learned to toil nor spin, like "Solomon's lilies"—(hear)—the one to the church, another to the army, a third for the navy, and the last for the law, thus forming a pestilent swamp, prolific of nothing but paupers, sharpers, or cunning peculators. (Great cheers and laughter.) Opposed to all grievances as he was, he would, therefore, vote for the annihilation of that master-piece of aristocratic abuse and monopoly. Mr. Williamson—Sir, will you vote for a repeal of the legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland? Mr. Bairstow—On that subject there existed much error and misapprehension. He was happy that the gentleman had put that question. Great prejudice existed among the Irish in that country, from Daniel O'Connell terming them Tory Chartists and Orangemen, &c. But why abuse the Chartists as opposed to Repeal of the Union, until he had proved that they were either the only opponents of Repeal, or opponents at all?" (Tremendous cheers.) He told his followers to bludgeon them, because they were *not friends to Repeal.* But why bludgeon the Chartists any more than *Lord John Russell, Lord Morpeth*, and other ministerial lackeys, who are as greatly opposed to a *repeal* as the stanchest Orangeman in the United Kingdom, and yet he coalesces with the same party, who refuse repeal, and who, by his own reasonings, are Orangemen. (Loud and continued cheering.) But it was a foul and foundationless falsehood that the Chartists generally and himself personally were opposed to a repeal of the Union. One of the cardinal principles of the Great Nothern Union, founded by the patriotic and martyred Feargus O'Connor, was for a repeal of the Union. (Enthusiastic applause.) So much then for the Orange Chartist Feargus O'Connor and his wild associates. (Cheering renewed.) He was a repealer of the Union. He wished Ireland to have an independent legislature suited to her wishes, representative of her inhabitants, Catholic and Protestant alike, to see her a nation, not a province. He would vote for a repeal of the legislative Union, disbelieving as he did that its present agitators wished not to effect their avowed object. Mr. Williamson,—Sir, Will you vote for the separation of Church and State? Mr. Bairstow—He had ever looked upon the establishment of any creed, or doctrines, as binding on the belief, and compulsory support, by the whole of a country's population, as pregnant with the most dreadful results to the morals, condition, and peace of society. Christianity needs no such artificial appendages, or gilded trappings, as those with which the state had encircled it. The attempts of men to establish the Christian religion have ever proved abortive—the worst enemy to religion could not have hit on a more effective expedient to swamp practical Christianity in heartless hypocrisy, hollow profession, and blind and stupid bigotry. (Cheers.) The existence of our Established Church was tantamount to a right in the rich rector, assinine vicar, to plunder the conscientious dissentient of his property in the shape of rates and tithes, sheaves, or the Irish peasant's screaming pig. Look at the butcheries of Rathcormac and Newtonbarry; look at the history of establishments in all times and countries, and one uniform but appalling picture would present itself—of dogmatism, intolerance, bigotry, fanaticism, proscription, persecution, and bloodshed. He objected to the lordly bishop being fed in luxurious extravagance wrung from the heart of the toiling labourers, while preaching a religion of benevolence and compassion to the poor. (Cheers.) He objected to the enormous expenditure of our national church costing more than all the other churches of Christendom united together. (Shame.) He wished to see every party, religious or otherwise, stand or fall by the voluntary contributions of its supporters. He would therefore most decidedly vote for the separation of Church and State. (Loud cheering.) Mr. Williamson—Sir, will you vote for the People's Charter to become the law of the land? Mr. Bairstow (humorously)—Aye, to a dead certainty with all my heart. (Cheers, and laughter.) He would stand by it till death and then his spirit should assist posterity. (Renewed cheers.) Yes, that Charter should yet outshine every cloud and illuminate the world's horizon. (Loud cheering.) Mr. Clarke then moved that Mr. Bairstow is a fit and proper person to represent the Borough of Stockport in Parliament, seconded by a person, put by the chairman and carried unanimously. A vote of thanks was given to the Chairman and the assembled *multitudes left the meeting*, admiring the talents and eloquence of their new candidate.

MARYLEBONE.—Spirited meetings are held here every evening by our Chartist brethren for the promotion of the election of that thorough-bred Chartist, Villiers Sankey, Esq. We are happy to learn that the requisition presented to him by the electors has been so numerously signed. He is certainly a man of the right sort, and will be an honour to any constituency: he has ever adhered to the principles of the Charter, and, through good and through evil report, has *undeviatingly advocated the interest of* the productive classes. We have long known him, and can truly say that his talents and principles entitle him to universal support. Let the electors and non-electors of Marylebone be "up and doing." They, no doubt, know their duty; we tell them to perform it.

Bankrupts, &c.

From the London Gazette of Friday, June 18.

BANKRUPTS.

William Bywater, Hemington, Leicestershire, carpenter, to surrender June 25, at eleven o'clock, July 30, at ten, at the King's Head Inn, Loughborough: solicitor, Mr. Scott, Lincoln's-inn-fields.

David Hilary Stonham, Liverpool, copper-merchant, July 8, 30, at one o'clock, at the Clarendon-rooms, Liverpool: solicitors, Messrs. Vincent and Sherwood, Temple.

David Edwards, Pembroke, miller, June 26, July 30, at eleven o'clock, at the Dragon Inn, Pembroke: solicitor, Mr. Dean, Essex-street, Strand.

Joseph Aspden, Rochdale, Lancashire, cotton-spinner, July 3, 30, at twelve o'clock, at the Commissioners'-rooms, Manchester: solicitors, Messrs. Milne, Johnson, Son, and Weatherall, Temple.

Richard Howard Hoskins, Manchester, dealer, July 7, 30, at two o'clock, at the Commissioners'-rooms, Manchester: solicitors, Messrs. Milne, Parry, Milne, and Morris, Temple.

George Sterling, jun., Newcastle-upon-Tyne, boot and shoemaker, July 12, at one o'clock, July 30, at two, at the Bankrupt Commission-room, Newcastle-upon-Tyne: solicitors, Messrs. Battye, Fisher, and Sudlow, Chancery-lane.

Robert Spencer, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, scrivener, July 12, at eleven o'clock, July 30, at one, at the Bankrupt Commission-room, Newcastle-upon-Tyne: solicitor, Messrs. Bell, Brodrick, and Bell, Bow-churchyard.

Edmund John Phillips, Bristol, victualler, July 2, 30, at one o'clock, at the Commercial-rooms, Bristol: solicitors, Messrs. White and Whitmore, Bedford-row.

James Holt Heron, John Speir Heron, James Knight Heron, and Arthur Heron, Manchester and Wigan, cotton-spinners, July 6, 30, at eleven o'clock, at the Commissioners'-rooms, Manchester: solicitors, Messrs. Addlington, Gregory, Faulkner, and Follett, Bedford-row.

DISSOLUTIONS OF PARTNERSHIP.

G. Ward and T. Morton, Manchester, watchmakers. Shield and Roberts, Liverpool, law-stationers. H. Farrar and Co., Bradford, Yorkshire, hatters. Bagnall and White, Manchester, Manchester-warehousemen. W. Atherton and W. Laurence, Chorley, Lancashire, cotton-manufacturers. B. S. and E. Walker, Clifton and Hartshead, Yorkshire, coal-masters. Duarte and Jackson, Manchester, merchants.

From the Gazette of Tuesday, June 22.

Richard Bowley, broker, Commercial Sale-rooms, Mincing-lane, to surrender June 29, at two, and Aug. 3, at twelve, at the Court of Bankruptcy: Belcher, official assignee, Drew, Bermondsey-street.

Thomas Benjamin Proctor, lunatic asylum-keeper, Stockwell, Surrey, June 29, at half-past ten, and Aug. 3, at eleven, at the Court of Bankruptcy: Graham, Bassinghall-street, official assignee; Kirkman, King William-street.

John Goode Caporn, linendraper, July 2, and August 3, at twelve, at the George Inn, Bedford: Clowes and Wedlake, Temple, London; Eagles, Bedford.

Daniel Sharp, merchant, Southampton, July 3, and August 3, at two, at the George Hotel, Southampton: Daman, Stead, and Tylee, Romsey, Hants; Allen and Mortimer, Clifford's-inn, London.

James Blanch, ironmonger, Bath, July 6, and August 3, at eleven, at the White Lion Inn, Bath: Wansey and Tagart, Ely-place, London; Hassell, Bristol.

John Rawlings, innkeeper, Gloucester, July 1, and August 3, at ten, at the office of Mr. Washbourn, Gloucester: White and Whitmore, Bedford-row, London; Washbourn, Gloucester.

James Overton, coach and harness plater, Queen-street, Grosvenor-square, June 30, at two, and August 3, at eleven, at the Court of Bankruptcy: Lackington, official assignee, Coleman-street-buildings; Gomm, Edward-street, Portman-square.

Henry Molyneux, watchmaker, Lombard-street, July 3, at two, and August 3, at eleven, at the Court of Bankruptcy: Groom, official assignee, Abchurch-lane; M'Duff, Castle-street, Holborn.

Hugh William Morgan, grocer, Alford, Lincolnshire, July 6, at three, and August 3, at eleven, at the Public-building, Louth: Willis, Bower, and Willis, Lothbury, London; Mason, Lincoln.

William Selkirk, engraver, late of Birmingham, July 2 and August 3, at one, at the Waterloo-rooms, Birmingham; Amory, Sewell, and Moores, Throgmorton-street, London; Bray, Birmingham.

GENUINE CHARTIST TRACTS, PAMPHLETS, and PERIODICALS, now publishing at 1, Shoe-lane, London.

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For contents of No. 6, for June, see above.

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No.
1. Rise, Gentle Moon, Meet me by Moonlight, and seven others.
11. Farewell to the Mountain, and ten others.
13. The Sea! the Sea! and ten others.
17. The Deep, Deep Sea, and seven others.
20. The Brave Old Oak, and eight other tunes.
26. Pretty Star of the Night, and ten others.
53. Happy Land, Land of the West, four Quadrilles from Rory O'More, and two others.
54. The hour before day, I leave you to guess, and nine others.
69. The celebrated Echo Quadrilles, Philomel Waltz, &c.
55. My Beautiful Maid, Cherry Ripe, and seventeen others.
56. In the days when we went Gipsying, Blue Bonnets, Crusader's Waltz, and ten other delightful airs.
60. Bless'd be the Home, Rory O'More, and nine others.
74. Mr. Moore's popular song, The Language of Flowers, Linley's Lost Rosabel, and ten others.
75. Mr. Moore's Musical Box, Cracoviak, and ten others.
76. Where the Bee Sucks, Four Airs by Prince Albert, and twelve others.
77. Eight Airs, by Prince Albert and Ernest, 'Tis the Shepherd's Evening Bell, and five others.
78. Oft in the stilly night, Rory Tories (Jack Sheppard), Jack Redburn's Solos (from Master Humphrey's Clock), She Wore a Wreath of Roses, Mr. Loder's new song, Down in the Deep, and four others.
79. The Danois Quadrilles, Taglioni's new dance in the Gipsy, three famous Chinese airs, Mr. Balfe's new popular melody, The dawn is breaking o'er us, two more Solos by Jack Redbun, and five others.
80. For July, contains Jack Redburn's Gallop and Race, in honour of the Derby, the whole five melodie's of the Falstaff Quadrilles, popular airs from Weber's Euryanthe, Sphor's Faust, and Beethovens Fidelio.
81. For August, contains Oh! God preserve the Queen; the celebrated Tarantella (the whole six movements): seven Airs from Gluck's Iphigenia; and three others.
82. For September, contains My Dog and my Gun, We all love a pretty Girl, He that loves a rosy cheek, the whole set (five) of the Nightingale Waltzes and six Airs from Gluck's Iphigenia.
83. For October, contains—'Twas Nature's Gay Day, the popular Song; the whole five of the Tete de Bronze Quadrilles; the celebrated Doncaster St. Leger Race, described in Music; and six others.
84. For November, contains Two Melodies from Auber's new Opera, Zanetta, Lanner's Six Spring Waltzes, the celebrated Marseilles Hymn, Claude du Val, and Three others.
85. For December, contains Six Melodies from Zenetta, I know a Bank; and nine others. To purchasers of No. 85 is given gratis THE ROYAL LULLABY, the words and music printed on rose coloured paper.
86. Happy New Year; the whole set of L'Elizir D'Amore Quadrilles, by Musard; Lovely night; The Days that have Faded; Fairy, lead them up and down, and others.
87. The Ice Song; Love in Idleness; The Sleeper; We are Spirits; the two popular songs of Miss Hawes, I'll Speak of Thee, and Thou art Lovelier, and four others.
88. Ten of the Witches' Songs in Macbeth; Over Hill over Dale, in Midsummer Night's Dream; Russian Air by Thalberg; Ladye mine, Ladye mine; Merrily goes the Mill; and others,
89. *Three Airs from Mr. Balfe's new Opera of* "Keolanthe;" the whole of Jullien's Five Quail Waltzes; and Six more beautiful Airs from Macbeth.
90. For May, contains the new comic song called "Jim along Josey," with the music, and whole eight verses of words; the Royal Stag Hunt, described in a set of Quadrilles, and seven others.
91. For June, contains five graceful Galops and Race, in honour of the Derby; a complete set of Quadrilles; a Solo, as played by Herr Konig on the Cornopean, and two others.

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DUNDEE CHRONICLE.

THE DIRECTORS of the above JOURNAL, anxious to promote and extend the Chartist Cause by means of the Press, hereby intimate that they have engaged that talented, tried, and consistent advocate of Civil and Religious Liberty, Mr. R. J. RICHARDSON, to Edit their Paper.

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HUMAN LIFE.

PROBABLY *no* theory can come more welcome to the human mind than the one which establishes, on good grounds, a hope for prolonged existence; for, notwithstanding the trials, vexations, and difficulties incident to this life, the love of life increases with our years; it is one of the innate principles of our nature, and cannot be explained away by any of the subtleties of the sophist, nor overcome by any amused dignity derived from a false philosophy. There are many of these inextinguishable principles in our nature—our love of freedom—love of country—love of home, and many others, but the love of life predominates.

