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LOWBANDS.  
TO THE MEMBERS OF THE CHARTIST CO-OPERATIVE LAND COMPANY.

My dear Children,  
It was my intention to have written you something in addition to my last week's letter, which was not published; something connected with the frightful state of poverty and destitution of this fertile and lovely parish, perhaps one of the most heavenly spots the mind can imagine, but our friend, "THE WHISTLER" has afforded me such an opportunity of BLOWING HIM TO THE FOUR WINDS OF HEAVEN, that I am tempted to devote the space to him. His letter, upon which I am about to write, is in John Bright's paper of the 26th of December last, so, of course, he had not seen mine of the same date in the "Star," and he had not, at that time, received the lash that James Taylor, painter, gave him in last week's "Star"; nor, indeed, is it likely that he would be turned from his MESS if he had.

Bright and the "Economist" have, no doubt, calculated upon the danger to their slave trade if, for £2. 12s. 4d., their slaves could purchase their own manumission, and at the same time somewhat loosen the rivets in the chains of others, whose labour would become proportionately more valuable by diminished competition. This greedy man, like many others, too anxious to recommend themselves to their masters, has done too much for the money, and has done it in an unscrupulous manner—he is like the devil's apothecary—"DOUBLY DILIGENT." Perhaps you remember Baron Rolfe's observation, when the informer Griffin stated that the Editor's only fault with him, was that he WAS TOO INDUSTRIOUS. "Gentlemen," observed the just judge, "perhaps the Editor may think the SAME NOW, as OUR DILIGENCE NOT UNFAIRLY LEADS TO SUSPICION." Then, in analysing the mechanism and workings of a conspiracy, that just man beautifully remarked, and it is worth repeating, "Gentlemen, in case of conspiracy, the guilty parties generally make choice of the most astute and artful men who can procure to carry out their illegal designs, and you will say, whether unsophisticated men like Pilling, and many others of the defendants, are of that stamp that would be likely to serve such a purpose, or whether it is not more probable that they acted of their own free will, and the more especially as all who have addressed you appear rather to glory in the part they have taken than to repudiate the charge."

Never did Judge more completely sacrifice all party and paltry consideration to truth and justice, than did Baron Rolfe in giving expression to the above simple, but searching and sound truth. I shall now proceed to contrast SUMMERVILLE with Griffin, as regards his OWN INDUSTRY, and shall prove that Bright and Co. are conspirators, and the Whistler their accomplice.

THE WHISTLER, in his first letter after visiting Herringgate, was, as usual, fulsome in his praise of the beauties of the spot, and BIG WITH HOPE in the success of so splendid an undertaking. "The first step in the right direction the working men had taken." I mentioned to more than one friend, Mr. Clarke among the rest, that the source, the MANCHESTER EXAMINER—Bright's paper—was suspicious; and that he might rely upon it, the OLD SOLDIER was only baiting his trap. In fact, the first letter was too fulsome; and it was against my wish, and only in compliance with that of the Directors, that I allowed even the extract to be published. Well, the second letter makes its appearance, and it mainly answered by Mr. Taylor's short reply in last week's "Star," in which he wholly contradicts every assertion made by the DEVIL'S APOTHECARY.

Next comes the letter upon which I am now commenting, and from which I select the following extract, as proof of the Apothecary's great; if not over diligence:—  
"After further inquiries I got a book at the office, for which I paid half-a-crown, on 'The Practical Management of Small Farms, by Francis O'Connor, Esq., barrister-at-law.' At different bookellers, shops, I tried to get the other bookellers of the company, and at last I sat down with such a book, and read them all. I soon perceived what the object of the registration of the society had been, by the great number of great things which the society was to do besides the cultivation of small farms. That the society was utterly unscrupulous and worthless as a mere business speculation, was soon apparent. And though unscrupulous companies are registered and put under the protection of the law, no far as giving their shareholders the means of redress from their trustees and from one another, I doubted if the Chartist Land Company could be so registered.

