

MY DEAR FRIENDS—I am now about to lay before you the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth with respect to the dismission on Free Trade at Northampton. I shall lay the facts before you simply as they occurred. Firstly, then, the gallant fellows of Northampton, Long Buckby, Wellingborough, Daventry, Kettering, and the other villages of the county have proved to me that Charismism is deeply rooted in the soul of every working man. On Sunday night between eleven and twelve o'clock I arrived at the Blisworth station. Cobden and Bright travelled by the same train. The station is nearly five miles from the town; and yet a goodly number of working men and their wives met me there, and in compliance with their request I walked with them to Northampton. On my arrival there I learned that the Free Traders had decided upon erecting a hustings capable of holding 200 persons, and that they had been the generosity to offer the right to use such would be about our share of the Free Trade principles. Upon hearing this, I recommended that we should erect our own hustings, undertaking to be my share of the expense, and that they should be erected close to those of the Free Traders. This proposition was agreed on, and our indefatigable friend, Christopher Harrison, undertook to perform the work.

When the Free Traders found that we were in earnest, and when our hustings was in process of erection, they offered us fifteen tickets, which we accepted; and this will prove to you the propriety of holding on to the "obstructive" principle. Nothing more occurred worthy of note, until the proceedings commenced, with the exception of the continuous arrival of groups of honest Chartists from all parts of the country. We had a conversation relative to the appointment of a Chairman, when it was urged that Robins and others had been banished from the town for the prominent part they had taken in the Chartist movement, and that the working classes were fearful of occupying a too prominent position. I then asked if the other party had agreed upon a Chairman. The answer was "Grandy." I then asked what kind of man he was, and they replied that they believed him to be a man of good circumstances, as he had been always talking of his readiness to serve the working classes. They said: "he'll deceive you, and afterwards tell you that his mode of serving you was by Free Trade." However, we had no alternative; and we anticipated, as was the fact, that a hostile chairman, who would act even with a semblance of fairness, would be an advantage to us, and add to that triumph, which we were sure to achieve.

Well, under these circumstances we went to battle. When Cobden and his party arrived on the hustings, they were received in solemn silence. When I sawred there, I was received with loud and almost unanimous cheering, without one single mark of disapprobation. The struggle then commenced. Cobden opened the business. I followed him; Mr. Grath followed me, and from the interference of the Chairman, Bright was allowed to conclude, although Clark had taken notes of his speech for the purpose of answering him. During the discussion, the feelings of the meeting were repeatedly manifested. Mr. Mr. Grath, who made the best speech of the day, and I, were frequently interrupted by the most rapturous applause; while Cobden was but partially cheered, and Bright was obliged to speak through roars of laughter created by his own childish folly. When the amendment was put by the chairman,—who, by the bye, I should tell you very unfairly intended to prevent Mr. Clark from being heard, by observing that he thought the meeting had had enough of it, having heard two speeches on each side: however, he read the amendment in a very low tone, and then called for a show of hands; whereupon I called out: "This is for the amendment," and held up both hands, which was followed by more than two-thirds of the meeting holding up their hands. When Mr. Cobden saw this he said: "We'll divide." I replied: "So you shall." After the cheering and clapping of hands had subsided, and while a goodly number were yet held up, some one upon the hustings cried out: "Again, for the amendment." This was done in consequence of Bright and Cobden, who stood one on each side of the Chairman, directing his attention to the show of hands after the majority of them had been taken down; and as this juncture the Chairman called for a show of hands for the original resolution, whereupon those who had not before held up their hands added them to those that still remained up for the amendment; and notwithstanding there was an overwhelming majority for the amendment, the strength of the Free Traders consisting in a compact knot of about four hundred small masters and their slaves, who stood immediately to the left of the hustings.

To this clump of slave flesh, Cobden and Bright, directed the attention of the chairman; whereupon, said, hastily: "Come, Mr. Cobden, don't you dare to interfere with the chairman. He can do his own duty; and if he is to be interfered with, I say we have a majority of more than three to one." The chairman looked to Bright, then to Cobden, then to Bright again, then looked up, then looked down, then looked around to the free-trade supporters; and then, after a delay of more than three minutes, which is a long time, I said: "Come, Sir, take another show of hands, if you are in doubt, and let the meeting understand you." "No," said he, "I can't take a second show." "No," said Bright. "No," said Cobden. "Then I'll divide," said I. Whereupon the chairman said, with a face red as scarlet, "the original resolution is carried." Upon that I shouted out: "All who are for the amendment, follow me!" I rushed from the platform, the whole body moving in the right. When I made my way to the centre of the meeting, my stoutest supporters took me by the hand and cried out: "Go back General; go back O'Connor, and keep the ground; we'll remain and have fair-play!" whereupon I ran back to the platform; but, before I had returned, which was not more than a minute in all, Cobden, Bright, the chairman, and their supporters were hissed, hooted, groaned, and scouted off the platform, three hands for every one held up for the original resolution, being pointed at them in execration of their treachery and deceit.

I then told all that were for the amendment to remain; and every man present will vouch for the fact, that although the rain began to fall, and although the slaves had followed the Free Traders, yet the vast assemblage was not diminished by one sixth of the numbers present when Mr. Bright had concluded. I admit that that gentleman thinned the assemblage considerably. I addressed those present; and, upon a show of hands being taken for a vote of thanks, and confidence in me, there were four times as many held up as for the original resolution.