At present, the popular opinion is, that the natural duration of human life is seventy years, but this is contrary to both sacred and profane history. This opinion is, no doubt, founded on a misunderstanding of a passage of the 90th Psalm, where it is indeed stated, "That the days our years are three score years and ten, and if by reason of strength they be four score years, yet is their strength labour and sorrow." Now, it must be remembered, that this Psalm is ascribed to Moses, and that he is not speaking of the lives of men in general, but of what was occurring among the Israelites in the wilderness. His own life, as well as the lives of the more eminent of his brethren, was far more extended than even four score years; and, as he complains of the people being cut off, through the displeasure of God, it is reasonable to conclude, that he is not alluding to the period during which men were capable of living, but simply to the fact, that, owing to the judgments of the Almighty, which befel the Israelites on account of their sins, but few of them attained a more lengthened existence than that of seventy or eighty years. "For we are consumed," he says, "by thine anger, and by thy wrath are we troubled." They died not a natural death, but were cut off for their sin and unbelief, by judicial dispensations.

The clever Dr. Farre maintains, that 120 is the last grant of God to man, and quotes the sixth chapter of Genesis, and the third verse, where it is written, "My spirit shall not always strive with man, for that he also is flesh; yet his days shall be an HUNDRED AND TWENTY YEARS." Now, we find this expressed intention on the part of God gradually carried into effect—the principle of vitality appearing to become weaker until the close of the era in which the postdiluvian patriarchs flourished; when, although several centuries had elapsed since the deluge, we find that 120 years was about the average of human existence. *Supposing, then, that the theory* of long life is well sustained, the question naturally *suggests how are we to attain what is so desirable?* A wise general, on the eve of battle, makes a proper disposition of his forces beforehand, and does not wait till the enemy has made an attack, and thus, by forethought and due preparation, reasonably expects a victory;—thus, he who has a desire to attain a healthy, and consequently, happy old age, does not indolently wait for the attack of the enemy, which is sickness, but is constantly on his guard against his insidious approaches, by paying proper attention to the state of his health. Many would fain occasionally use medicine to assist nature in her operations; but like a mariner at sea without his compass, knowing not where to steer, they first try this, and then that, and meet with nothing but disappointment; to these, how welcome must be the important fact, that Parr's Medicine is all that is required; the fine tonic properties it contains invariably restore the stomach to a healthy longing for food, or, in other words, it produces a good appetite, so much envied, but so seldom enjoyed, by the invalid; the gently stimulating power it possesses, assists the stomach to properly digest the food it receives; the balsamic powers it bestows on the system, produce that delightful feeling of good spirits, so very desirable, and dispose both mind and body to healthy exercise; everything under its influence soon wears a joyous aspect, and the varied duties of life are performed with pleasure. It in addition contains a fine sedative quality, and instead of long and weary nights, gives sound and refreshing sleep. If the stomach and bowels require it, it acts as the mildest and most agreeable purgative, and by its cleansing powers totally eradicates a redundancy of bile, and completely removes all obstructions of the intestinal canal.

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Original Correspondence.

O'BRIEN v. THE NORTHERN STAR, THE CONVENTION, AND O'CONNOR ON THE ELECTION QUESTION.

York Castle, June 19, 1841.

MY DEAR O'BRIEN,—I have just read four letters from you, of different dates, in the *Star* of this day, and I think you will admit that there is in each a something demanding notice from me. In the discharge of my duty, it shall be my endeavour to preserve my correspondence free from any, even the slightest, appearance of controversy. I shall give to it the real stamp of what it is intended to pass for; an enquiry, by two persons possessed of much public confidence, as to the best means of arriving at an object upon which they are perfectly agreed: such shall be my course; in the investigation as to the most profitable use to be made of our present position for the acquirement of the Charter.

Before I come to the consideration of that which is the grand question, I must very briefly dispose of some extraneous matter with which, here and there, your letters are interlarded.

The first passage which I shall notice is the following. You say:—"Oh! If the Chartist press would but give up their dirty, jealous, personal squabbles, and for once act an honourable and manly part, how soon we should see 400 good men and true, ready to take the field and be put in nomination, and beat both factions on every hustings, at the approaching elections!" Now, unless this is the shadow of some coming event, of which I am wholly and entirely ignorant, I am unconscious of its meaning, as I am ignorant of the object it is intended to achieve. There are four Chartist papers in Great Britain: the *Star*, the *Scottish Patriot*, the *Dundee Chronicle* and the *Perth Chronicle*, and never during their existence has there a line of controversy appeared in one of them, nor has controversy been allowed to be kept up between third parties in their columns, lest the very fact should involve the papers in the conflict. From no weekly paper has the *Star* copied so extensively as from the *Scottish Patriot*; and, in truth, I had more than once piqued myself upon the striking difference that marks the unanimity of the present Chartist papers as compared with the deadly war which was early waged, and kept up to the close, by the two first Radical papers produced by the alteration in the Stamp duties, the *London Dispatch* and the *London Mercury*. They literally ate each other to the tails; and did much injury to the cause. Do not suppose, however, that in this contrast which I would have a perfect right to use in answer to your remark, even without qualification, that I mean it as any rebuke to you. I do not; as you were one of the persons attacked, and had no alternative but to defend, or surrender character and public confidence to the assailants. I use it to prove that there are situations in which those who wish for unanimity, and are sensitive about differences (which do not exist) may be involuntarily dragged before the public. This portion of the subject I dismiss, congratulating myself that never, in the history of the newspaper press, did so cordial, so sincere, and unbroken a harmony exist between the journals of any party, as that which now exists between the whole of the Chartist press; and when we have the satisfaction and advantage of your addition to our society, I feel convinced that the increase of family will but cement the union.

The *Star* is the eldest son of Chartism, but claims no exclusive right under the law of primogeniture. So much for your letter of the 6th of June.

Your letter of the 12th commences thus:—

"MY DEAR ARTHUR,—I have just seen the *Northern Star* of to-day, and rejoice to find that the Editor, *at last*, sees the necessity of acting upon the principle of meeting the enemy in *practical* style at the general election. Had he done, or advised, three months ago, what he is now doing and advising, we should have three hundred Chartist candidates now ready to take the field against both factions, and *qualified* to represent the people either in the Commons' House, or in another and better House, supported by five-sixths, at least, of the whole nation. But better late than never! Even now, at the eleventh hour, an effective blow may be struck for the liberties of the people."

Without at all championising O'Connor, the *Star*, or the Editor, whose political characters must be inseperable, I think I can most satisfactorily prove that you wrote the foregoing paragraph in a moment of thoughtlessness; while its appearance, however produced, justifies me in recapitulating facts which I would otherwise be deemed egotistical for repeating; and when one of *your* powers of memory has so soon forgotten the repeated advice of myself and the Editor upon this subject, I feel warranted at the present moment in jogging less retentive memories by laying a true state of this branch of my policy before the readers of the *Star*.

In 1835, I essayed to marshal the non-elective influence against the elective power of this country; and after having detailed my plan of agitation to a large out-door meeting at Huddersfield, one of them asked me how the force could be made available! I answered that my intention was, that when the non-electors were prepared, they should, at the next general election, elect by a show of hands, bees who should represent themselves in a house in London, called the "bee-hive," if they pleased; and I pledged myself the good sense of the bees would very speedily bring the folly of the drones into contempt. I said much more, but suffice it now that this was my plan; and it seemed to strike even the most forward of the movement party dumb. This plan was spoken of everywere, and I was called a mad man. I am not aware that the plan ever was hinted at before I broached it at that meeting. It never was printed before to my knowledge; nor, up to that time, to the knowledge of any single man that I came in contact with, and they were many. In fact, if the thought was born before, it was a still birth; for not one soul had ever heard of it. Indeed, it caused a sensation in those days, and was a freshness upon the very lip of novelty. That was in 1835.

In 1837, at the last general election, and before the *Star* was in existence, I made another tour; and again, as far as one itinerating demagogue opposed by the whole press could accomplish the object, I strove to accomplish it; but the public mind was not prepared for the trial. However, always determined to test my theory by my practice, I went to Preston, and created a tremendous public feeling for many days before the election; all at my own expence; and, without appearing as a suitor for electoral support, I went to the hustings and accomplished my object, by getting a show of hands; thus testing the great and mighty difference between electoral power and non-elective influence and feeling. That was in July, 1837.

Early in 1839, I went to Glasgow also at my own expence, for the purpose of working my theory into practice, and there also I achieved what the Chartists at the time considered as their greatest triumph. I got the show of hands, and told them that I should hold myself in readiness to obey their commands, when the rest of the country was prepared to co-operate with them.

In August of the same year, I again visited Glasgow, Perth, Kilmarnock, Dundee, Paisley, Renfrewshire, and many other places; and still enforced the necessity of prosecuting this plan.

I then returned to England, and addressed the electors and non-electors of the West Riding of Yorkshire, both in the *Star* and at public meetings. I told them that my triumph would end with their election of me by show of hands. When I had matured the public mind to a certain extent, I published, on the 21st of September, a plan for the complete organisation of the county to carry out the national object; and from that time to the period of my imprisonment, I kept it constantly in public view. This brings me to the immediate consideration of the sentence in your letter running thus:—"Had he done or advised, three months ago, what he is now doing and advising, we should," &c.

This paragraph insinuates against the Editor of the *Star* a charge of very serious and culpable neglect of duty, in reference to the matter. Dates and facts are, in general, the only advocates I call to my aid against charges of omission, or neglect of public duty; and as I consider myself responsible for every word of Editorial matter in the *Star* from which I do not publicly express my dissent, I now beg leave to submit for your consideration the following published correction of your mistake. The following is from the *Star*, of the 27th February, seventeen weeks previous to the present number, and five previous to the period from which you lament the Editor did not start:—

"There is much talk of a dissolution of Parliament, and there can be no harm in being prepared for the worst; but we have strong notions that the unpleasant and increasing differences between Sir Robert Peel and his party may protract the event. Peel is no longer a leader; he will, ere long, become a 'cocked tailed ginger,' and we should not be at all surprised to find the Right Honourable Gentleman forming an alliance with any party which had for its object the release of the Ministry from the fangs of the Beggarman. We beg leave to direct attention to the letter from Feargus O'Connor, published so long ago as September, 1839, and which we republish to-day, thinking that it contains all that can be said upon the subject, and a feasible plan of action for the Chartists."

Now, surely the Editor need not overdo what I had done to surfeiting? further than to keep it before the public.

By way of following up the recommendation my letter referred to in the above was reprinted from the *Star* of 21st September, 1839; and, as you appear to have forgotten its contents, you will find it again printed in some part of the present number.

In looking over the *Star* of the following week, the 6th March, I find that my letter bearing more immediately upon the subject of organization, was published in that number; and, curious enough, I also find in that number a congratulatory article from the Editor upon the progress and unanimity of the Chartist press. To that article, which you will find in the 5th page of the *Star* of the 6th March, under the head "Chartist Press," I beg to direct your attention.

Now, surely, you do not expect that the *Star* of to-day is to be a mere echo of the previous number? and that, once having laid down a plan it is to be repeated to surfeiting? And are you not very forgetful yourself in having allowed all these things to escape your memory??

Well, but did I, or did the Editor of the *Northern Star*, rely upon that being enough? No; on the 15th May, in a letter headed "To be, or not to be," I again sounded the alarm, and, from my silent cell, tried to rouse the sleeping nation. From that letter I extract the two following passages:—

"There is now but one way of carrying the Charter speedily. A dissolution is at hand. Rely upon it that the Whigs will dissolve; they will not give the Tories a chance as long as they can help it. Indeed, they have arranged all the dissolution scenery for the performance. They expect great things from the *novelties*, but they do not know the feeling of the people. However, we shall have a dissolution, that's certain. All the odds in favour of a Ministry in office will be tried upon a general election, before the hungry Whigs walk out."

I then enforce the necessity of exclusive dealing, for the purpose of carrying out my plan, and proceed thus:—

"But you must begin in time. Let the Executive take it up, and send a form of pledge to be printed in the *Star*, and from the *Star* to be reprinted in slips in every town, and left by the Committee of the Association in each town, at every shop in the town. This could be done in a day. The expence is nothing. The shock would be electrical. Make no combinations to injure any person, but combine *to serve your friends, and stick to it.*"

I think that is pretty well for one man in prison, and now I refer you to every subsequent number of the *Star* for a note of the same tune. Could I do more? What individual at large has done as much? And, now I ask is it right, is it fair, is it just, is it prudent, with all these facts—recent facts—staring you in the face, to charge the *Star* with neglect of duty, while it has performed the whole duty?

When you speak of Newcastle and Brighton and their state of preparedness, you must certainly have passed over the Leeds and Yorkshire intelligence. No one rejoices more than I do to hear of the state of forwardness of our party in any place; and when I correct error by adducing facts, illustrative of the position of the immediate neighbourhood of the *Star*, not a man who knows me will suppose that I do so for the purpose of making invidious comparisons, or with any other view than to render honour to whom honour is due, and to defend myself and the *Star* against the charge of neglect of duty.

Now, which in this struggle, was the first warrior-town armed for the battle? Leeds! Leeds! Leeds!! formerly, rotten Leeds! Hurrah for Leeds! aye, the men of Leeds had their full number of Chartist candidates in the field, their arrangements perfected, the addresses of their noble candidates on the walls and in the *Star*, before any other town in England. Hull had its Chartist candidate in the field. Bradford had its Chartist candidate, and Halifax had its Chartist candidate, in the person of the manly, upright, and independent Mr. Gully, who will vote for every point of the Charter.

Now, I ask if this proves neglect of duty, or if the tree is not be judged by its fruit? What was Leeds in 1832? The hot-bed of corruption; the head quarters of pure Whiggery, and the strong-hold of faction. What Leeds is in 1841 200,000 men will declare upon the day of nomination, when Williams and Leech will know whether or not the *Star*, the Editor, and myself, have neglected our duty.