"To resolve that doubt Chancery Lane was visited, and from that locality I found my way to the office for the registration of joint stock companies in Sergeants' Inn, Fleet-street. At that place I was told that the company was registered. I asked to see in what form, for what purpose, and who of its shareholders were registered. A book of indices was handed to me. I found the title 'Chartist Co-operative Land Company,' and a number placed against it. I repeated the number to one of the clerks, who said, 'One shilling, if you please.' When I paid one shilling, and he, going to a shelf and finding the number on the back of a very thin book, laid the book before me. It was a very thin book indeed, containing only four pages, and only one of the leaves being written, and very little being written on that leaf—a good deal less than I had expected. I asked if the Chartist Co-operative Land Company had been 'placed under the protection of the law' to 'give increased confidence to persons about joining the society, and to secure due diligence and honesty on the part of the officers.' I shall come to the words and names which were registered before I quit the legal labyrinth of this subject. But I proceed now as I proceeded then.

"Is this company legally registered?"  
"Yes, it is." "What is the title of the act?"  
"If anything is omitted which should have been registered, what will the result be?"  
"We cannot answer legal questions here. If anything is omitted, the act provides that heavy penalties shall be incurred. You must consult the act of parliament providing for the registration of joint stock companies."  
"Can I get the act here?"  
"No; you can buy it at the Queen's printers; or of the law stationers in Fleet-street."  
"What is the title of the act?"  
"An act for the registration, incorporation, and regulation of joint stock companies."

Hearing which, I proceeded to the office of the Queen's printers, and paying 1s. 3d. for the act in question, took it back to the Registration Office, showed it to the Registrar, and enquired if that was the act under which the Chartist Co-operative Land Company was registered, and he, looking at it, said it was. He added that if the company was not registered in conformity to that act, they were liable to all the penalties set forth in it to prevent its infringement. I shall now quote from those portions of it which refer to the Chartist Land Company.  
Now then, reader, what think you of all that disinterested research, and all published in the Journal of an Economist, who will vote for anything you ask him in PROPER SEASON, except THE TEN HOURS' BILL. Now observe, he first goes to Herringgate from Manchester, 200 miles; he traverses the whole place for full three hours, on a wet, cold, peeling day; he had heard all that he published in his second letter, but withholds every sentence of it in the first—not a word about the fresh timber, and no water, and bad roads, and drunken plasterers that he drank with in the Beer Shop; no, he was all hope—FULL OF HOPE, BURSTING WITH HOPE; he doesn't go back to the BUTTONLESS BLACKGUARD at once; no, the sympathetic, industrious youth, goes to London, and gives you an account of his enquiries, but not a word of truth. No; Oliver-like, and Castles-like, and Edwards-like, the spy MISREPRESENTS himself. He did go to the Land Office, but he represented himself as a magistrate for two Counties, with large landed estates, which he proposed turning to the same purpose as the Company's Land, and wished for a copy of their rules, and all the documents connected with their PHILANTHROPIC undertaking; and for a copy of Mr. O'Connor's work on Small Farms, stating that he was intimately acquainted with me, O'Connor, as he did at Herringgate, though I never laid eyes on

the man in my life to my knowledge, although I sympathized with him, and made many bold speeches on his case, when he was flogged; and more than once used language in his behalf which should have insured a more straightforward course from him as regards anything I was concerned in. So much in proof of the conspiracy, and that THE WHISTLER is a hired spy; and now to prove him in the consistent character of INFORMER. He goes to the Land Office, and shame! O shame to tell! sees three gentlemen with THEIR BACKS TO THE FIRE on a COLD DAY. He asks for the only work the Company professes to sell—the Rules—and he gets a copy—he then asks for a balance sheet, and he gets it, though the Company only professes to print it for its own members. He asks for other works, which he is told are out of print; and then he asks for others, which the cold gentlemen told him "are suppressed, in compliance with COUNSEL'S OPINION, until the Company was COMPLETELY REGISTERED." He then buys my work on Small Farms, but he has prudently abstained from comment upon that; friend Bright, no doubt, telling him that he had better not WHISTLE AT THE SPADE. Well; he is very inquisitive, and goes off to the Registration Office, and pays one shilling, and is handed a very THIN BOOK, just as thick, however, as it would be had it contained the mere PROVISIONAL REGISTRATION of a RAILWAY COMPANY TO THE MOON; but this meddling knave knows that the poorer class like a great deal being said and written about them, and, therefore, they should understand that provisional registration does not infer the writing of a book, but the mere preliminary step towards COMPLETE REGISTRATION. Well, having paid a shilling, which is no doubt an item in his account pro contra John Bright, he asks so many questions that the cold gentlemen in that office, like the weaver at Herringgate, were too busy to gratify his curiosity, though CHANCERY LANE was visited to RESOLVE that doubt, as our critic styles it. Well, that wasn't enough, but off he goes to the Queen's printers, and actually pays 1s. 3d. for the act, though they GAVE HIM THE WRONG ONE, and back goes the WHISTLER, "And is this the act?" he says; bursting with anxious solicitude for the victims. "Yes," says one of the gentlemen; and then "says I" and "says he."