Now, then, my friends, I by no means regret this repetition of the treachery by which the Free Traders incanted the belief in 1840 and 1841, that their principles were the principles of the working classes. In the manufacturing districts and elsewhere you have had a taste of Free Trade chairman men; and you also know full well the expense at which those Free Trade judges would purchase a momentary triumph for their principle. The very hesitation of the Chairman; the long hesitation of the Chairman; convinced me that he had no doubt, as to which side the victory belonged: while his refusal to put the question again, or to divide the meeting—a thing frequently done, and easily done—confirms me in the suspicion which I have ever entertained of his class. What has been may be: and the men of Bradford remember how, by a division in the open air, the optics of the Chairman were proved to be sadly deficient. There he pronounced against us, and we divided and reversed his judgment. Upon the whole, then, the effect that the decision of this simple partisan will produce is just this: in future, wherever the people meet the League they will elect their own champions, and appoint their own chairman; and more relying on the pledges and promises of our more ardent Free Trade friends and saboteurs, than upon the Free Trade friends and saboteurs. The victory to them will be a victory of shame; while it has been awarded to those who gained it, you would never have heard a single word of the Northampton discussion through the columns of the liberal press. The thousands who were present will bear testimony to the strict truth of every sentence that I

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have written; while the unjust result will but tend to widen the breach between the rich oppressors and the poor oppressed, not only in the South and Northampton, but throughout the length and breadth of the land. All classes in Northampton have now had a taste of their quality; they have heard their expostulations, and laughed at their fantastical conclusions. As far, therefore, as Northampton is concerned, the question of Free Trade is strangled; and all that the Corn Law League now requires, is but one SUCH victory in every other county, and they are done. I have reason to be more than satisfied even with the result. It has proved that Mr. Cobden cannot

But I have never proved an ardent admirer of Cobden. Cobden cannot have better employment than in settling the question of Free Trade with me; while he has enabled me to judge of the powers, the ability, and the tactics of the party. I had never seen either Cobden or Bright before; and, therefore, I was anxious to measure them. I am always willing to do justice, even to political opponents; and from the manner in which I had heard the merits of these two men contrasted, was of opinion that Bright would one day be, as he ought to be, the leader of the Free Trade party. But, ye gods! how I was disappointed, and what a futile, jade-god like Fortune is. There is as much difference between the two men, barring the vitality, there is between a horse chestnut and a chestnut horse. Cobden has not been over-rated. He is decidedly a man of genius, of reflection, of talent, and of tact—and while he is in part deficient of some of those qualities which constitute greatness, he is in part deficient of those qualities which constitute a good mob orator. He lacks none of those properties which entitle him to the pre-eminence in the first rank of orators for the gathering together that amount of fantastic chivalry and wild enthusiasm necessary to support the principle of Mr. Alderman Brooke: "Lord love you, we are all for ourselves in this world." Cobden's voice is above the general standard; his thoughts are clearly arranged; his self-possession is remarkable; while he has a most happy facility of turning the most trivial passing occurrence to the most important purpose. I am not then astonished that a wily party should have selected so apt and cunning a leader. But how wrong Bright has been appointed to the office of second in command, and to a man having which I can only solve by the dramatic use of the word, a "face" after a comedy. In fact, I never, in my life, heard such a continuous stream of airy and metaphysical nothings as that which flowed from our "friend" the pump "in one weak, wawly, everlasting flood."

The only part of his performance that was cheered throughout was his reading of the resolutions on the Corn Laws in the House of Commons in 1834, and the sentiments contained in that speech were so completely in unison with those expressed in the amendment that I had moved just before, in 1814, that the whole speech was cheered to the echo. Every man of common sense must be aware of what the position of Mr. Free Trade Grundy would have been in 1814, had he been present, and through his impartiality, the League had no doubt been able to close the Garden to-night for the season, under the infliction of a defeat in Northampton: therefore their bit of triumph was most timely, but will be of short duration: for again I challenge Cobden, Bright, and the League to meet me in the West Riding of Yorkshire, in Lancashire, and the Market-square of Nottingham, and the three most important manufacturing counties in the kingdom; and there I will propose the amendment that the League should be dissolved, and the resolution that the Free Trade chairman falsely declared to have been carried.

My friends, you will very frequently be able to judge of matters from very trivial circumstances; and now I will tell you one or two in connexion with the recent discussion. At the conclusion, a free trader of considerable property, and wiser, I believe, held up his hands in a gesture of resignation, as a censure upon the decision of the Chairman, followed me to my hotel, and there requested to be allowed to treat the brave fellows who came from a distance with ten shillings worth of ale, and the ladies with ten shillings worth of punch. Add to this, the free traders themselves were completely chop-fallen, and hid themselves in their houses; while some of those who could bear the light of day invited me to come back, saying, that we had not had fair play.

Again, two gentlemen who were at the meeting went with me in an omnibus to the station. They had both seen the show of hands, but were not aware, until I informed them, that the decision was given against us by the Chairman. Upon hearing this he exclaimed: "Good God, you don't say so; you had it,"—Mr. Wheeler just arrived when I had got thus far with my letter, and in order to have his opinion as to its correctness, I read it over to him; after which he told me that all parties in Northampton,—he remained there till Tuesday morning,—were thoroughly disgusted with the decision of the Chairman; and he further narrated the following circumstances. As he and Mr. McGrath were on their way to the station, they were met by a Northampton butcher in his cart—he recognized them at once, and observed that he had been on the platform at the time of the discussion of the amendment, but was obliged to leave on business before the close of the proceeding; that he returned, and was on the outskirts of the meeting when the show of hands was taken; and his own words to Wheeler were: "Surely you didn't believe the decision of the Chairman? Why you had two-thirds of the meeting in favour of the amendment." Another circumstance of which Mr. Wheeler reminded me is this, a fact which I witnessed myself. While the impartial Chairman was twisting and turning about Bright and Cobden said: "O look here, look to the hands on the platform." Now then most of the platform hacks had run down to marshal their gangs; when the division was about to be taken; but what do you think of the conscience of the poor man's friend, of an impartial judge, refusing to second the division when he was led to a conclusion by a few blacks held up in his class? Mark another fact; they didn't venture to propose a vote of thanks to him; they were hissed, booed, and scouted off the hustings as they deserved, the judge and the Free Traders scampering off together.