From the 15th of May, to the present moment, both the Editor and myself have been relieved from any personal responsibility which we before incurred, by the unanimous recommendation of the late Convention; and, therefore, although I hold myself individually responsible for every word in the *Star* and in my own letters, yet might I, if inclined to split hairs, throw the onus of the recommendation upon the Convention. While I give them great credit for their resolution, and which, observe, they say they had come to "after mature consideration," I shrink not from the avowal that in their address I feel myself perfectly represented.

The next two passages which I select from your letter of the 14th, for comment run thus:—

"I am extremely glad to find that the advice given by the *Northern Star*, last week, corresponds exactly with the substance of what I have recommended to my friends all over the country."

In the very next paragraph you say:—

"There is but one part of the *Star's* advice I regret to see—one from which I dissent *in toto*, I mean the Editors' recommendation to support Tories against Whigs, in case the Chartists should not be able to return their own candidate."

In defence of the *Star*, my reply, and that of the Editor, to the first part of the first paragraph might equally be as follows:—I rejoice to find that the recommendation of the representatives of the people, as conveyed in their splendid address, corresponds exactly with the substance of what I have recommended to my party all over the country.

Now, as this question is one of vital importance, not at all to the *Star*, but to the people, let us see what you approve of, and what you dissent from in the same paper of the 12th June.

I have carefully examined all the editorial comments bearing upon the subject, of which there are three. The first concludes thus:—

"You are now upon the eve of a great crisis, and what is your exact position? It is this—You are THE BALANCE OF POWER! and as such the *Political Lords* who are to farm out power upon the approaching leasing day. If you re-let to the former tenants they will pay in future as they have paid hitherto; in blood, in tears, in toil, in sweat, in chains, in persecution, and bondage; and to them you must LET FOR SEVEN YEARS; while, upon the other hand, if you let to the Tories they become mere TENANTS AT WILL, AND REMOVABLE AT PLEASURE; and *never, never, never*, can the 'Bloodies' be taught reason, except in the school of adversity, which is kept at the sign of the *bleak side of the Treasury Benches.*

"Get a house of Whigs, and, for seven long years will they cling to office and multiply abuse! Get a house of Tories, and then, but not till then, can Whig courtship of the Chartists be relied upon. Then we shall be the amiable, the lovely, the heaven-born Chartists! So,

"Down with the 'bloodies,' hurah! hurrah!
Hurrah! and down with the 'bloodies,' hurrah!"

The next under the head "Duty of the people at the coming elections," and which, after strong denunciation of the ruling faction, proceeds thus:—

"Chartists! the man who will vote for, and do his utmost to accomplish the *foregoing list of reforms*—he is your man!

"Wherever, by splitting with the Whigs, you can return your man, do so. Wherever, by splitting with the Tories, you can return your man, do so.

"But where you cannot find a qualified person to start as your candidate, or where, owing to your poverty, you dare not risk the expences of a contest, what is then to be done?

"Do what you were told to do seven years ago by BRONTERRE. Do what FEARGUS O'CONNOR has laboured to impress you with the necessity of doing. Have your candidates; elect them by shew of hands, as your veritable representatives; and leave to God and your own resolute hearts the future."

Now, here you must have mistaken a duty, or rather a course recommended to the non-elective body in the event of not having a candidate of their own; and you would infer from that that it was at variance with the advice elsewhere given to the electors acting under the influence of non-elective pressure. In this I hope to show you consists your entire error.

You speak of Chartist electors in a sense in which they do not exist. You suppose them to mean electors who, in the event of being left free and with the ballot, would vote for a Chartist candidate in preference to any other; while I use the term in a more general sense, applying it to those, many of whom would gladly annihilate Chartism, but whose trust would be likely to be properly executed by a dread of an empty till. This is a fatal error which has never yet been explained, but which I shall presently fully expose.

The four paragraphs, above quoted, critically agree with the advice in my last letter, to hold the numerical strength wholly apart from both factions; and the words, "and leave to God and your own resolute hearts the future" have reference not to the neutrality of voters, but to the future course of the non-electors; and the whole gist of that article, and the following one, "The Reckoning Day," goes, firstly, to show the absolute necessity of Whig power being destroyed by the electors; and, secondly, to show the necessity of the non-elective influence, in the event of its not being able to transfer the balance of power from the exterior to the interior of St. Stephens, being marshaled for the most effective outside resistance to all factions. At least, if the writer had any other object in view, he must have taken considerable pains to deceive; he has not however, deceived me in the least. I must, therefore, confess that I see most perfect accordance between the Editor and himself, while you find matter for approval and disapproval in the same number.

You close your letter of the 14th thus:—

"I tell you, Bowman, that the Chartist who votes for a Tory, unless that Tory votes for him, is either a fool or a traitor. Down with both factions, and no distinction, should be our cry."

I quite agree to join in the hue and cry; but I must have the means of catching my thief when I see him, otherwise the hue and cry, and his description, is of little use. Presently, I shall point out my reasons for my every advice.

You perfectly well know that the legal maxim, "*qui facit per aliem facit per se*" (who acts by another acts himself), holds good, equally as regards legal principles and political teachers; and therefore the man who recommends the course must also be a fool or a traitor.

Now, I shall not retort further than by presently proving the converse of your proposition. Not one word shall escape me beyond a searching for the truth.

The next paragraph is the first in your postscript to your letter of the 12th, and which runs thus:—

"P.S. I pray you again, Bowman, to discountenance the *policy of voting for Tories*, under any circumstances! *unless where they coalesce with the Chartists.* The recommendation of that policy to the Chartist electors, by the *Star* and by the late Petition Convention, has already done us much mischief. It has furnished a handle to our enemies to exasperate the poor deluded Irish against us. It has been, in a great measure, the cause of the late deplorable events in Manchester. It has greatly neutralised the good which Mr. O'Connor's letters to O'Malley had unquestionably effected for us in Ireland."

I feel it due to you, to the *Star*, to myself, to the Convention, to the Irish Chartists, and to the Chartists of Glasgow, to protest in the most unequivocal terms against every sentence, line, and word, in the above; and, perhaps, the best and most judicious mode of doing so will be by again calling my advocate, DATES and FACTS, to plead for us all.

You must, then, have observed that, ever since Mr. O'Connell found the old Convention, and the English people, and the *Star* supporting a Repeal of the Union, he and the Irish press, assumed a more hostile tone against the English Chartists. You must be aware that Mr. O'Connell looks upon every sincere Repealer as his greatest enemy; as his monster, which was but intended for an agitating clap-trap, becomes dangerous in proportion as he grows in strength. Every man of common sense has discovered that; and now, allow me to place briefly before you the facts which led to a rupture between the English and Irish Chartists, and the blind Irish followers of moonshine.

On Tuesday, the 2nd of March, now seventeen weeks past, there was a meeting called at the Justiciary Hall in Glasgow, for the purpose of supporting Lord Morpeth's Irish AGITATION Bill. The meeting was announced for eight, but the committee issued tickets to the supporters of the measure to attend at six; they accordingly did attend, and were admitted by a side door to the amount of some hundreds. Mr. Colquhoun, by chance, got one of those tickets and instantly and properly sounded the alarm, and mustered the Chartist forces, not for the purpose of opposing the Irish, but, very judiciously, for the purpose of letting the world know that the Glasgow Chartists had not joined in the clap-trap. Well, the Chartists were kept outside, shivering, while the O'Connellites were privately admitted; and when I use the words Chartists and O'Connellites, I beg you to understand that among the Chartists were many Irish Catholics, while among the O'Connelites were many Scotch merchants and traders. Well, when the doors were opened and the Chartists found the meeting packed, they naturally became disgusted and indignant; and when Dr. Murdock, the excellent Catholic Bishop, was called to the chair, Mr. Ross's appointment to the office was moved as an amendment, which, we are told, was carried. However, be that as it may, when Bishop Murdoch was in the chair, Mr. Colquhoun held up his card of invitation as his title to be heard, when he was most shamefully and brutally treated, and an indiscriminate attack was made upon the Chartists. In proof of the Chartists' innocence it is but fair to state, that many of the assailants (but none being Chartists) were punished by the Whig authorities for their conduct.

I regret being compelled to rub this old sore, because the good sense, philosophy, and judgment of the Right Rev. Dr. Murdoch and of the Chartists, had completely healed the wound and now not a particle of the sore spot is perceptible. But while those who were to live together as neighbours and friends were thus willing to sacrifice their apparent differences upon the altar of patriotism, and thereby restore peace and good will, the feud was too great a God-send for the Devil, who preaches peace and lives upon dissention; and consequently, in one of those "patriotic" addresses, manufactured for the approbation of the Corn Exchange hirelings, and addressed to the Chartists of Newry, the attack upon Bishop Murdoch is made the most prominent feature, a kind of recruiting sergeant for the enlistment of Catholic prejudice against the English Chartists, being Protestants, and also against the Irish Catholic Chartists, and from that moment to the present, "Protestant," "Hanoverian," "Sassenach," and "Orangeman", have been the foolish epithets indiscriminately applied by the Catholics to their Protestant and Catholic brethren, while struggling for equal liberty for the Catholics and themselves!

You may, perhaps, say, "O, this is a mere assertion." To which I would be warranted in replying, "well, it is assertion against assertion." But I am most providentially in a situation to corroborate my assertion, not by circumstantial, but by written and direct evidence, and which I here subjoin, from James O'Brien, in refutation of the assertion of James Bronterre O'Brien. I received the following letter, which bears date 23rd April; bear in mind the 23rd April, long before the *Star*, or the Convention, had said one word about the course the recommendation of which, you say, led to the ridiculous conduct of the Irish in Manchester. Now, bear the date in mind, and here is the letter, which I received upon the 24th:—

"Manchester, April 23d, 1841.

"SIR,—I would be very much obliged by your answering me the following questions through the medium of the *Star*, whether, as is reported to us Irishmen, that you encouraged the Chartists of Glasgow to disturb the meeting that was got up to petition against Lord Stanley's Disfranchisement Bill, and in favour of Lord Morpeth's Bill? Until that is rightly explained to us, you may rest satisfied that we will never join you in your wild agitation as long as we live. We will go heart and hand for the Corn Laws, and will oppose every Chartist meeting that takes place here, for satisfaction for the insult offered to our respected Roman Catholic Bishop, at the Glasgow meeting. Yes, Sir, by him who made us, dead or alive, we will get satisfaction of them, the sons of prostitution, for where is there a virtuous man in England. Sir, none, not one. You are also accused of saying that the women of Ireland are greater vagabonds than of England are; prove it. Oh, that you could be guilty of such a saying! You are advocating independent principles, and Chartism also, as your followers also are. Why did you not join our poor unfortunate countrymen in Glasgow? instead of hunting them out of the place they met to petition, they ought to join them heart and hand to get what they are seeking for themselves, that is, the extension of the Suffrage. No, Sir, both you and them will not allow us our liberty, if you had it in your power. We will weigh the thing in our breasts; for you had many, yes, I say many Irishmen here, who were your friends until the Glasgow meeting took place; but now, alas, they are your most desperate enemies. Mark that, Sir.

"I am sorry that you should be lowered in the eyes of your countrymen.

"There was a discussion got up in George-street, Salford, on Wednesday last, to discuss the merits of the Corn Laws; but the Irishmen assembled with an intention of slaying every Chartist who opposed us.

"I would wish you should give us some information on these subjects, to see if it would allay the animosity that is in their breasts, for you may depend on it that they will disturb every Chartist meeting that takes place here. We expect to have a meeting in the Corn Exchange against the Corn Laws; and if the Chartists *come to disturb it there will be four thousand Irishmen* killed at least. Never will Chartism flourish in poor Ireland since the Glasgow fray.

"On Sunday next, we are to have a meeting to see if you will give any information to us. I rely on your noble spirit to see if you can eradicate that black spot out of your breast. If you do not answer this letter, through the columns of your paper, we expect silence gives consent.

"I am,
"Your most obedient countryman,
"JAMES O'BRIEN."

Now, what say you to that? I answered that letter the very moment I received it. I enclosed my answer to an Irish Catholic, and requested that he and two others would attend the meeting about to be convened for receiving my answer. I did not tell one of the three the contents of my letter, or of the letter I received. I did not allow a single English Chartist to appear in the affair. My letter charged O'Brien with being the fabricator of the folly about Irish women, until he should tell his author, whom I promised to kick well in his presence. As to the Glasgow meeting I truly stated that I had never heard a word about it, till I saw the result, which I deeply deplored, in the papers.

Well, if inquiry was the object, why not publish my answer? And had I not a *perfect right*, not hearing a word to the contrary, to suppose that my answer was quite satisfactory, and that all the differences were reconciled. The fact is, ground of accusation, and not refutation, was the thing hoped for. The letter was handed sealed to the chairman, and was read to the meeting, *but never published.* Now, what say you? And where is the man on earth who can say he ever heard from me one word about the mad intention of my countymen, as expressed by O'Brien, until now dragged from me in defence of the *Star*, the Convention, and the Chartists?

Had I supposed that my letter was not satisfactory I should certainly have sent O'Brien's to the Executive to put them upon their guard.

Let me now ask you what support we could expect from men who declare that they will support a repeal of the Corn Laws, or any thing, and oppose the Chartists, because the Glasgow parties had a misunderstanding? Your observation, if believed, would have have done more to injure Chartism, the *Star*, and the Convention, than if the whole press of England had been using its best endeavours to effect the object. The only difference is, that to the press I would attribute one motive and to you another. Your motive, I feel convinced was in order to afford an opportunity for healing the wound by a fair exposition of what could be said in reply to the slander which, perhaps, was noised abroad, and brought by a correspondent under your notice. Of this I feel certain, because no man can doubt that the charge, if believed, would at once justify the Irish for their hostility to the Chartists, would destroy all confidence in the discretion and judgement of the Convention and the *Star*, and would effectually undo the very thing which for six years I have zealously laboured to effect, and do the very thing which, for the same period, Daniel O'Connell has endeavoured, but in vain, to prevent—a thorough union of the people of both countries.

Can I ever sufficiently return thanks to Providence for having preserved O'Brien's letter? for had I no better defence to offer than mere assertion to assertion, public opinion might have been led astray; but I have now crushed the calumny in its infancy. I have some curious documents, I assure you. I have, without resorting to the same means as Fouché for acquiring it, just as minute information about the plots of the great as he had. I have had many communications from servants of ministers, Noble Lords, M.P's., Right Reverend Fathers in God, and others, and from Chartist soldiers, much of which I turned to good account.