I have now traced this conspirator, spy, and informer (if he could make anything by it), from Bright's lie shop through his maze and back again to the manufactory, and I ask any man of common understanding, to come to other conclusion than that he is a slavish tool employed by a slave owner, to do his bidding. Now let me tell him, and the reader, that the Act under which the company is provisionally registered, and will be COMPLETELY REGISTERED, was framed, not to aid informers, but to protect society; and that, before he could recover BLOOD MONEY, he should prove wilful neglect, or peculation, or dishonesty, against the officers. I tell him more, that the laws of the rich are not framed for the protection of the poor, and still more, that they are not so framed, any one of them, as to protect society against INFORMERS, for, as has been observed millions of times, you may drive a coach and four through any Act of Parliament, and if so inclined (which God in his mercy forbid) I would undertake to prove neglect and non-compliance with Statute Law against every society in existence—but I should not like to return to society with the brand upon me. And I tell the informer more, that every thing required has been complied with; and the Company being in existence before being provisionally registered, and the law not allowing more than a stipulated amount to be raised on each share, the amount of shares has been altered to meet the law, but not to affect the members. He forget that, where he hoped to prove neglect, he was establishing vigilance, as he tells us that the COLD GENTLEMEN had suppressed some documents, in compliance with the provisions of the Statute. And now it is my duty to tell you, that it is your duty to put us and yourselves, as speedily as possible, beyond the reach of this and all other CONSPIRATORS, SPIES, and INFORMERS, by furnishing the Directors, WITHOUT DELAY, with the names, occupation, and place of abode of every member.

I always told you that enrolment or registration would hamper or perplex us—now you see it. You asked for it. The want of it gave our enemies a handle, and I resolved that I would not be thwarted by charges of dishonesty or concealment; but if the members had been left to their own judgment, they never would have required security beyond confidence in me, though all their property was vested in me and MY HEIRS FOR EVER; well-knowing that all their property would be conveyed to my heirs, as their trustees, to execute the several trusts conditioned with them. Thus I have explained all to you. It is now three o'clock on Wednesday morning. I am the only one up in the house, after having walked and re-walked every field of Labour's second estate, and at this hour of calm reflection I am not thoughtful of the stupendous responsibility I have imposed upon myself. I know that, at three to a family, THIRTY-SIX THOUSAND little children and their parents are, though sleeping, DREAMING confidence in me. I know that that would rot in a BASTILLE before I would forfeit that confidence or lessen their scanty bread by a single crumb. I know myself, and feel determined to go on in spite of letter-lord, slave-masters, CONSPIRATORS, SPIES, and INFORMERS; and I envy not the cold-blooded reflections of the cold-blooded monster who, for hire, would write himself down a hypocrite.