What a miserable, pitiful, crawling wretched hypocrite, to barter his townsman's confidence for the passing applause of a faction! As long as his name is Grundy, never again will he be honored with the post of umpire; his ugly name will be associated with trick, treachery and deceit, while the remainder of his life will be passed amid the scorn of those he deceived, and those for whom he deceived. These are the whole facts of the case; and when to them we add the further fact, that old Murray, one of their trumpeters, had infested the neighbourhood of Northampton, for many days previously to the meeting, circulating tons of tracts, and lamenting the duty upon German enragées. I don't think Cobden will attach much importance to the chairman's decision. A propos; a word about this Mr. Murray. He was one of the most violent physical force Chartists in 1839-40, until he happened to owe me between £20 and £30 for "PUSHING THE NORTHAMPTON STAR," and then he became a "free force-free trader, allowing me to be in the shop, and sell to me in the dearest manner, taking his word for my price. As we were in Yorkshire," I can do with your paper. I beg to remind Mr. Murray, that at the Nottingham election, in 1842, he requested permission to be allowed to pay it off at a pound a month; but I have never heard of him since. The reason that I mention this fact, is, I understand that this paid tool has been going about Northamptonshire, abusing what he terms "the physical force Chartist." One word more, and I have done. The *Morning Chronicle* must smell a rat. I asked a gentleman who sat at the reporter's table what paper he was

engaged for; and he told me for the *Morning Chronicle*; but yet, notwithstanding a bit of bounce in yesterday (Tuesday's) *Chronicle*, and a promise to give us the proceedings to-day (Wednesday); yet not a word of this great and important triumph has appeared in the columns of the leading Free Trade journal. Is not that a curious fact?

Now, then, my friends, you are in possession of the truth, the whole truth, as far as I was allowed to discover the truth, and nothing but the truth; and to you, as an enlightened and impartial public, I appeal from the false, the hypocritical, and sycophantic decision of a crouching, cringing, partial Chairman.

Hoping that my conduct, my speech, and my amendment, will meet with the universal approval of the working classes,

I am,
Your's, faithfully and sincerely,
FRANCIS O'CONNOR.

P.S.—It is due to myself that I should mention a portion of a conversation that took place between Mr. Cobden and me, while waiting for the up train at Blisworth. Mr. Cobden assured me that there was no truth in the report that he had charged me with having received Tory money, and that there were many things reported which he had never said.

THE
NORTHAMPTON MEETING.
COBDEN FAIRLY TACKLED.
MORE OF LEAGUE FAIRNESS AND
MORALITY.

In respect to this Northampton meeting, we are in a *quandary*. Our intention was to give a faithful report of all that was said and done at it. Not fearing to submit our side of the question to the test of examination and contrast, we never fear to report what our opponents have to say; but are always glad, when an intellectual conflict takes place, to let the leaders of the *Star* benefit by all that is advanced. This time, however, we are prevented. Never dreaming but that the League journals would report what their own *pets* would say on the occasion; and, confident in the belief that we could obtain from *that* source all that either Mr. Cobden or Mr. Bright might utter, our instructions to the Reporter we sent were, that he should only take the *speeches* of Mr. O'Connor and those who supported him, because we knew that it was a practice with *Corn Law* papers never to report what was said against *Corn Law* Report at any of their meetings; and we were sure that it would have been folly to expect any thing like a report of what really transpired on the part of the opposition, even if their presence was at all noticed. Accordingly we have had transmitted a copious report of the speeches of Messrs. O'Connor and M'Grath, and an account of the disgraceful and unbecoming conduct of the chairman; but for the opening speech of Mr. Cobden, and the closing speech of Mr. Bright, we are wholly *minus*. We have been looking out daily, for the *League Press*, anxious to come across the "flaming report" of the "annihilation of the MONOPOLISTS, with the triumphant defeat of their ally Mr. Feargus O'Connor," and yet we have hitherto looked in vain! We have watched the *Sun* until the sight has nearly left our eyes; and yet have been unable to discover amongst its bright beams one single ray to light us to Northampton or its Free Trade doings! The *Sun* used to be noted for the celebrity with which it despatched its "expressed" reports of League county meetings, oftentimes boasting that it managed to have a speaker's speech reported, in print, and in the hands of the speaker ere the meeting itself was over; and yet, in this case; a case of TRIUMPH! too; a case where the League came off with flying colours; a case where Cobden *beat* O'Connor; a case where the Free Trade resolution was "carried,"—so said the Chairman! though he probably meant that the *thing* was carried off the ground when himself and Mr. Cobden fled before the audible expression of dissatisfaction that greeted their departure; in *this* case, such a case as it *was*, the *Sun*, the rapid *Sun*, had no report in Leeds on Thursday, though the meeting, and the TRIUMPH,—was on Monday! Whatever can be the matter? However does this come about? Is the League so strong, that it can afford to lose the benefit of its Northampton "victory"?