I shall notice one, and only one more passage. In your letter of the 14th, you say:—

"And as to the new *hocus pocus* policy of promoting Chartism by inundating the next House of Commons with Toryism, I cannot find language capable of expressing my contempt for it. O'Connor is certainly mad, if he imagines it; for I am certain he could never swallow such a gross lump of Cobbettism in a moment of sober reflection. It is contrary to all his former recorded opinions, and utterly at variance with the policy he so ably and manfully followed up against the *Liberator* and *Champion*."

Here I fully agree in the assertion that O'Connor must be mad, if he imagines such a thing even possible; but the man who would affect to suppose that I did imagine such a result possible, or who would lead others to suppose that I so imagined, must have read that portion of my letter to very little purpose. I do not repeat "mad" "fool" "traitor," or "mad man," for the purpose of retorting; but I would be a cross between all, if I had recommended the entertainment of such a proposition. I should be a mad fool of a traitor.

Now, just observe; in my letter of the 29th May, in which the passage occurs (and from a reference to which I find that again the negligent *Star* was scolding the people for not being ready with all the machinery for the contest,) I used these words, "Six years ago, I said I would prepare you for sale. Two years ago, I published a plan for your local organization; and THREE MONTHS AGO I REPUBLISHED THAT PLAN. I was well aware that only during the excitement of a contested election, would either band of robbers bid for the virtuous people; that hour has now come! YET ARE YOU NOT PREPARED WITH YOUR COMMITTEES, SUB COMMITTEES, TREASURERS, AND SECRETARIES OF ELECTIONEERING CLUBS, which I recommended, but as I never fight with my own party but always try to make up for their laziness BY MY OWN EXTRA DILIGENCE. I TELL YOU NOW TO GET YOUR MACHINERY READY." I merely chopped upon this sentence in looking for the passage to which you refer, in order to construe it by the context; and I ask you now, has the *Star* been negligent in the arrangements necessary for the struggle? But to the passage.

You know, full well, that I was describing the calamity which must ever follow the want of opposition to the Government in being. You know that I said that such a thing as inundating the House with Tories was "IMPOSSIBLE." That was my very word, and I was hypothetically describing it as a calamity inferior only to the want of an opposition.

Now, how do I conclude the paragrah? Thus:—"If you had 658 Tory devils, they would be frightened at the sound of their own voice, and would imploringly cry, '*O! for an opposition!*'" I merely put the thing hypothetically, to show the want of an opposition, and what the country had suffered for nine years of Reform, from that very want. I was proving that unopposed rule ever has degenerated, and ever will degenerate into tyranny and licentiousness. I was stating that the Tories actually sacrificed the Whigs by not opposing them. All this I put hypothetically to ground an argument upon, showing, at the same time, the "*impossibility*" of its being carried into practice; while you speak in your letter with strong presumption of our capability of returning fifty Chartist members. Now, in return, I tell you that it would be more easy, and the Whig ELECTORS would sooner join to return 658 Tories than to return 50, what I call, Chartist members. The electors would not return them as Chartists, while a wise disposition of the balance of power would give us 200 *Chartist members returned as Whigs.*

You appear to have mistaken the ground of controversy between me and the *Champion* and *Liberator*. The policy, as suported by them and opposed by me, was, the propriety of *supporting Tory principles*, in the House of Commons, and of denouncing Whiggery, for the mere purpose of placing Toryism in the ascendant, upon the mere speculation of the repeal of the Poor Law Amendment Act. Through life I have endeavoured to get a fair fling at the Tories; and for nine years the Whigs have stood between them and me; and now I say to the Whigs, get out of my way, and let me at them.

Having so far disencumbered the great question at issue of all extraneous matter, I shall here take my leave, for the present, with the intention of addressing another letter to you, to-morrow, upon the subject of the best use to be made of our forces in the approaching battle.

In the mean time, wishing yon, from my soul, every success, both at Newcastle and through life, to which your zeal, your talent, your honesty your long unbending and unflinching exertions, and your privation and manly suffering entitle you.

I am,
Your faithful associate
And affectionate friend,
FEARGUS O'CONNOR.

SHALL WE DESTROY THE WHIG ASSASSINS OR NOT?

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NORTHERN STAR.

SIR,—I have read with extreme surprize the remarks of Mr. O'Brien, in the last number of the *Star*, on the above question; for every one will admit to you that not only is the Whig faction the great barrier to the progress of democracy, but it is likewise the most treacherous, profligate, and persecuting oligarchy which has ever appeared in these nations. Then, supposing the Tory faction to be ready to act as the Whig faction has done, is it not sound policy to do the best we can at the present crisis, namely, to trample upon one of those factions, since we cannot do so to both, and thereby have only one faction to contend with in future, instead of two, as at present?

But probably I shall best convince your readers of the soundness of the policy recommended by you and Mr. O'Connor, in reference to the Whigs, by giving you a sketch of "that which I saw, and part of which I was." Well, then, I have been an active suppporter of the Whigs, voted for, and otherwise aided them; and on the subject of the Corn Laws, while they were denouncing the repeal of those laws, as the work of madmen, I was pushing on the question.

But upon that and every other project of Reform, I found that they were determined to persecute me for touching the subject of Reform; they even employed miscreants to entrap me, insult, and injure me, under the forms of law and authority; and even now, I feel so convinced of their dishonest and tricky intentions in respect of Corn Law repeal, and every other measure which Reformers contemplate, that if I did not oppose them at the next elections, I should be acting against every dictate of my conscience.

I would gladly assist in returning a Chartist representative for Dublin at the next election; but when I cannot gratify my wishes in that respect, surely I am bound to do the next best thing in my power, namely, to upset, as far as I can, that concentration of rascality, the Whig and O'Connell dynasty. Every man standing in the same position ought to do likewise. If he could return a candidate who would represent "the miserable sons of toil," he ought to do so, by the aid of the Tory faction, the Whig faction, or the Devil himself, if there was any prospect of gaining that desirable object by splitting his votes with any of them; but if no such opportunity presents itself, let him inflict vengeance for Whig treachery and remove the oligarchical breakwater out of the way. Woe betide! the Chartist party, if the Whigs gain a majority at the coming election, then will they charge the Chartist army, right, left, and centre, valiant with the notion, that the Tory phalanx can be brought up at any time, and panting with revenge for the Nottingham and other Chartist onslaughts, and for the withering blasts which the *Northern Star* has sent down their golden harvests of jobbery and plunder; but should the Tory party be thrust into harness, they will be so weak, between the national cry of the Chartists, and the ravenous howl of the Whigs for place, that the Chartist party must according to all appearances, be called into the management of public affairs. The great object then should be to return Chartist candidates, but where that cannot be done, to clear the decks for action, by sending the Whig assassins under the hatches.

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient and
humble servant,
SAMUEL GORDON.

41, Aungier-street, Dublin, June 21st, 1841.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NORTHERN STAR.

SIR,—The readers of the *Star* will recollect the disturbances that took place in Colne in the month of August last, in consequence of the previous brutal, cowardly, and unjustifiable conduct of the "Jacks in office," or the should-be peace preservers, and their tools of all work, the county police. The consequence was, the committal of four young men to Lancaster Castle, charged with the wilful murder of Mr. Halstead, who came by his death at that time, from the hand or hands of some person or persons at present unknown.

The aforesaid young men were tried on the capital charge at the late assizes at Lancaster, and three of them were acquitted of the murder, but, at the suggestion of their counsel, pleaded guilty to the charge of misdemeanor. Richard Boothman, the other prisoner, was found guilty by the Jury of wilful murder, on the testimony of two hired and unprincipled policemen. Owing to some strange and unaccountable circumstance at the trial, the witnesses *for the prisoner* Boothman, who were ready, and capable of proving an *alibi* in his favour, were not brought forward. The consequence was as stated before, and he was sentenced to death; but by prompt and energetic exertions being made, by memorials being sent to Lord Normanby and the Queen, his sentence was commuted to transportation for life. A poor, innocent, unoffending young man transported for life! It is the general and unanimous conviction in this town that he is perfectly innocent of the crime for which he is suffering.

The Rev. J. Henderson, Incumbent in this town, is worthy of all praise for using his talent and influence in behalf of the injured and unfortunate Boothman, in endeavouring to obtain his release; but hitherto his charitable intentions have not been successful, arising, it is thought, from communications going from another quarter, who is in frequent communication with the Home-office.

We understand poor Boothman was removed from Lancaster gaol last week, to the hulks, preparatory to his going abroad for life, in all probability, a victim of police perjury and petty spite and malice.

In consequence of the public believing the young men were innocent of the charges brought against them, a subscription was entered into to procure them something like a fair trial, and the following items were received from the different towns and villages, which, we trust, you will have the goodness to insert in your valuable and widely circulating paper:—

	£	s.	d.
Burnley	2	7	0
Keighley	1	6	9½
Ackrington	0	14	0
Hebden Bridge	0	9	0
Sand-bed, near Shaggatie ...	0	14	7½
Barnoldswick	0	12	0
Barrowford	0	14	0½
Chatburn	0	4	3½
Grindleston	0	11	8
Clitheroe	0	12	6
Farnhill	0	5	2½
Glusburn	0	5	7½
Sutton	0	12	6
Cononly	0	6	0

If you can find a little space for this communication, you will much oblige your numerous readers in this town and neighbourhood.

Respectfully, yours, &c.
J. WATSON.

Colne, June 22d, 1841.

Imperial Parliament.

HOUSE OF LORDS.—FRIDAY, JUNE 18.

The Madhouses (Scotland) Bill, and the Election Petitions Trial Bill, went through a Committee.

The Militia Pay Bill, the Metropolis Improvement Bill, the County Bridges Bill, and the Bribery at Elections Bill, were severally read a third time and passed.

In answer to the Earl of WICKLOW,

The Marquis of NORMANBY said, that in consequence of the sudden termination of the Session, the Bills for the Improvement of Sewers and the Drainage of Towns had been withdrawn for the present.

The debate on the Punishment of Death Bill was resumed, and on the motion of the Earl of WINCHILSEA, the capital punishment was again restored to certain offences exempted by the present Bill. The Noble Earl then moved to exempt certain cases of rape from the operation of the Bill, but on a division, the numbers were—for the clause, 64; for the amendment, 60.

The Bill then went through a Committee, and in answer to the Earl of WICKLOW,

The Marquis of NORMANBY said it was his intention to extend the provisions of the Bill to Scotland and Ireland.

The Criminal Justice Bill was read a second time, and in Committee the Earl of WILTON moved to exclude Manchester from its operation; but on a division, there appeared—for the motion, 31; against it, 32.

After some discussion, the Dog Carts Bill was, on the motion of the Marquis of NORMANBY, withdrawn, and their Lordships adjourned till Monday.

Tuesday, June 22.

PROROGATION OF PARLIAMENT.

Parliament was this day prorogued by her Majesty in person, preparatory to the Dissolution, with the usual formalities.

At a quarter past two o'clock, the discharge of cannon and the flourish of trumpets, announced the arrival of her Majesty, who shortly afterwards entered the House.

The Speaker and the Members of the House of Commons having been summoned to the Bar by the Usher of the Black Rod, the Right Honourable Gentleman shortly afterwards appeared, attended, or rather pushed forward, by a formidable body of Members, who appeared to set all etiquette at defiance in their anxiety to obtain a look at her Majesty.

The SPEAKER then addressed her Majesty as follows:—Most Gracious Sovereign, we, your Majesty's faithful Commons, approach your Majesty with sentiments of unfeigned devotion and loyalty. It has been our most anxious desire, in granting the supplies for the present year, to place at the disposal of your Majesty the means by which the naval and military establishments of the country might be placed in a state of complete efficiency, and we entertain a strong conviction that by thus enabling your Majesty to maintain the honour of the Crown, and protect the just rights and interests of the people, we have adopted a course which, under the favour of Divine Providence, will ensure both to this country and the rest of Europe a continuance of the blessings of peace.

We now tender to your Majesty an Act to apply certain sums of money for the service of the year 1841, and to appropriate the supplies granted in this Session of Parliament, to which, in all humility, we pray your Majesty's gracious assent.

The Royal Assent was then given, in the usual form, to the following Bills:—

The Appropriation Bill, the Militia Pay Bill, the Bills of Exchange Bill, the Punishment of Death Bill, the Bribery at Elections Bill, the Controverted Elections Trial Bill, the Highway Rates Bill, the Loan Societies Bill, and Mad Houses (Scotland) Bill, the Blackburn Market Bill, the Bourne Drainage Bill, and some other private Bills.

The LORD CHANCELLOR then presented the Speech to her Majesty on his knee, which the Queen read in her usual clear and distinct manner, with a very marked and decided emphasis on the passage which referred to the exigencies of the public service being provided for in the manner *least* burdensome to the community.

THE SPEECH.

"MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

"On a full consideration of the present state of public affairs I have come to the determination of proroguing this Parliament with a view to its immediate dissolution.

"The paramount importance of the trade and industry of the country, and my anxiety that the exigencies of the public service should be provided for in the manner least burthensome to the community, have induced me to resort to the means which the Constitution has entrusted to me, of ascertaining the sense of my people upon matters which so deeply concern their welfare.

"I entertain the hope that the progress of public business may be facilitated, and that divisions injurious to the course of steady policy and useful legislation may be removed by the authority of a new Parliament, which I shall direct to be summoned without delay.

"GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

"I thank you for the readiness with which you have voted the sums necessary for the Civil and Military Establishments.

"MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

"In the exercise of my prerogative I can have no other object than that of securing the rights, and promoting the interests of my subjects, and I rely on the co-operation of my Parliament, and the loyal zeal of my people, for support in the adoption of such measures as are necessary to maintain that high station among the nations of the world, which it has pleased Divine Providence to assign this country."

The LORD CHANCELLOR then said:—It is her Majesty's Royal will and pleasure that this Parliament be prorogued to Tuesday, the 29th of June instant, to be then here holden, and this Parliament is accordingly prorogued till Tuesday, the 29th of June.