The laggard genius of the *Sun* has also thrown its chilling influence over the *Chronicle*. THERE you were wont to meet with "a full, true, and particular account," as the dying-speech men say, of every COUNTY and even VILLAGE Demonstration in favour of

COMMERCIAL REFORM,

as soon as over ; and often *before* they were made ; but in this case of Northampton no such alacrity is manifest ! And still the meeting was a " TRIUMPH." So the *Chronicle* holds. On Tuesday, it had the following announcement set forth in leaded type :

"**GREAT FREE TRADE MEETING AT NORTHAMPTON.**—DEFEAT OF THE MONOPOLISTS AND THEIR ALLY, MR. FEARGUS O'CONNOR.—We have received a report of the proceedings at the great Free Trade meeting held yesterday at Northampton, at which Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright gained a signal triumph over the combined forces of the Tories and the Chartists, the latter headed by their redoubtable leader Fergus O'Connor. We shall endeavour to give a report of the proceedings to-morrow."

This announcement naturally set EXPECTATION on the tip-toe,—but only to be disappointed! "To-morrow," that is Wednesday, came; but no Report! Thursday also came; but still no report! Not a word! Not a syllable; nor even a syllable to say the reason *why*! Now all this is very funny. The League Press used not to act thus. Meetings of villages so small as not to find a place either in Map or Gazetteer, used to find a ready, often a too-ready, recorder in the *Chronicle*: but here is a "SIGNAL TRIUMPH over the combined forces of the Tories and the Chartists," passed by their redoubtable leader, Feargus O'Connor, headed over without other notice than a *promise* to "ENDEAUOUR to give a Report"! What a falling off!

Well, but this shyness, this coyness, this disinclination of the Leaguers to tell the world of THEIR "SIGNAL TRIUMPH" indeed, the "TRIUMPH" was "signal," and "SIGNALLY" gained, as Mrs. GRUNDY knows are this; this disinclination of the Leaguers to "make their own" of the "victory," places us in *quer-street!* We are not able to enlighten the world with Cobden's "new-light," nor transmit to posterity the profound disquisitions of "friend" Bright! The Free Traders won't let us "trade" with them. We waited to purchase the speeches of the two worthy leaders of a selfish cause "in the *cheapest market*"; i. e. for "nothing at all"; and they won't let us have them "at no price." We are, therefore, compelled to do without them. We are under the necessity of asking our readers to *imagine* what COBDEN should have said, on such an occasion, to gain his purpose, and then *judge* of the reply of Mr. O'CONNOR, and how effective it was, from its own reading; or else to entreat them to get hold of an *old League* or *Chronicle*,—twelve months back will do,—where they will find the stereotyped "harangues." Our own batch, last week, went to the butter-woman, or we should not have been so fixed. We could easily have supplied the omission. As it is, however, we are compelled to adopt our present course.

Of the *deficit* itself we shall not at present speak. At all events if we do, it must necessarily be *"very small!"* The *Chronicle*, in its announcement of the *FEAST* that was to have come, says the *League beat*: so of course our side was *thrashed*. A *beaten* cook crows very spirituously; and a *beaten* dog walks away, or *runs*, with his tail hanging down. It is not to be expected, therefore, that we can say much, under present circumstances. The sting of a *defeat* is sufficiently ill to bear, without the additional pang of having to tell the world all about it. How can we, therefore, have *heart* at all to speak of the *"SIGNAL TRIUMPH"* over us! *It is too much!* We must refrain; and can only say, look! see! read! judge for yourselves!

The reader must imagine—(a task imposed on him by the circumstances we have narrated)—that thousands upon thousands of people are assembled in Northampton Market Place; that Mr. Cobden leaps off the ball; that he says—all that a man looking on a "forlorn hope" should say—and which was reported in the League newspaper of July 21st, 1843; that he concludes with moving a resolution, affirming the "principle" of League Free Trade; that such resolution is seconded, and the Chairman about to submit it to the meeting, when

Mr. O'Connor presents himself, and the most vociferous cheering, to propose an amendment. After the applause had ceased he said—"Mr. Chairman, and men of the town and county of Northampton: perhaps I had better adopt Mr. Cobden's plan of introduction, by telling you that, this also appears to be the opinion of the majority of the signatories signed, which I now hold in my hand—(A Free Trader—"How many signatures?"—"Mr. Cobden, No; no;—pray don't interrupt."—A gentleman in my left hand asked me how many signatures in 1836, he said, and I told him Mr. Cobden's—(loud cheers). Thus invited and having a respect not only for the requisitionists and those whom I have the honour to address, but also for the feelings of the town and county, I myself, that should come before them with calm and unswerving character—(great cheering). True, I do not hope nor seek to dissipate the many general slanders that have been so freely circulated against me, and the newspapers press a double-edged attack upon me, who have come to this day by rapid currency to see the "wild," the "reckless," and the "destructive" Chartist will go home disappointed. There is one question, however, which I cannot not turn my overlook. I mean a charge previously maintained in the *Standard*, and in the *Times*, in which Mr. Cobden professed himself to be in the possession of ample documentary testimony—(tremendous cheering). Now, then, I turn to Mr. Cobden, and desire him to rise, to read, and deliver him. The crowd continued to cheer, and determined not to allow this great question to be settled off upon personality—"(*Question, question?*) What, is there a man here—there even a Free Trader, who will not rise and answer me in respect as to say that this is not the question I—(loud cheers, followed by "pray don't" from Mr. Cobden). Having thus dared him to the proof, I shall now enter upon the whole of that question of which he has so far evaded, and which I have so long treated the subject as though it were a branch, whereas it is a root, and he has addressed this meeting as though it was exclusively constituted of chaw-bacon and journeyman shoemakers—(loud cheering). I have said that I am an *anti-slavery* man; will admit they have observed very much, and that they have acquired very little new light, on the subject of *Free Trade* from his oration. Mr. Cobden must not appear here as the embodiment of the *Free Trade* principle, but as the representative unit of the *Free Trade* class. We must look to those publications, and they are not few, to which as a body the League have given their assent for their principles, as well as the anticipated result from the *Free Trade* principle, and the *Free Trade* principle of the compendium of the *Free Trade* principle will be found in this pamphlet which I hold in my hand, containing the *Three Prime Essays*, accepted and published by the League, and which will show the discrepancy of which shall presently have to do with observing in passing, that like all other newspaper committees the League has its town and country Editions: the town Edition containing proof that the *Free Trade* principle will reduce the price of bread and an increase in the rate of wages, and the country Edition is as strong upon the other hand, that the effect must be a rise in the price of grain and a reduction of the wages of the agricultural labourer, and that the effect will be the substitution of machinery to agricultural purposes—(cheers). Having said so much, I shall now proceed to comment on some of the assertions of Mr. Cobden. Who, says he, will assert that the Corn Laws are just, and that the *Free Trade* principle is just, and that existence is servicable to the agricultural labourer? To that question Mr. Hope, one of your prize essayists, says—"That whereas ten shillings per acre is now about the average cost of tillage in Scotland on this basis—this is a probable effect of the Corn Laws would be to reduce the ploughman's wages," and which, "added to the substitution of extensive machinery for manual labour," he says, "would constitute the FARMERS' PROPHET"—(hear, hear). I would not say that the *Free Trade* principle constitute the operative's ruin, by throwing a new "surplus population" of agricultural laborers as competitors into the manufacturing market—(cheers). But in using those authorities I must observe that the *Free Trade* principle will reduce the wages of the auxiliaries, the immediate questions with the writers as farmers, is, as to how they can secure steady

markets and high prices for themselves. And it is not so much to Free Trade as to a Corn Rent and long leases that they look for a remedy for their distress. It is not to the Corn Laws, but to the fact, the very opposite of which has been heretofore relied upon by the advocates of Free Trade. He has said that there would be enough for all, if the soil was cultivated as it ought to be. Now this is the very opposite of the fact. It is not the soil, but the farmers (cheers)—and this is the very principle which Free Trade, without the adjustment of all other interests, would destroy—(cheers). Yes, I agree with him; and I agree in part with the essayists; I agree with those, that a large portion of the population would be able to get a greater tendency than the total abolition of all restrictions to furnish an abundance of home grown food for the working class. Mr. Cobden has very ability, and with considerable art, endeavoured to separate himself from his party and to make his position one of unconcern to his own class and his sin upon his own shoulders—(laughter). He has referred to the stand made by the operatives and hand-loom weavers of Lancashire against the Corn Laws of 1815, and has said that they were not the first to say they were in, in very true and feeling terms, the manner in which the advocates of Free Trade in those days were bludgeoned, sabred, shot, and murdered; but he has failed to tell you who the Free Traders of 1819 were of Mr. Cobden's own class; and many of them are now members of the "philanthropic, humane, and patriotic" League—(cheers). They have now bowsels of compassion for the poor, but they have no sympathy for the poor and starved. But it is right that you should also know why this change has come over the spirit of their dream since 1819. They had not then the possession of that political power which would enable them to command the market—the Free Traders, the Tories to command the market—(loud cheers). The Reform Bill, which placed them upon an equality with the landed interest, has given them an amount of political power through which they hope to establish a new order of things, and to make the market to command the market—(loud cheers). You may rest assured that the mind of man never rests satisfied as long as there is hope of a beneficial change; and politicians, like religionists, will first claim toleration, and then equality; but will never be satisfied until they have obtained the entire ascendancy—(cheers). And will any man tell me that the ascendancy of capital over labour is not already sufficiently established without the further power, through political ascendancy, of the landed interest, to rob the labourer of his back, collars upon your necks, and lodging you in human stables, as your habitations?—(cheers). Gentlemen, I was glad to hear Mr. Cobden ascribe all our grievances to the inequality of the franchise, and to the want of representation of the poor. I am glad, therefore, to see him say, "I am glad to hear you say so." I am sincere in the repudiation of that saying. I think I am entitled to his vote for the amendment. I mean to submit to you, inasmuch as it proposes the substitution of a more equitable description of franchise, with Free Trade as the necessary consequence, that the Corn Laws are just. I will dare to say that the Corn Laws are just; I dare to say that, however unjust their imposition was, the effect of their removal, without the necessary accommodations, would be to give Mr. Cobden a larger share of the changes than the poor and long-continued classes would be to in a men's-gerie with wild beasts, let me have equal talents, equal subtility, equal power, and equal strength; but do not allow me to be a

factious monkey or a quiet lamb in the same cage with lions and tigers—loud and continued cheering). Herein, Sir, lies the difference between Mr. Cobden and me. He desires a change for the benefit of his own class; while I also am for a change, but upon the condition that it shall be for the benefit of the whole community, and not the rights and interests of all—(loud cheers). Mr. Cobden has told you that every man of forty-five years of age in Lancashire, with whom he has conversed, has declared himself an advocate of Free Trade. I have not the honor to know whether he had, he would have learned that while the average age of the agricultural labourer, even in the far-famed county of Dorset, is fifty-five years, the average age of the Lancashire operative is but thirty—(loud cheering). I have no doubt that many of those who are not in existence, or but few in num-

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(Continued in our eighth page.)

quarters of foreign Wheat, form the principal imports at that period. It is understood that on Wednesday and Thursday, previous to the 1st inst., the price per bushel of the same was 4s. 10d. and 4s. 11d. respectively. It has since decreased from bond at 17s. per quarter. The duty on wheat has fallen to 4s. per quarter. Depressed accounts received from Black-land, acting in conjunction with the weather, caused a very dull market on Tuesday, and almost every article of the kind suffered a decline in price. Wheat was sold at 4s. 8-bushel, Oats at 5s. 1d. per bushel, Flour at 1s. 10d. per barrel, and Cornmeal 9s. per load, below the rates of a few days since. The market for Beans and Peas was also easier to buy. There have since been heavy rains, and, influenced by every change of weather at this critical period, holders of Wheat have shown less anxiety to sell; for some parcels were not sold at all. The market for Cornmeal and Flour has since recovered. About 1200 barrels of Western Canal Flour have been sold during the week at 19s. 6d. per barrel.