Her Majesty and her attendants then quitted the House in the same order as they had entered it.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, FRIDAY, JUNE 18.

Several private Bills were read a third time and passed.

The report of the Committee on the Fine Arts was brought up and ordered to be printed.

The Bills of Exchange Bill and the Loan Societies Bill went through a Committee.

The Court of Chancery Bill was read a third time and passed.

On the order of the day for taking into consideration the Lords' amendments to the Waddon Chase Enclosure Bill, some discussion took place.

Mr. WARBURTON moved that it be read a third time that day three months, on the ground that it was an undue interference with the rights of parties who had a right of commonage over the chase.

Sir T. FREMANTLE and Mr. ESTCOURT defended the Bill.

On a division there appeared—for the amendment, 18; against it, 31.

The Lords' amendments were then agreed to.

In answer to Sir Francis Burdett,

Lord JOHN RUSSELL said the Government had not abandoned its intention to ask the assent of the House to a vote for a sum of money to raise a monument to Sir Sidney Smith and some other distinguished officers, but circumstances had occurred which had rendered it unadvisable to bring forward any supplemental vote for such a purpose during the present session.

In answer to Lord Robert Grosvenor, who complained of the delay experienced by travellers on the Grand Junction Railway,

Mr. SHIEL said he would be prepared to give the Noble Lord some explanation on Monday.

The Lords' amendments to the Banks' of Issue Bill were agreed to.

On the motion of Lord INGESTRIE, an address to the Crown was agreed to for a new survey of the coast of New Zealand.

Adjourned till Monday.

Tuesday, June 22.

The SPEAKER took the chair shortly before two o'clock.

Sir J. HOBHOUSE presented a petition from a place in Wiltshire, in favour of a total repeal of the Corn Laws.

Sir R. INGLIS presented a petition from Chelsea, favour of Church Extension.

Mr. HAWES presented nineteen petitions from various parts of the metropolis against the present Corn Laws.

Mr. ESTCOURT wished to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer if he had made any provision out of the supplies for the next six months for the payment of the half-year's salary due to the Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER could assure the Hon. Member that if no provision had been made in the usual way for the payment of the salary of the Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, it was not from any feeling at that Gentleman, but from the state of the Session. He would however take care that some measure was adopted for the payment of the salary forthwith.

The subject then dropped.

Mr. M. O'CONNELL presented a petition from Kilkenny against the Medical Reform Bill.

Mr. DUGDALE presented a petition from Birmingham, signed by 10,700 persons, praying for Church Extension.

The Deputy Usher of the Black Rod then entered the House, and summoned the Commons to attend her Majesty in the House of Lords.

The SPEAKER, accompanied by all the Members present then left the House, and on his return, read her Majesty's Speech at the table.

Several Hon. Members then shook hands with the Speaker, and the House separated.

TO THE CHARTISTS OF SCOTLAND GENERALLY, AND THE SCOTTISH FRIENDS OF BRONTERRE O'BRIEN IN PARTICULAR.

BROTHER RADICALS,—You are probably aware that some few months ago a committee was formed in Leeds for the purpose of raising funds to present Mr. Bronterre O'Brien, upon his liberation, with a national testimonial in the form of a newspaper printing press and appendages. Consequent upon an address issued by that committee, in the *Northern Star*, a number of auxiliary committees have been formed in various places throughout England. One was lately formed in this city, under the auspices of the Chartist Association; and it is that committee who now address you.

From the nature of the subject, we have little more to do than to bring it prominently before you. Bronterre's great merits, his valuable services as a public writer, and his sufferings in the cause of truth and justice, are too generally known—and we hope appreciated—to require that we should enlarge upon them. Were it merely to show our sense of, and gratitude for, these services, it behoved us to do something in this way. His enemies have taken care to give him some tangible proofs of their regard; and so we think should his friends—and this the more especially that, in doing so, we will not only put an instrument into his hands more efficient than he has ever yet had, to do us further service, but will even prevent his powerful aid from being entirely lost to us; for we need not conceal from you the fact, that upon the success of this scheme depends whether he is to continue, as he has so long been, the able, dauntless, and successful pioneer of a better order of things in this country, or be forced to exile himself to another. When these are the alternatives, it surely requires no deliberation to determine how we should act.

As to the mode of raising funds, it would be out of place for us to dictate. It was suggested to ourselves, we approved of it, and now suggest to you, that a good way might be to form committees in large towns for collecting subscriptions, getting up soirees, &c.; while smaller places in the neighbourhood could remit their collections to these committees, who would in turn communicate with the general committee, at Leeds.

Up, men of Scotland, and be doing! You have nobly contributed your share to the call upon you for the victimised Chartists. How much more is it your duty to come forward, and aid a scheme which will not only prove an antidote to Whig tyranny, in so far as one Whig victim is concerned, but will do more for myriads of Whig victims, the oppressed millions and their posterity, than has yet been done. Viewed as an individual case, the claim upon you is undeniable; but viewed as the cause of the industrious classes generally, it would be folly, as well as black ingratitude, not to give it your warmest aid.

We have taken the liberty to bring the matter before you, being, so far as we know, the only committee formed in Scotland; and such things must emanate from some quarter. We have ourselves already succeeded as well as we could have expected; and we trust that each and all of you will set zealously to work. O'Brien will be out by the 24th of September, at farthest. Let us have something ready for him that will in some small measure compensate for the sufferings of the last eighteen months, as well as for the incessant labour and toil of the last ten years. Let no place, however small, or individual, however poor, keep back because they can do but little. It is drops that fill the ocean; and in a matter of this kind, provided the fund be raised, the more contributors to it the better.

We shall be happy to receive and acknowledge, through our secretary, any sums that may be forwarded from individuals in the country, or small clubs; and we have no doubt that other committees speedily to be formed will do the same.

In this matter, Scotland expects every man to do his duty.

(Signed) W. ALLAN, Chairman.
EDWARD SUTCLIFFE.
J. CUMMINS.
D. MACLEOD.
A. MACGREGOR, Sec.
JAMES HUNTER.
PETER ANDERSON.
CHARLES INNES.
HENRY RANKEN.
THOMAS BLACKIE.

Edinburgh Committee Room,
June 14, 1841.

N.B. The Secretary of the Leeds Committee is Mr. John Ogden, 39, Marlborough-street, Leeds, who will communicate all information. The Secretary of the *Edinburgh Committee to be* addressed at No. 114, High-street, Edinburgh.

More Young Patriots.

Christened, in the Parish Church, Willand, by the Rev. H. Manley, Feargus, son of John and Charlotte Copp.

William and Nancy Goulding, of Blakeley-street, Bolton, had their infant son duly registered James Feargus O'Connor, on the 24th May ult.

Christened at Blyth Church, on the 24th of May, the son of Mr. George Bird, by the name of Feargus George Bird, in honour of that sterling friend of the people, Feargus O'Connor, Esq., it being the first that has taken place in that part of Northumberland.

Mrs. Smith, the wife of Mr. Wm. Dudley Ward Smith, has been delivered of twins, a boy and a girl, who have been duly registered Feargus O'Connor Thomas Smith, and Maria Frost Smith.

A few days ago, Mary, the wife of Mr. Jonas Wilkinson, of Clayton Heights, was safely delivered of a son, which was registered on Saturday by the name of Feargus O'Connor Wilkinson. What is most singular in this family is, that it is the twelfth living child that she has given birth to, and they are all in health, and are living with their parents.

Born at Edinburgh, on the 2nd of June, and baptised by the Rev. Wm. Bruce, of Cowgate Church, on the 20th, Charles Feargus, the son of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Hunter of that city.

MANCHESTER ATTEMPTED MASSACRE.

LETTER FROM THE WHIG VICTIM, WHEELER, TO FEARGUS O'CONNOR.

"The world is my country, and to do good my religion."
PAINE.

MY DEAR FEARGUS,—Owing to the various reports in circulation, methinks you will like to have the plain facts from old Wheeler himself, which are as follow:—

About half-past one, on Saturday, June the 5th, returning home to dinner, I found our friends from Oldham, waiting in Tib-street, and in a few minutes I proceeded with them to the place of meeting, intending as soon as things were settled to leave them in the Hall, and return to my labour. On arriving at the end of Oldham-street, a procession of Forresters were going by, and which, of course, delayed our procession for ten or fifteen minutes, during which time an Irishman, whom I do not know, often urged us to push forward; but myself and a man by the name of Johnson, and Mr. Smethurst, of Oldham, determined after the affray on Wednesday, that nothing should be offered on the part of the Chartists to serve as a pretext to disturb the peace.

While the procession remained, I stepped into Piccadilly, and was hailed by some of our friends that asked me, "who were the parties that had taken the Hall?" for they believed the money had not been paid. A person replied "Mr. Mahon had taken it, but did not pay for it." They then asked me to go back and borrow the money from some friend, as they had not then wherewith to pay for it. I told them I had promised to accompany Mr. Smethurst and his men to the Carpenter's Hall, and I could not think of going back without first performing my promise. The answer was, "Wheeler, you can go and open the Hall, and the man will take your word until such time as you fetch the money, which will not be more than half an hour." This I agreed to do. The Forrester's procession had by this time all moved by, and we proceeded along Piccadilly and Portland-street, at the end of which we were stopped by reports that the brutes were at the end of Carpenter's Hall, and had been running Charles Connor, no doubt to bludgeon him. After a few minutes halt, during which Mr. Mahon came up, and I wished Johnson to go with him to open the Hall, but he said stop till we get a little farther. We again proceeded until we came near the canal bridge, in David-street, where a number of people was returning from the Hall with various reports that caused an instant halt,—some of the reports went to state that special care must be taken of the band, as the villains were determined to break every instrument. They, therefore, deemed it advisable to withdraw the band, and likewise the females who formed a part in the procession. During the confusion, occasioned by the above reports,, myself and a few friends made the best of our way towards the Hall, leaving the procession behind. We were again stopped by the crowd, and while there pausing, an individual said "If the Hall was opened, all would be right." I then perceived Mahon at my elbow, who said to me "come on." We proceeded along the pavement but a short distance when I saw the infuriated scoundrels flourishing their bludgeons in a fiend-like manner, over their heads; and in the next moment I saw a villain whom I believe to be Finnagan, pointing to myself and Mahon. I said "Do you see that Finnagan pointing us out." Mr. Mahon said "Never mind him, come on." Mahon had now stepped six or seven yards in advance of me, and was in the next instant attacked by six of the ruffians who stepped out of the main road for the purpose. It was but the work of a few seconds when I again distinctly saw the same villain whom I believe to be Finnagan pointing from Mahon to myself, no doubt a signal for their attack upon me, for no sooner was it given than three of those who were belabouring Mahon, left him and came to me, when they, with six others which had come out of the main road, making nine in number, fell upon me, and in an assassin-like manner aimed several blows at me, when one stepped from amongst the rest, and with a blow felled me to the ground. The moment I was down, one of the brutes exclaimed, "Pull off his hat, and let us have a fair slap at the old b——'s bare head." This they did; and having taken it off, they threw it in the air, shouting at the time, as if in triumph: they began to beat me over the head and body, which did not end until they considered I had a sufficiency to deprive me of life. I attempted to regain my walking-stick, which fell from my hand when I was first knocked down; but one of the villains saw me, and kicked me over the elbow, and by that means wrenched it from my grasp.

Having finished me, as they thought, one of the monsters exclaimed, "He'll tell no more tales in the *Star*;" and one, more fiendish than the rest, while I lay bleeding on the ground, gave a jump and upper-cut with it, which inflicted a very deep incision in the back part of my head, at the same time exclaiming, "*Ah, sa ma dheal*," of which words I have since learnt the meaning to be, "Your soul to the Devil." After this, I was taken from the ground, but by whom I know not, for it was dangerous for any person to so far sympathise for me; and I was therefore transferred from one friend to another, until we arrived in Granby Row, the blood flowing copiously from my head all the while.

From this time I have but a slight recollection of what took place, until I reached the Infirmary, where there were several more waiting to get their wounds dressed. The surgeon immediately came to me, and said, "This man must not go home to-night," and ordered me to be washed, dressed, and put to bed, which was done accordingly.

Too much praise cannot be given to Mr. Furniford, the house surgeon, for his kind attention to me night and day, and to whom my wife and four helpless children owe a debt of gratitude, for the saving of my life. It was not until the Friday following that he pronounced me out of danger, and on Saturday he kindly offered me to return home, which I readily accepted.

And now, my dear Feargus, I am in a fair way of recovery, trusting it will not be long ere I shall be able to take my part with my fellow-labourers in the great cause of democracy, and to convince the tools that "club" law cannot alter truth and justice, is the sincere desire of

The Old Veteran,
(As M'Douall calls me, and I now will adopt it,)
And yours truly in the cause,
J. WHEELER.

9, Whittle-street, Manchester,
June 20th, 1841.

P.S. I hear the villain Finnagan does not deny having told me to "Prepare to meet my God," but said it was but a joke. Such jokes had nearly deprived me of life, and left my wife without a husband, and my children without a father. And as my labour is their only support, I fear the New Poor Law Bastile would have been their lot, which I dreaded more than meeting my God.

J. W.

MR. O'BRIEN ON THE ELECTION MOVEMENTS.

Lancaster Castle, June 22nd, 1841.

MY DEAR BOWMAN,—I see by the *Northern Star* of Saturday last, that the Editor has promised "*to reason with Mr. O Brien*," &c. &c., in his next number,—with a view, no doubt, of *reasoning* you, and me, and all who think with us, *out* of our opposition to the new pro-Tory Chartist heresy. I hope he will not do so. I hope he will better employ his valuable time and talents. I hope, instead of vainly endeavouring to convince me that black is white, and that Chartism is not the antipodes of Toryism, he will endeavour to get the country to act, at the approaching elections, the part we have *both* recommended—the part to which we all stand pledged by the Manifesto of the first Convention—and which has already received the sanction and promised support of innumerable public meetings, *at no one of which did any Chartist leader, great or small, ever dare to propound the infamous policy of chaining the Chartist body to the chariot wheels of either faction (Whig or Tory) to swell their triumph at the expence of our own degradation, and*, as it were, *in mockery of our own political impotence and nonentity*. By following up his own excellent advice, and the country's excellent resolve, to create a national representation by the show of hands' suffrage at the coming elections, the Editor of the *Star* may *even yet* effect a world of good for us. By reasoning with me in favour of pro-Tory Chartism, he will effect none at all; for I promise him before hand, through you, that his reasoning will have no more weight with me, than mine has had upon him.