LIVERPOOL CATTLE MARKET, MONDAY AUG. 5.—The market was dull, and the quotations in the prices of the several kinds of cattle were lower than at the Stock at our Cattle market of late, the supply being good for this time of the year. Beef 5d 3d to 6d, Cattle 4d 6d to 5d 6d, Lambs 5d 1d to 6d per lb. Cattle imported into Liverpool from France, Spain and Portugal, 4s 6d to 5s 6d, calves 5s, sheep 504s, lambs 50s, pigs 19s, hogs 17s.

graduates, and other public bodies, do appoint delegates to co-operate with the Committee now sitting, and who are acting in conjunction with the trades unionists in raising a fund to purchase the Freedom of the City for the Mayor and Corporation. The memorial of our gratitude to that gentleman for his zealous and noble defence of our rights, on many occasions, but particularly for his opposition to that measure, the Master of the Mercers' Company Bill, was presented to the Committee by Mr. John Bates. The resolution was seconded by Mr. John Bates, and supported in an able speech by Mr. J. L. Ash.

But the firing of the military upon the people was a very different affair. It is attempted to be made out that this firing on the people was unavoidable, and that the soldiery were compelled to this, to save themselves from the excited multitude. But who caused that excitement against the soldiery? The soldiery themselves, or at least their officers. It will be remembered, that on the previous evening, General CADWALLADER had insolently threatened to fire grape-shot upon the people, unless they dis-

there will now be no war ! Poor Queen POMARE may betake herself to this or some other land, a royal refuge; but the assistance she vainly hoped for from England to restore to her her Sovereignty, she will never get. WE CANNOT AFFORD TO GO TO WAR. We are bound o'er in Eight Hundred Millions to keep the peace ! And though, if compelled, absolutely forced, into a national conflict, the English Government could, we feel persuaded, put forth a power and resources which some folk little dream

systems of fraud and force, chuckle as they please over the Philadelphia riots: *these riots come but rarely*, WHILE DESPOTISM IS ALMOST ETERNAL; EVER CONTINUOUS; EVER WATCHFUL; EVER READY WITH AXE AND HALBERD TO SPILL THE BLOOD OF PATRIOTISM, AND STIFLE THE BREATHTAKINGS OF FREE THOUGHT. "One day, one hour, of virtuous liberty, is worth a whole eternity of bondage:" and the men of American will, we have fervent faith, disappoint the hopes, and defeat the prog-

any body damage the property?—No.
Magistrate—It makes no difference about *sealing* than about *opening* them; damage it; the men damage it by having them sealed. I will seal the tents there. You must pay a fine of 2s 6d and 5s 6d each for the use of the house of Correction fourteen days.
Defendant—I have no money gentlemen—not a penny.
Then you must go to jail.
Harrison Fenwick called.—Mr. Harrison (the viewholder) said this case is the same as the last. Mr. Rutherford—Precisely the same. Magistrate—Will you remove your tent? As soon as I can I will.—Then you must pay a fine of 2s 6d and 5s 6d each, or go to prison for fourteen days—I have

their former slavery. We are compelled, by want of space, to postpone comment for the present; but we promise these holy impostors they shall have full justice done them shortly.

Once more we sound the alarm! Up to the rescue! Men and women, throughout the length and breadth of England, we appeal to you. Give your mites! Pour in your subscriptions!

Now's the day, and now's the hour.

Onward, and we conquer; backward, and we fall.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 10, 1844.

PRESS of HOME questions, of too great weight to

turbances in Philadelphia which have naturally attracted so much attention on this side of the

But the firing of the military upon the people was a very different affair. It is attempted to be made out that this firing on the people was unavoidable, and that the soldiery were compelled to this, to save themselves from the excited multitude. But who caused that excitement against the soldiery? The soldiery themselves, or at least their officers. It will be remembered, that on the previous evening, General CADWALLADER had insolently threatened to fire grape-shot upon the people, unless they dis-

war and destruction to wipe out the disgrace. But there will now be no war ! Poor Queen POMARE may betake herself to this or some other land, a royal refuge; but the assistance she vainly hoped for from England to restore to her her Sovereignty, she will never get. WE CANNOT AFFORD TO GO TO WAR. We are bound o'er in Eight Hundred Millions to keep the peace ! And though, if compelled, absolutely forced, into a national conflict, the English Government could, we feel persuaded, put forth a power and resources which some folk little dream

the supporters of the old, and well-nigh worn-out systems of fraud and force, chuckle as they please over the Philadelphia riots: *these riots come but rarely*, WHILE DESPOTISM IS ALMOST ETERNAL; EVER CONTINUOUS; EVER WATCHFUL; EVER READY WITH AXE AND HALTER: 'TILL THE BLOOD OF PATRIOTISM, AND STIFLE THE BREATHINGS OF FREE THOUGHT.

"One day, one hour, of virtuous liberty,
Is worth a whole eternity of bondage."

and the men of America will, we have fervent faith, disappoint the hopes, and defeat the prog-

them built, but I have no doubt about it.—Did you see any body damage the property?—No.

Magistrate—it makes no difference about seeing them damage it; the men damage it by having them tents there. You must pay a fine of 2s 6d and 5s 6d costs, or go the House of Correction fourteen days.

Defendant—I have no money gentlemen—not a penny.—Then you must go to jail.

Harrison Fenwick called.—Mr. Harrison (the witness) This case is the same as the last.—Mr. Rutherford Ford—Precisely the same. Magistrate—Will you remove your tent? As soon as a fine of 2s 6d, and won't do for us: you must pay a fine of 2s 6d, and 5s 6d costs, or go to prison for fourteen days.—I have

nation, into giving up the Union and returning to their former slavery. We are compelled, by want of space, to postpone comment for the present; but we promise these holy impostors they shall have full justice done them shortly.

Once more we sound the alarm ! Up to the rescue ! Men and women, throughout the length and breadth of England, we appeal to you. Give your mites ! Pour in your subscriptions !

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having been published at Rome, May 8, 1844, by the

point of fact, denounces Bible Societies and condemns the translating and reading of the Bible (in a Protestant sense) in the vulgar tongue, fulminates strong censures against Luther, Calvin, et *id hoc genus omne*, and condemns a Bible and Tract Association the "Christian League" of New York, in two letters by name! The effect of this decree is to render broader and deeper the unhappy dissensions that exist here between Catholics and Protestants, and to induce many of the latter to believe, whatever might have been urged to the contrary by Bishop Hughes, of New York, and other eminent Catholics, that the real object of the Catholic clergy in America was to exclude the use of the Bible, so

as in their power lay, from the public and national schools. Thus, the prejudice which at first existed against the Irish Catholics, now extends to the Protestants, and even to the members of the Catholic body. Numerous families of labouring Irish have recently left Philadelphia for the British provinces; and I am informed that many resident families are averse to employing Irish servant girls. There is a general feeling of social persecution which is deplorable and libellous, and yet the history of mankind in all ages shows that it is but too common a result of civil commotion, prompted by religious differences.

ITALY.

Letters from Florence, of the 30th, mention the death of Joseph Bonaparte, at one time King of Naples, and afterwards of Spain. He died on the 28th ult., after a long illness. His brothers, Louis and Jerome, were with him in his last moments. Louis died on the 29th inst., and Jerome on the 30th. Both were also very bad, and his successor is Prince Louis Napoleon, the prisoner at Ham. The Romagna is said to be still in a very disturbed state. It is said, too, that the Pope is dangerously ill.

OTAREHTE.

The latest accounts received from the natives in a remote state of insurrection in French Guiana, provoked by the tyranny and brutality of the latter. In the meantime the French have seized upon the Gambier Islands, and even threaten the Sandwich. A storm seems to be brewing.

CANADA.

The *Toronto Examiner* of July 17th contains a long account of what might have proved a very dangerous and bloody riot, between a number of Orangemen and a large party of Roman Catholic labourers, who assembled in the neighbourhood of the city of Montreal, on the 15th inst. The rioters performed the intention of going on board a steamer,

with their party colours, music, and deadly weapons, to the Falls of Niagara, where they intended to have passed a gala day, and dined at the hotel, on the opposite side of the Roman Catholic church. The labourers assembled, to the number of 1,500, and declared that unless the badges of the Orange party were suppressed, the arms thrown away, and every symptom of an offensive character taken from them, they would proceed to destroy the place by fire. The labourers, fearing the consequences, consented, and thus a breach of the peace, which had it occurred, would have been of a deadly character, was prevented.

The labourers were armed with muskets, bayonets, and sabres, and carrying powder and ball. This instrument of destruction. These party brolls between the Catholic and the Orange parties are giving much annoyance to the local authorities in Canada.

WEST INDIES.

By advices from Dominica to the 23rd of June, we learn that the insurrection had been quelled, and the operation of manual law suspended. The Governor has ordered the troops to be sent back to their barracks, excepting the ring leaders, ninety of whom had been retained in prison to undergo the decision

under the admonitory advice of the Governor. The

discovery has been overwhelmed with rains and floods. With great anxiety, we to the north, &c. singularly, the discovery has been made in taking, consider the islands of Trinidad, being of the "two encampments of the aboriginal Indians of the island, belonging to a race perfectly distinct from any hitherto known."

ROBERT OF AN ODD FELLOWS LODGE, M.U.—
On Tuesday, July 30th, Mark Pettigrew, Junior, with trainer; and the following, crewed a boat, to the Max had only two members of the Local Queen Victoria Lodge, held at the house of Mr. Mason, Grantham Arms, Dry-street, Leeds, drew from Brown and Co.'s Bank, the sum of £25 6s., belonging to the above Lodge, with which they have associated to Africa.

HUNT'S MONUMENT.—The committee beg to inform the members of the 18th of August, that on the

Friday, they have concluded to hold a meeting in the Carpenters' Hall, on Saturday, the 17th. At six o'clock the doors will be opened, and the proceeding will commence at seven precisely. Mr. James M. McKim, Mr. John A. Coe, and Mr. George C. Peck have promised to be there. Admission to the body of the Hall and Gallery One Penny each; Platform Free. What money may be received beyond the sum of \$1000 will be paid to the Treasurer. The position of the Figure to be placed on the Monument; and the Committee beg to say that they have made such arrangements as leave no room for doubt that the statue will be set up against the 16th of August, 1845. It is also requested that all persons holding collecting books will return them on or before the 17th to Mr. James M. McKim, at the residence of Mr. George C. Peck, 100 Second Street, or to the Committee Room, at the School, at Christ Church.

Church, Every-street, Ancoats, where they sit.

Orthodoxing Chartist Meetings.

BRADPORE.—On Sunday morning, at ten o'clock, an open air meeting will be held, near the Odd Fellows' Hall, Thornton Road.

On Sunday Evening, a lecture will be delivered in the Lecture Hall, at the New Town Buildings. Chair to be taken at seven o'clock.