In his mode of dealing with my letters, and in the few comments he has appended to them, I see much to *admire*, and much to *regret*. I admire the frankness and promptitude with which he has given insertion to opinions adverse to his own, (and that too, at great length, and involving the inconvenience of a second edition,) I admire this unequivocal manifestation of his love of fair play; I also admire his deference to public opinion in subjecting his own dogmas to that tribunal, and consenting to abide by its award. I admire the complete absence of egotism, personality, and dictation, which characterises his few remarks, and, above all, I admire the friendly feeling and spirit of good fellowship with which he has met my opposition. All those are goodly features not often found in editorial controversy, and for which the Editor of the *Star* (however he may have behaved towards others) is entitled to my best thanks, at any rate, as regards the present subject in dispute. But I regret that, in estimating the comparative merits of my opinion and his own, he should affect to regard mine as only that of [illegible], and his own as that of the great majority of the Chartist public. To this I demur *in toto*. I deny that his opinion on the point at issue between us, is the opinion of the Chartist public. I deny that what I call the new "pro-Tory Chartist heresy" is the established faith of the Chartist body in general; and I most vehemently protest against his covert attempt to isolate me from the congregation I claim communion with, by not only exhibiting my opinion as that of an individual separatist, but also making me appear in the invidious light of dogmatising to my brother Chartists. 'Tis true, my opposition to the policy of supporting Tories at the elections, *for the [illegible] of turning out Whigs*, is my own independent opinion, but I know that it is also the independent opinion of thousands of the best Chartists all over the country—of men who are as incapable of being dictated to by me, as I am of taking my opinions on trust from them.

I will bet the Editor of the *Star* what he likes, that he could not get five Charter electors in Brighton to vote for a Tory, merely to put out Captain Pechell, although almost every man of them would support a Chartist candidate against even Captain Pechell. There is an example in the South. Now, take one in the North.

There are four candidates in the field for Preston, two Tories, viz:—Parker and Swain, and two Liberals, viz:—Sir G. Strickland, and Sir H. Fleetwood. About a week ago, the four gentlemen were waited upon by a deputation of four persons from the Chartist Association, to be tested as to their opinions, touching extension of the Suffrage, release of Chartist victims, recal of Frost, Williams, and Jones, &c. &c. Well, the result was, that the Tories would give no pledge in favour any Chartist demand—they thought the Suffrage "*too much extended already!*"—that Frost, Williams, and Jones, were "*justly punished*," &c.—and the other Chartist victims "*treated as they deserved*," &c. &c. The Liberals promised to go as far as Household Suffrage, the Ballot, Triennial Parliaments, &c., and to vote for the liberation and restoration of the Chartist victims. Upon this a public meeting was instantly held, at which 13,000 people were present, including all the principal Chartists of Preston, and their opinion taken as to the course to be followed. The result was an all but unanimous vote of both the electors and non-electors present, to support the Liberals and keep out the Tories, if possible!! What will the *Star* say to this? I will bet the Editor what he likes, that not ten Chartist electors will support the Tory candidates at the Preston election, although there were a good Chartist candidate in the field, he would have all the non-electors, and a very respectable minority, if not a majority, of the electors. Here are two striking instances of the error of the Editor of the *Star*, in supposing that the policy he recommends is sanctioned by the Chartist body, in general. I have given him two; but I could as easily give him twenty. His other errors I shall notice next week, when I have seen what he has got to say.

Yours, &c.
JAMES B. O'BRIEN.

To Readers and Correspondents.

THE LENGTH *at which we have given the important Leeds meeting, the elections, and immense influx of Chartist and other news, has shut out, this week, a large mass of most interesting matter, much of which we would have gladly given, but are unable to cram it in. O! for our daily paper! Our readers have no idea of the misery of having but one weekly paper for the whole people.*

MR. O'CONNOR *will cheerfully accept the offer of his Burnley fustian friends, but only upon one condition, that is, that he shall be allowed to pay all the expence.*

MR. O'CONNOR AND THE BARNSLEY IRISH CHARTISTS.—*We feel convinced that the state of our columns this week, and the recollection of the fact that the elections are all but on, will plead our excuse for the non-publication of their address and signatures this week. It shall be attended to upon the very earliest opportunity.*

ERRATUM.—*In Mr. O Connor's reply to one of the "fustain-jacket and check-shirt Chartists, comical men of Marylebone," inserted in our last, for "*comical*" men, read* councilmen.

G. GRANT, BANBURY, *may obtain Hill's Lectures on English Grammar, through the medium of any bookseller, from Mr. J. Cleave, of London. Mr. W. Hill has not yet published his New System of Short Hand Writing, but intends doing so shortly.*

P. W. BUCHANAN.—*His verses are declined.*

J. BLUNT, HADFIELD, *has sent us a letter about some religious mountebank, called Slater, for the chronicleing of whose pious mendacity we connot find room.*

JOHN MULLOLLON.—*We have given notice twenty times over that we never preserve rejected communications: parties who wish copies must keep them.*

P. VALANTINE.—*We are sorry he is angry, but cannot help it.*

J. W. PARKER, LONDON, *writes thus:—"We have 200,000 working men in this wen of corruption; and if the so-called leaders would but unite upon principle, and principle alone, I am persuaded we should, in a very short time, have the massive portion with us; as the late great meeting at the Crown and Anchor proved that the great mass are essentially democratic, but unfortunately we have been destroyed by dissension. I implore the active Chartists to unite, and in this, the eleventh hour, to give our enemies a drubbing, and scout every man from their ranks who would attempt to destroy the influence of each other in the good cause. Now is the time for every good Chartist to prepare himself for the coming struggle; and when the elections are over, we shall be able to turn our attention to the liberation of Messrs. O'Connor and O'Brien, and escort them into London with at least 150,000 men—not so much for them personally, as to show the attachment of the people to the principles for which they have suffered: if so, we shall soon have the Charter. I hope the Chartists of London will at once unite, and carry out the above objects, as well as to assist the patriots, Vincent and M'Douall, and send their mites to Mr. J. Cleave, treasurer to the Metropolitan Election Committee.*

"A FOE TO THE BASTILES."—*There is no law against his having his verses printed and posted on the walls.*

P. D. SNIFF.—*Yes.*

G. M., SOUTHAMPTON.—*His verses are declined.*

W. SWATTON.—*His verses are declined.*

T. LORDING.—*We have no room for his letter to "Publicola:" the proper vehicle for it is the* Weekly Dispatch.

G. A. NEWELL *must excuse us; we have not room.*

C. REYNOLDS, PENZANCE, *acted very foolishly in refusing to fill up the schedule. We love an adherence to principle; we like to see it holden with prudence.*

PORTSEA RADICALS.—*Their address to operative shipwrights must stand over, at least for the present.*

A WOOLWICH CADET *shall appear as soon as we have room.*

CHARLES CROSS.—*The Gateshead Meeting of the 16th we received on the 24th. Rather too late.*

JOHN ROBINSON, *Mossley, is entitled to the Plates.*

S. U., T. C., & E. R., CARRINGTON.—*The Plates were sent wrong directed. Messrs. Shearman and Co, carriers by railway, were applied to some time ago, and they then promised to forward them from the place they had been sent to.*

J. D., PORTSEA.—*Send 1s. 6d.*

A CHARTIST AND COMMERCIAL TRAVELLER, NORWICH, *is very much mistaken with respect to the agency for the* Star *in other towns. Our rule is, to supply any person who pays in advance according to the terms we give them.*

J. A. HOGG.—*Call upon Mr. John Cleave, Shoe-lane, London, for the Plates wanted.*

W. EDWARDS.—*If the papers are addressed to Pontypool, they will be there with the others. The papers for both places leave Leeds at the same time.*

CHARLES M'KAY.—*Send the account in full, including this week's number.*

G. WHITE.—*Cannot be acknowledged till received.*

M. WILSON, WREXHAM.—*The error in Mr. France's Papers was at the office.*

J. SMITH, PLYMOUTH.—*Ten, from Feargus O'Connor to Attwood, inclusive.*

FOR THE WIVES AND FAMILIES OF THE INCARCERATED CHARTISTS.

	£.	s.	d.
From the Loughborough Chartists	0	5	0
Collected by a few friends at the Bell and Bear Inn, Shelton, Staffordshire ...	0	4	6

FOR MR. HOEY.

From a few friends in Alnwick	0	13	6

POLITICAL PRISONERS' AND CHARTER CONVENTION FUND.

From a few friends in Aberdeen, per J. Legge	0	1	6

FOR MRS. FROST.

From J. Radford, of Wiiland, Devon ...	0	1	0

FOR THE GENERAL EXPENCES OF CHARTIST CANDIDATES AT THE NEXT ELECTIONS.

From a few constant readers at Parkfield, Middleton, near Manchester ...	0	3	6

Election Movements.

COVENTRY.—A handbill was pretty freely distributed about this city, announcing that the Right Hon. E. Ellice would address the electors of this city at six o'clock this (Monday) evening. The Honourable Gentleman made his appearance from the balcony of the Craven Arms Hotel, at the time specified, accompanied by a good muster of shopocrats and manufacturers; and we should think there could not be less than two thousand working men present. This Poor Law Whig Member made three ineffectual attempts to address the people; and, while so doing, his friends in the room held a secret conclave, and advised him to rally the town, to drive his opponents before them. This, however, was more easily talked about than effected. He was from six o'clock till nine making innumerable efforts to speak; but only able to articulate, audibly, the word "Gentlemen" each time.

HAWICK, JUNE 22.—John E. Elliot, brother to the Earl of Minto, our present county member, has this day, after canvassing the county, declared the contest hopeless, and that he retires, leaving the field clear for his opponent Francis Scott, the nominee of the Duke of Buccleugh. J. E. Elliot was one of those very liberal gentlemen who voted against the release of the political prisoners.

BIRMINGHAM ELECTION.—Muntz and Scholefield are in the field on the "Liberal" interest, as it is termed, and Richard Spooner stands forth as the Conservative Candidate. The walls of the town are literally covered with bills from both parties; one of them, signed Thos. Attwood, informs the people that they are now about to receive the benefits of the liberty which they have achieved, namely, PROSPERITY. Poor Tom, he'll find it is "no go." The Chartists are awake, and are determined to start two working men for the show of hands.

MEETING OF ELECTORS.—A meeting of electors, called by placard, was held on Tuesday last, at Bindley's (late Beardsworth's) Repository, for the purpose of hearing Mr. Spooner state his political creed. He was closely questioned by Mr. Thomson, on the suffrage question, and declared himself opposed to any further extension. Alderman Weston, Messrs. Douglas, M'Donnell, and others, who are favourable to the return of the present members also took part in the business. Mr. George White addressed the meeting also, although the chairman, Mr. Alston, at first refused him an hearing. He denounced both factions, and showed that whether a Whig, Tory, or "Liberal" was returned, they would equally oppress the people, and exposed the folly and deception of those who talked about an extension of the suffrage.

CARLISLE.—A very active canvass is now going on for the Eastern Division of the county. In addition to the old Members, William James, Esquire, of Barrick Lodge, and Charles Howard, Esquire, son of the Earl of Carlisle, and brother of Lord Morpeth, there is a William W. Stephenson, Esquire, of Scaleby Castle, who it appears is a high Tory. The general opinion is, that Mr. James will be rejected by the freeholders of the Eastern Division, as he is looked upon as the enemy of the farmer, being in favour of an alteration in the Corn Laws, and a thick and thin supporter of the present Government. He is, moreover, a cold-blooded Malthusian, who would starve the people to death by the accursed New Poor Law. On Saturday last, the present Members for the borough, William Marshall, Esquire, and P. H. Howard, Esquire, issued addresses to the electors, calling upon them for a continuation of their support. A Sergeant Goulburn is talked of coming forward in the Tory interest. The Chartists are actively engaged in forming committees, and using every exertion to bring forward a Chartist, who will legally contest the borough. Should a coalition take place between the Tories and the Chartists, there is a great probability of pulling out one, if not both, of our present Members.

WORCESTER.—Mr. Robert Hardy is in the field here on Universal Suffrage principles. We give the following from his excellent and manly address:—"In announcing myself a candidate for the representation of the City of Worcester, I do so without having consulted any person, or having been solicited by any party. As I have always considered canvassing disgraceful to the candidate, and insulting to the electors, I shall neither degrade myself nor insult you by asking any of you which way you mean to vote; and as I shall not expend one shilling more than the law compels, I shall leave the choice entirely in the hands of the electors, which is where it ought to be. I shall now give my opinion on some of our national affairs, both in Church and State. My religion I take from the Bible, and that alone, therefore my Church is never in danger; and I cannot find, in any part of either the Old or New Testament, any authority for man to make a religion for himself, or a Government to make a religion for the nation. I, therefore, consider all national religions anti-Christian in principle, and all history proves them to be decidedly so in practice. My politics I take from the same source as my religion. The Bible tells me I should love my neighbour as myself, and to do unto every one as I would wish them to do unto me: this command is as binding in all national transactions as it is in the affairs of private life; therefore, he that professes to believe Christianity, and denies his neighbour the same right in making those laws he is bound to obey equally with himself, only proves that he disbelieves what he professes, or does not mean to practise it. I say, the right is, or ought to be, in the man, and not in the property; I, therefore, wish every man that has not been found guilty of crime to have a vote. I object to all wars, and to standing armies, as the working tools of tyranny and oppression: one-half of what is expended to keep up these hired bands for the purpose of destroying their fellow-men would be sufficient to give the whole of the rising generation a good moral and scriptural education. I am opposed to all taxes on articles of consumption; property alone ought to bear all the burdens of the state." The Chartists of this place have determined that the Solicitor-General, late Sergeant Wilde, shall not go unopposed, and have invited Mr. George White, of Birmingham, to tell him some of his evil doings.

NEWCASTLE.—At a public meeting of the electors and other inhabitants of Newcastle, held on Thursday, the 17th, Mr. Byrne, in a very eloquent speech, moved the following resolution, which was seconded by Mr. Sinclair, and carried unanimously, namely, "That the present weak but wicked administration being no longer able to govern the country, it behoves the people, when thus appealed to, to mark their sense of the tyrannical, foolish, and hypocritical course pursued by the Whig government, and to use their best exertions to thrust them from their bad empeum, and to prevent their return to power until it becomes useful to the people." Mr. Mason moved the second resolution, which was seconded by Mr. Crothers, and carried, namely, "That Jas. O'Brien, Esq. is a fit and proper person to represent this borough in Parliament, and that the Chairman be authorised on behalf of this meeting to request Mr. O'Brien to become a candidate for the suffrages of this borough at the ensuing election." Mr. Mason very beautifully eulogised upon the talents of Mr. O'Brien, and his attachment to the cause of truth, and showed the benefit which would be derived by the middle classes and industrious classes in sending such sterling characters as Mr. O'B. to represent them in Parliament. Mr. Fainlough moved the third resolution, which was seconded by Mr. Bruce, and carried with two dissentients, "That the meeting cannot find epithets sufficiently strong to repudiate the cowardly, brutal, and bloody conduct of the Whig ministerial clique in hiring bludgeon-men to enforce their unreasonable and treacherous arguments at the recent meeting in Manchester." Thanks and three cheers being given to the chairman for his conduct in the chair; three cheers for the Charter; three cheers for O'Connor, O'Brien, and all the incarcerated and exiled patriots, the meeting separated about half-past ten. The Council of the Charter Association meet every Monday evening, at eight o'clock, in their own Room, Chancellor's Head Yard, Newgate-street, instead of Tuesday evenings, as formerly. Mr. Turnbull, of the firm of D. France, and Co. booksellers, foot of Butcher Bank, was duly elected treasurer for the election fund for the return of Mr. O'Brien to Parliament.

BANBURY.—The Whigs are quite chop-fallen, and are driven to their old trick of hurling calumny and misrepresentation at their opponents. They are certainly "hard up," when they have no other chance of making their way, except by representing Vincent as a physical-force man, a denouncer of the shopkeepers, traders, &c.; while the whole country know that Vincent never either countenanced violence or offered the least insult to the shopkeepers. Yet we have the pleasure to state that Vincent stands unscathed, and can smile at the imbecility of the clique who oppose him. Men of Banbury, do your duty, and shew the factions that you are "up to the mark!"

Local and General Intelligence.

BARNSLEY.—Various efforts are making by the emissaries of the Messrs. Taylor to induce the men to return to work, but no satisfactory arrangement having been made with the committee, they very properly continue to stand out. We hope they will do so, and that the country will support them.

HYDE.—SERIOUS RIOTS BY THE HIRED IRISH BLUDGEONMEN.—In another paragraph, we have detailed the brutalities committed by the hired ruffians of the Corn Law "Plague" at Stockport; but, from the information we have since received, it would appear that Stockport is not the only place where these "worthies" are attempting to "bludgeon" the people into their views. At Hyde the outbreak has been much more serious. It originated shortly after a meeting, on Friday evening, at which an Irishman named Trainer delivered a a long and abusive lecture on the evils of the legislative union. This fellow denounced the English as enemies of old Ireland, and urged his hearers to obtain their liberties or die in the attempt. The day after, Saturday, the Irish employed in the construction of the Manchester and Sheffield Railway having received their pay, assembled at different public-houses, where they partook of liquor until intoxicated, then marched in the streets armed with picks, pokers, spades, bludgeons, and large pieces of iron, shouting as they proceeded, "Hurrah for O'Connell and Repeal—down with the b—y English." They assaulted every person they met, and many were wounded and bruised very severely. Their attacks were indiscriminate on men, women and children, nor did the houses of the inhabitants escape, but many of the peaceable English had their houses broken into, themselves assaulted, their windows and furniture destroyed. The police did their duty in the most active and praiseworthy manner, and they were ably assisted by Capt. Clark, R.N., of Hyde Hall. A person named Patrick Callaghan, who seemed to be their leader, was taken into custody, and has since been committed for trial. However, the English were determined on revenge, and in the heat of the moment forgot that the law in this country is yet enough to vindicate their wrongs and protect their rights. They assembled in large numbers, proceeded to the part of the town chiefly inhabited by Irish, broke their windows, destroyed their furniture, and beat the original assailants on them and their property. The magistrate abovenamed exerted all his influence to prevent the riot proceeding. He ran among the mob; he promised every exertion should be made to bring to justice those who had been guilty of violating the law; and he threatened that any of them who should be known to commit any violence, either to the persons or property of the Irish, would share a similar fate. His influence was exerted in vain, for during Sunday night and Monday almost every house in the town which was known, or could be ascertained to be occupied by an Irishman, was attacked—the inmates beaten, furniture destroyed, doors and windows broken, and in some instances the floors pulled up. The appearance of the town occupied by the Irish presents a complete wreck, and the damage done will fall heavily on the Hundred. Thus the Irish have reaped the harvest they were sowing for their fellow-townsmen. They have done incalculable mischief both to themselves and their neighbours. Nor can the conduct of the inhabitants who partook in the outrage be excused. They ought to have left the authorites to punish their assailants by law, and to have acted on the excellent and judicious advice of Captain Clark. In the course of Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday, nearly forty of the rioters have been apprehended, fourteen have been committed for trial, several have been bound over to keep the peace, and others have been summarily dealt with. There were no military in the neighbourhood, but two troops of the 8th hussars left Manchester on Tuesday morning, and are stationed within a short distance of the town. At the period of our last advices, all continued quiet.

STOCKPORT.—DEFEAT OF THE "BLOODIES."—On Friday evening last, the Irish O'Connellites began a row in this town of a like nature to the Stephenson's Square proceedings. The attacks made upon the English were retaliated, and the Irishmen were beat everywhere and on every occasion. The Association Room, Bomber's Brow, was guarded on Sunday, in consequence of the threats of the Repealers. On Monday afternoon, the Chartists of Stockport were determined to try who should have possession of the walk: a fearful excitement prevailed throughout the town. Messrs. Bairstow, Doyle, and Co. were surrounded by men determined to protect them from the attacks of the O'Connellites, as they went to the Association Room; and at every street crowds issued from all parts of the town to join the great procession, which reached from nearly the bottom to the top of the Hillgate. When the procession arrived at the bottom of Bomber's Brow, the Chartist speakers were hailed with deafening and enthusiastic applause, which caused the "bloodies" to quail. Mr. Doyle lectured to a most crowded audience on the Corn Laws. The repealers did not attempt any interruption, well knowing they would have been soundly thrashed if they had commenced any row. The authorities having found that the Chartists were not to be put down by the Whig hired tools, have issued a proclamation requesting all parties to be peaceable.

LEEDS.—BOROUGH ELECTION.—We understand that the nomination of candidates for this borough, will take place on Woodhouse-moor, on Wednesday next, and that the poll will be taken on the day following.

STALEYBRIDGE.—In consequence of the serious riots which occurred at Hyde, on Sunday, the magistrates of Staley Bridge requested the Chartists to postpone their lecture and discussion on the Corn Laws, which had been fixed for Tuesday evening, to a future occasion. The Chartists, ever ready to evince their love of peace, law, and order, at once consented, and the crowds of people who filled the streets leading to the chapel, being informed of the postponement, went quietly home. The magistrates paid all the expenses attendant on the postponement, and too much credit cannot be given them for this very prompt and yet conciliatory effort for the maintenance of public peace.

FROM OUR LONDON CORRESPONDENT.

Thursday Evening, June 24th.

THIS HAS BEEN a barren week, as regards any movement, save that of electioneering. The lads are all of them working hard, and with honour to themselves. Last night, Mr. W. Villiers Sankey addressed two numerous meetings; and, in the Tower Hamlets, the Fox got a good run, which ended by the Chartists cutting off the brush. This makes the second run this week, and all were up at the death. From Finsbury TOOKE has bolted, leaving the field open to the old representatives.

The various local elections which have taken place this week, have proved that the Whigs and Tories are united against the people. This was more particularly developed in St. Pancras, where the two factions joined and defeated the popular party in the election of district commissioners of paving in the Southampton locality.

The elections throughout the Metropolis for Members of Parliament come off next week. The nominations for Marylebone and the City of London are expected to be made on Tuesday next; and in the other Metropolitan Boroughs on Wednesday or Thursday, so that next week will be a week of *action*; and the men of London, it is hoped, will be up and doing.

TO THE UNREPRESENTED, AND THE ELECTORS OF THE WEST-RIDING OF THE COUNTY OF YORK.

GENTLEMEN,—I am called upon by the unanimous voice of a vast portion of your body, to offer myself as a Candidate to represent your Interests in Parliament at the approaching election.

I had not anticipated that you would confer upon so humble an individual as myself so high a honour.

I had hoped that this preference would have fallen to the lot of one of those Gentlemen, who, possessing qualities so superior to my own, are willing to serve you. But as you have thought fit to place me in this proud position, you may fully rely upon the exercise of my best exertions, if elected, to regenerate our sinking, our falling country.

Gentlemen, your choice has given the lie direct to the falsehoods propagated by the *Times* and *Mercury*, the two Whig organs of Leeds—namely, "that you had discarded me for the part I took in the late Election at Nottingham." It has proved that I still live in your confidence; that you have not changed your principles, as has been charged upon you by those calumniators who seem to regret exceedingly that you have thrown off the trammels of their party; that you have commenced business on your own account; that you have opened your eyes to their duplicity; that you cannot forget the promises made and broken during the period of their oppressions, and especially those during the agitation for "the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill," that it was only a step, and that so soon as by your aid they got it they would go on to the completion of reform, and to the consummation of Universal Suffrage. How did they redeem their pledge? Why, so soon as they obtained their pet measure, they turned round upon you and declared that reform had gone far enough; charged you with being in poverty and rags—said that you had not a Shilling of your own; that you were never satisfied; that the Reform Bill was a "final" measure, and that you would rob those who had property. With a bold front they informed you that you were too ignorant, and consequently unfit, to possess the franchise. You were wise enough and prudent enough while lifting the Whigs into power; but as soon as they were up, they kicked the ladder down, and there below you must remain, until you erect a ladder for yourselves and apply it to your own elevation.

The same faction, by a new cry of "Cheap Bread," and "Monopoly or no Monopoly," intend again to delude and betray you into their meshes, in order to proceed onward in lowering your condition still more, that they may compel you to continue to compete with foreigners, who, by comparison, are untaxed, while we are taxed to an unparalleled degree. They have unhesitatingly declared that their sole aim and objects are to lower the price of our goods, which can be done by no other means than lowering wages. A leading Member of the body, in his report of wages on the Continent, states that at Bonn, on the Rhine, the wages are only fourpence halfpenny for twelve hours' labour; and before we can successfully compete with them, wages in this country must be much lower; because one-half has to go in taxes: and when they can make no profit by your labour they may give you a few days or a few weeks grace in the bastile before sending you to rest in your graves.

The Poor Law Act was passed with the positive intention to compel the poor to live on a coarser kind of food. Continue the Whigs in office, and you will soon have none at all. And why this yell of "no monopoly" now? You must be aware with how small ceremony the Whig Government dismissed the mighty delegation of the Corn Law League, who were treated with scorn and indignity by the very men whom they are now, spaniel like, raising such a tumult from the "Land's End to John O'Groats" to keep in office. And have they given any public pledge to repeal the Corn Laws? None whatever. They do not intend it; they are themselves landed proprietors, and are as much opposed to the repeal as any of their more honest opponents. Their end and their aim is to enforce the New Poor Law, the Rural Police, and the full measure of continental centralisation; in fact, to uproot the last vestige of the small remnant of liberty remaining to us. Had they been honest in any beneficial declaration, they would have commenced the work of economy, retrenchment, reduction of monopolies, and the eradicating of every oppressive measure, when they took the reins of Government. Had they, instead of making puny reductions of taxes, part of which had lately been imposed by themselves upon principles of the highest refinement, viz., of taxing the taxes; had they then commenced and carried out real retrenchment, when they were backed by large majorities, instead of making false professions when their "occupation's gone," when they have sunk down to a minority and can effect nothing;—in short, had they been virtuous and honest men, they would now, instead of being held in scorn, contempt, and derision by every benevolent and intelligent being in the country, stand upon the proudest pinnacle of fame, enjoying the prayers, the blessings, and the gratitude of all, and would have been handed down in the pages of history as the greatest *benefactors* of the human race.

What a mockery it is now to tell us what they would do for us! and how deplorable it is to find so many who endure so much from their misrule, from ignorance and self-interest, following and supporting the vile faction! more especially as it is self-evident that what it has promised would constitute an evil—an injury instead of an advantage—to themselves.

Those men (the Whigs) gave twenty millions to themselves and others, as the price of our fellow-creatures—as a remuneration for the restoration to liberty of those human beings, whom they had stolen from the coast of Africa; and this while tens of thousands of white slaves remained, and still remain, in a worse condition than those black slaves who have been emancipated.

They have added largely to the public burdens during their period of office, and that, too, while we had all but perfect peace; the almost only foreign skirmish being against the inoffensive Chinese. And for what? To compel them to pay for that prohibited intoxicating article OPIUM, which had been smuggled by our merchants into their (the Chinese) country. Certainly, war upon such abhorrent pretensions never took place since the creation of the world.

While tens of thousands were starving, they granted to the Queen Dowager one hundred thousand pounds a year, and two or three palaces to reside in, making the old lady's income above above £2000 a week.

Thanks to our stars they were not permitted to give to the Queen's husband more than £30,000 a-year; they were resolved to give him £50,000.