THE CHARTISTS of the Central locality will meet in the Council Room, on Sunday, at two o'clock in the afternoon.

THE CHARTISTS of Little Horton, will meet in the Lecture Hall, Park Place, on Sunday, at ten o'clock in the morning, and at six in the evening.

THE CHARTISTS of George's-street will meet in their room, on Sunday morning, at ten o'clock.

THE CHARTISTS of New Leeds will meet in their room, on Sunday morning, at ten o'clock.

LEEDS.—Mr. D. Ross will lecture to-morrow (Sunday) evening, in the Bazaar.

MARTLEBORNE.—A lecture will be delivered by Dr. Mc'Donald, at Mr. Savage's Assembly Room, Church-street, New-road, on Wednesday evening, August 14th, at eight o'clock.

SUNDERLAND.—Mr. Dickinson will read an original Essay on "the Principles of the People's Charter," at Sunday morning next, at half-past ten in the Lecture Hall, at the New Town, Bishop Wearmouth; and in the evening he will deliver an Oration on the "Massacre of Joe Smith," at his School Room, High-street, at half-past six.

NOTTINGHAM.—Mr. Dorman will lecture in the Lecture Hall, at the New Town, on Sunday, at eight o'clock.

A TRADES' DELEGATE MEETING will be held in the Democratic Chapel on Monday evening next, at eight o'clock precisely.

DERRY.—The Chartists of this town will, for the first time, hold a Temperance Coffee House Meeting, at the Bridge-street, on Sunday mornings, at ten, on Sunday evenings at six, and on Monday evenings, at eight o'clock. All communications for the future to be addressed to Mr. John Moss, boot and shoemaker.

MR. WEST'S TOUR.—Bacup, August 10; Drifley Hill Camp Meeting, 11th; Burnley 12th and 13th; Colne 14th; Barnoldswick, 15th; Clitheroe, 16th; Salford, 17th; Pendle Hill Camp Meeting, 18th.

THE CHARTISTS of the Parish of Hove will, on Sunday next, to commence at two o'clock in the afternoon, and six in the evening. Collections will be made.

THE NATIONAL CHARTER ASSOCIATION will meet on Sunday evening, at their usual place.

of meeting, when the following question is to be discussed:—"Were the people of Birmingham right or wrong in their conduct at the late election, when, by supporting Joseph Sturge they enabled the Tory candidate to obtain a majority of votes, and usurp a seat in the House of Commons?"

STOCKPORT.—Mr. P. M. Daly, of Manchester, will lecture in the Chartist Room, on Sunday evening next, at six o'clock.

HALIFAX.—Mr. Bowden will lecture in the Work-

MR. DOYLE'S ROUTE:—Sunday, August 11th,

Wednesday; Monday, 12th, Hollinwood; Tuesday, 13th, Oldham; Wednesday, 14th, Rotton; and on Thursday, 15th, Farnham.

MR. THOMAS CLARK will lecture at Duddesdon Row, at ten o'clock on Sunday morning. In the afternoon, at three o'clock, a meeting will be held on a piece of ground near the Hospital. Messrs. Langston and Williamson will address the meeting.

A MEETING of the members and friends will be held at Mr. Clark's large reading room, 89, Steelhouse Lane, at seven o'clock.

BRADFORD.—THE POST LAUREATE.—Mr. Lloyd Jones is announced to deliver two lectures in the course of the winter. The first will be on "The Mechanism of the English Verse," on the writings of Wordsworth and the minor poets. The terms of admission will be such, that the humblest admirer of the venerable bard may be enabled to avail himself of the opportunity.

He will be enabled to avail himself of a rich intellectual treat over this interesting and well-chosen subject.

DEATH.

On the 5th inst., in the 73th year of her age, at the house of her brother, James Moller, of Braxatford, Shelton, Staffordshire, Nancy, wife of the old veteran "Daddy" Reddish, late of Stafford gaol.

The Duke of Richmond, Earls Fortescue and Hardwicke, Lords Littleton and Stradbroke, the Earl of Radnor, the Marquis of Clanricarde, and Lord Campbell took part in the discussion, after which the Bill went into a committee *pro forma*, and the House adjourned.

For a series of years you are well aware that the condition of the whole of our industrial community has gradually become worse, one reduction following another until their condition has become such as loudly to call for the sympathy and interference of every lover of his kind. But, in the case of the Miners, the committee has leave to say that reduction has reached its utmost

Cleansing of the town, has a management of a precisely similar character; and the Act itself is of very little value for its purposes.

At the meeting called by the Commissioners of Water-works, for the purpose above set forth, and holden on Friday, July 19th, Mr. Joshua Hobson, who is an inhabitant rate-payer of the town, mooted

state of the law as it affects the Surveyors of the Highways is not generally known, nor how inadequate it is to provide for the wants of the Inhabitants of a large town, however adequate it may be for the keeping in repair a general turnpike road. The Surveyors have no power to drain the streets or roads under their care, other than for the top or surface water falling on, or running along, such streets or roads. This point has

without a set of Public Baths; and the charge for their use ought to be no more than will just cover the cost of their management. In the appendix to the first Report of the Health of Towns Commission, just published, will be found a plan of some projected Public Baths for the town of Ashton-under-Lyne, with details of estimates: and it is there calculated that the managers will be well able to afford a warm bath

Water Works Act, yet the object the Commissioner had in view will be thoroughly accomplished by the obtaining of the general Act which the Inhabitants have determined to go for.

7th.—That the thanks of the meeting be given to the former Committee for their very able, luminous, and valuable Report; and that such Report be printed and circulated among the Inhabitants, as the best explanation of the facts and circumstances of the case.

pal objects of the bill. The first related to some

(Continued from our first page.)

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