They paid within a short period, about £2000 to carry through the country an army of blue unconstitutional troops to irritate instead of conciliate the oppressed people, who were seeking their rights in a more legal and constitutional manner than they themselves agitated for place and power; and for less grave offences than they themselves had committed, they imprisoned, tortured, and murdered the people's best friends. They gave £70,000 to build palaces for the Queen's and her husband's horses, £30,000 to educate a whole people, and between £60,000 and £70,000 to support three Commissioners, with their minions, expressly for the purpose of eradicating every constitutional principle, in order to oppress, degrade, insult, and starve the unfortunate poor. Had their course been as rapid and progressive onwards to right and justice, as it has been backward to merciless cruelty, we should have been the happiest nation upon earth; we should have been vieing with each other who should add most to the happiness of the whole, and every one might have lived under his own vine and fig-tree, none daring—none desiring to make him afraid. Instead of this, their accursed system of legislation has inspired only irritation, party rancour, envy, malice, and over-reaching of one another; and while the poor are in terror of the Bastiles and Rural Police, the rich are alarmed for an approaching crisis, in which life and property will be endangered, and which may result in revolution and anarchy. While our best artisans are being engaged by thousands to remove to the Continent and other countries, where they can produce goods much lower than here; while many thousands are leaving our shores on speculation, to find a home and a resting place for themselves and families, and are employed in many instances upon machines of our own manufacture which have been sent away by licenses granted by the Government;—this Government have, on the very eve of a dissolution become advocates of, not a Repeal of the Corn Laws, but of a fixed duty on all corn imported; while the League are for a *total* and *immediate* repeal. The consequence is that our trade and commerce are moving as rapidly from us into other countries, as they formerly moved from them to this country; *while the middle class who are rapidly sinking down to bankruptcy, seem as blind as beetles to the real cause*; and like Bedlamites, are pertinaciously working out their own destruction. They adhere to the greatest monopolists, and cry down with monopolies! while to all discerning men it is quite evident that skimming the surface will only add to our misery. We must commence at the root, and make a perfect clearance; we must take the Crown Lands from the hands of private individuals, and appropriate them to their legitimate purpose. The Church property, which, since the Eighth Harry dispossessed the Catholics of it, is, to all intents and purposes, public property, would, under any honest Government who advocated liberty of conscience, have been appropriated to public purposes, and all would then have worshipped in their own way unrestrained and untaxed, to support any other.

The standing Army and Rural Police must be abolished in time of peace; salaries, pensions, and places, must be economized. The debt contracted by the Whigs and the Tories combined, and mainly augmented by the same parties, to support the war of extermination in France, and miscalled the national debt, (but which in reality is the debt of the Aristocracy—of those who pledged their property and their lives in support of the war),—this incubus must be removed, and we must prove our superior intelligence by lowering the amount of public expenditure below all other governments.

Whenever this is effected, and not till then, can we have an advantageous free trade; then may we safely call for a clear stage and no favour; then with the essential accompaniment Universal Suffrage can we add to our own and to the happiness of the world! Much as the labourers of this country have been abused and calumniated they are more virtuous than any other class in the country, and unequalled in ingenuity and industry, by any people on the face of the globe; and as soon as justice is extended to them, they will rise in morals, possess comforts of which they have been debarred, and a new era will be commenced. Then let the faction which now governs be driven from power and we are safe; none other *can* carry out their treasonable plans—none else *can* carry into effect the continental system of coercion and centralization. Put them again at the head of a majority, and the most perfect system of slavery is established.

Reciprocity is the great and fundamental principle of free trade; hence, when it is established, the whole of the protective import duties must be abolished, as well on foreign manufactured goods as upon foreign grown corn; and with our present burdens, may I ask what would be the consequence? I beg to give you a short list of a few of the many articles of manufactured commerce, and the duty which must be paid upon them on being imported.

Wood turnery 30 per cent.; tiles 50 do.; pack thread 25 do.; starch £9 10s. per cwt.; snuff 6s. per lb.; crown glass, £8 6s. 8d. per cwt.; blacking £3 12s. 6d.; bricks £1 2s. 6d. per thousand; sheet glass £10 per cwt.; paper 9d. per pound; calf and kid tanned skins, 9d. per pound; clocks 25 per cent.; watches 25 per cent.; worsted yarns 6d. per pound; baskets 20 per cent.; women's boots and shoes 30s. and 36s. per dozen pairs; men's shoes £2 14s. per dozen; hats and bonnets of straw, from £3 3s. to £6 6s. per dozen; hard soap £4 10s. per cwt.; iron bars 30s. per ton; straw plat, 17s. per pound; books 25s. per cwt.

Were these articles and others to be allowed to be imported free, we should be inundated with foreign goods, and the home manufacturers and workmen driven to starvation. Now, many can only see cheap bread, but they must also have cheap imported goods, often ready to fit on to the body. The most splendid furniture, gilded frames, gloves, silks, ribbons, hardware, cutlery, &c., are being imported daily with these heavy duties; let them come free and we are done. Women's gloves pay 4s. and men's do. 5s. per dozen pairs; millboard, brown paper, and scaleboard pay £3s 8s. per cwt.; gold leaf, 3s. per hundred leaves; and whited brown thread 18s. per dozen pounds.

Throw off these and we become importers instead of exporters, and our workmen must seek shelter in *foreign* countries, or starve at home; while those who are the most noisy brawlers for "no monopoly" would be the first to suffer; and unless they will take council and go to the root at once they must be involved in ruin. Give every man a voice in the election of his representatives—establish universal right, Universal Suffrage—it has existed in this country; we ask for nothing new—establish equal laws and equal rights—and our nation will again flourish—our industrious population will speedily possess every means of comfort; their love for their dear, their native land, will then return; esteem and respect for one another, and good will to all, will abound in every class—in every heart—and replace animosity and rancorous feeling; while party spirit will vanish from the land. We shall rise from the existing system of devouring one another, not only to live who can, but to the good old plan of live and let live. Gentlemen, should I be returned to Parliament as your representative, my best exertions will be devoted to the great cause of universal redemption—to that line of action which, in my humble judgment, is best calculated to ensure the greatest possible happiness to all. I shall oppose any Government who does not extend the fullest protection to every human being within their dominions. I shall oppose, in every possible way, every attempt to establish monopoly in trade and legislation. My cause is the cause of the whole people. My only aim is universal good.

I am,
Gentlemen,
Your devoted friend and humble servant,
L. PITKETHLY.

Huddersfield, June 22, 1841.

THE UNEMPLOYED.—A correspondent writes us recommending a meeting to be called in every town in the West Riding, to ascertain the number of unemployed men, women, and children, and also every village; to send a delegate on the nomination day to Wakefield to ask the candidates whether people are to die of hunger, or machinery is to be assessed to keep them.

Forthcoming Chartist Meetings.

WEST RIDING.—Mr. George Julian Harney will lecture at the following places:—On Saturday, June 26, at Huddersfield; Monday, June 28, and Tuesday, June 29, at Barnsley; Wednesday, June 30, at Wakefield; and on Thursday, July 1, at Horbury.

SUNDERLAND.—Mr. Binns will lecture at the Life Boat House, on Sunday, in the afternoon, at half-past two, and Mr. Williams in the Golden Lion, at half-past six in the evening.

DARLASTON.—Mr. Candy lectures here on Monday evening.

WEDNESBURY.—Mr. Candy lectures in the Market Place on Tuesday evening.

WOLVERHAMPTON.—Mr. Candy lectures here on Wednesday evening.

BILSTON.—Mr. Candy lectures in the Ball Court on Thursday evening.

BLACKBURN.—Mr. Campbell, secretary to the executive will visit Blackburn, on Friday evening the 2nd of July, to lecture and establish an association. He wishes some person to meet him at the railway station.

PRESTON.—Mr. Campbell will address the Chartists at Preston on Saturday evening.

LANCASTER.—Mr. Campbell will visit Lancaster on Sunday, and will lecture to the Chartists if they can have a meeting in the evening.

BURY.—A discussion on Corn Law repeal is to come off here on Monday evening, between Mr. Bell, of Salford, and a Mr. Kempster, a Corn Law repealer.

THE STRIKE of the journeymen hatters in Lancashire has terminated. They have been out sixteen weeks, and at last have acceded to the masters' terms. It is calculated that no fewer than 5,000 persons have been out of employment for the above persiod, and that upwards of £40,000 in wages have been kept of circulation.

A POSER FOR ORTHOEPISTS.—A gentleman recently received the following bill from a tradesman. We copy it *verbatim et literatim* for the benefit of the curious:—

Mr.——,	Detr. to Jno. Smith
	s. d.
Anos	7 6
Atekenonomom	0 6
	8 0

The following is the translation of this singular document—"An oss," "A taking on him home." Who can say now that the schoolmaster has not been abroad to some purpose?—*Bude Light.*

IT HAS BEEN announced that Mr. William Power, the eldest son of Mr. Power, the comedian, (a passenger on board the unfortunate President) has received a government appointment in the Commissariat. The generous promptitude with which the office was conferred by Lord Melbourne is deeply appreciated by Mr. Power's family.

THE ARMSTRONG LIVER PILLS are recommended as an Anti-bilious medicine, to every sufferer from bilious complaints and indigestion, or from an inactive liver, and are procurable at all Druggists, and at the *Northern Star* office. It is only necessary to see that the stamp has "Dr. John Armstrong's Liver Pills" engraved on it in white letters, and to let no one put you off with any other pills.

N.B. The Pills in the boxes enclosed, in marbled paper, and marked B., are a very mild aperient, and are particularly and universally praised. They are admirably adapted for sportsmen, agriculturists, men of business, naval and military men; as they contain no mercury or calomel, and require neither confinement to the house, nor restraint in diet.

LOCAL MARKETS.

LEEDS CORN MARKET, JUNE 22.—The arrival of Wheat to this day's market is larger than last week, other kinds of grain smaller. The demand for Wheat has been limited, and barely supported last week's prices. There is very little doing in Oats and Beans, and no alteration in prices.

THE AVERAGE PRICES FOR THE WEEK ENDING JUNE 22ND, 1841.

Wheat.	*Barley.*	*Oats.*	*Rye.*	*Beans.*	*Peas.*
Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.
3479	131	701	9	185	4
£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
3 3 7½	1 9 6½	1 4 4	1 19 0	1 18 4	1 16 0

BRADFORD MARKETS, THURSDAY, JUNE 17.—*Wool.*—In this department much heaviness still exists; the demand continues very limited; and for both English and Foreign, the prices are gradually declining.—*Yarn.*—The continuance of short timeworking, which is now very general, is beginning to show its effect, and Yarns may be said to be less plentiful, yet still at the current rates there is no inducement for spinners to increase their operations.—*Piece.*—In consequence of the Riding candidates visiting this town, it has caused a deal of bustle, but we cannot learn that the manufacturers have been so busily employed in disposing of their goods. We are glad to learn that the stocks are comparatively low, and if the policy of the coming Parliament be liberal, we would indulge in the hope that the operatives may yet enjoy active employment.

MANCHESTER CORN MARKET, SATURDAY, JUNE 19.—The imports from Ireland with the exception of Flour, of which there are 1,721 sacks reported, are again only very limited; those of Wheat and Malt coastwise are to a fair extent. The foreign arrivals consist of 9,905 quarters of Wheat. The attendance at our market this morning was moderate, and as there were few samples of Wheat offering, holders were enabled to realise an advance of 2d. per 70lbs. For Flour we raise our quotations 1s. per 280lbs. with a tolerable free sale. In Oats or Oatmeal the transactions were limited; and we note a decline of 6d. per 240lbs. on the latter article. Beans brought an advance of 1s. per quarter. No change in the value of Malt.

RICHMOND, CORN MARKET, JUNE 19.—We had a good supply of Grain in our market to-day. Wheat sold from 8s. to 9s.; Oats, 2s. 10d. to 4s.; Barley, 3s. 9d. to 4s. 9d.; Beans; 4s. 6d. to 5s. 3d. per bushel.

LIVERPOOL CATTLE MARKET, MONDAY, JUNE 21.—The supply of stock at market to-day has been somewhat larger than the preceding week, and of middling good quality. There has been a pretty good demand for Beef, but for Mutton and Lamb the sales have been very dull, and a reduction in price on Mutton and Lamb was the result. Good Beef realized fully 7d., varying from that down to 6d. per lb. agreeable to quality. Wether Mutton may be quoted at from 6½d. down to 6d., inferior 5½d., and Lamb from 6d. to 6½d. per lb., sinking the offal. The principal part of the Beasts were sold up, but a great number of sheep and Lambs were left unsold at the close. Number of Cattle at market:—Beasts 614; Sheep and Lambs 9720.

LIVERPOOL CORN MARKET, MONDAY, JUNE 21.—The arrivals of British Grain, Flour, and Oatmeal into this port during the week are of very moderate amount. From abroad there are reported 9,900 quarters of Wheat, and 371 quarters of Peas; but duties have been paid upon only 440 quarters of Wheat, and 125 barrels of Flour. With an inanimate influx of supply, and a tolerable demand, we have to quote higher prices for most articles of the trade; 10s. has been paid for fine Rostock Wheat, 9s. 8d. to 9s. 10d. for good Baltic red, and 8s. 9d. to 9s. for Odessa, being 3d. per bushel above the rates obtainable at the close of last week. Of free Flour the stock is at a very low ebb, and 38s. to 39s. per barrel are the prices demanded for United States. In the early part of the week several parcels of Oats were cleared off to country buyers, and at Friday's market there were few offering; best mealing held at 3s. 1d. per 45lbs. Oatmeal has still met a slow sale, and no material change has occurred in its value. Grinding Barley has been in more request than for some time past; the middling qualities of free foreign have advanced 2d. to 3d. per bushel. Beans were also rather dearer. Peas unaltered in value. In bond there have changed hands from 3,000 to 4,000 barrels of United States Flour, at 22s. to 23s. per barrel, about 700 quarters of fine Baltic red Wheat at 6s. 4d. per 70lbs., and two cargoes of Egyptian Beans at 22s. per 480lbs., the latter to arrive.

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All Communications must be addressed, (Post-paid) to J. HOBSON, Northern Star Office, Leeds.

Saturday, June 26, 1841.