I travelled here on Tuesday with REBECCA A and my old bailiff and family, who never saw a steamer before (as he terms the train), and already all have inspired against us, except the elements. We have FIRE, AIR, EARTH, and WATER, which they cannot keep from us; but the owner of the principal stone quarry has forbid his tenant to sell us stone; and the owner of the barren sand-pit, open to all for a century, will not allow me to have sand, nor will they allow us to have stuff for making roads; and I learn that the farmers will not send their teams to work, and my neighbour threatens to stop up a HIGH ROAD to prevent access. Read that, WHISTLER, and chuckle; but read this and tremble! I can get the best bricks in England for about £1. 5s. a thousand—that is, 17s. a thousand cheaper than at Herringgate. I can purchase carts and horses, or would wheel the bricks in a barrow. I have FOUND SAND ON THE SPOT, and in six hours from this time, I will have a clay-kilo on fire, burning clay to make roads—the finest material in the world. So, TYRANTS—I DEFEY YOU!!! INFORMERS—I DESPISE YOU!!!  
Chartists! the man who has scoffed at your principles has hired a spy to break up the movement that would give to each of Labour's sons a neck and labour-field. Slaves! the master who makes money

## THE NATIONAL LAND AND LABOUR BANK.

Recklessness, want of economy, indifference of the doubtful future during the prosperous present, have ever been the most unanswerable charges brought by the wealthy, the wily, and the fortunate against the labouring classes. We are not prepared to defend this wholesale charge in the abstract, while we contend that the want of thriftiness evinced by the many is a consequence of our institutions, both commercial and political, being framed and altered from time to time for the convenience, security, and protection of the hasty made capital of the wealthy, rather than for the accumulated savings of the daily labourer or slowly thriving shopkeeper. For instance, our giant trade and commerce preclude the possibility of the poor man becoming a competitor with the rich speculator, while our monetary system rejects him as unworthy from the impossibility of qualifying himself as a partner or participant from his daily or weekly savings. The Savings Bank becomes his only alternative, the only depository for his daily or weekly parings, and from the fact of this department being his only source, the government charges a large profit in diminished interest for the convenience afforded by the institution. For instance, the speculator with thousands, or even with hundreds, in the commercial or money market can command the highest rate of profit or interest, while the poor man is reduced to the alternative of being his own depositor without interest, or accepting the highest rate that his gradual savings can command. Hence the man with a thousand pounds may secure four per cent. upon mortgage, the man with a hundred pounds something over three per cent. in Consols, while the poor accumulator during the process of saving, and who has not a sufficient amount to take advantage of any of these securities, receives no more than £2. 18s. per cent. secured upon his own industry and the dissipation of his thoughtless fellow-labourer. He is reconciled to this lower rate of interest—

Firstly.—By the fact that it is the only market open to him.—Secondly.—That it presents security.—Thirdly.—That it guarantees the power of with drawal in seasons of necessity, but even this power is restricted by conditions sometimes harsh and inconvenient.

Thus we establish the value of co-operation without industry at one pound two per cent., that being the difference between the rate of interest received by the poor saver and him who can command a sufficient amount to insure the highest rate of interest.

We have been reminded to surfeit that the glory of England consists in the equal opportunity afforded to all in the market of speculation. We admit the fact, while we assert that the sun of England's glory would speedily set if all men were mere agents for the transfer of property, and none were producers of property. And it is in order that the latter class, which will ever be the large majority, may be armed with the power of co-operation as a means of placing them upon an equality in point of protection with the former class that we advocate the principle of co-operation, and propose to establish the only medium by which it can be efficiently carried out—

### The National Land and Labour Bank.

We may be told that Joint Stock Banks, Railway Companies, Mining Companies, Steam Navigation Companies, and all other undertakings introduced to the world with a fascinating prospectus establishing a fictitious amount of shares, and a mere nominal amount of call, present the desired opportunity to the small capitalist. The result, however, of attempting to engraft this fascinating reality upon an unheeded fiction, has been the ruin of thousands; and the effect has been as follows:—Many a poor man, jumping at the promise of high interest, and uncared by the phantom of future calls, has paid the required deposit, which an inconvenient call compels him to sacrifice altogether, or preserve as a forlorn hope, at the expense of future contributions, until the society's affairs are wound up, and he finds himself liable to all losses; a few wily concoctors and solicitors taking his crippled child to nurse; and thus fattening upon his credulity. Hence, we show the simple value of Co-operation without industry, while we assert, without fear of contradiction, that the carrying on the necessary operations of trade depending upon individual industry, is not restricted to three, four, five, ten, or even fifteen per cent. Indeed, the value of capital can be best appreciated by the enormous amount of wealth that its possessors have been enabled to accumulate out of hired labour.

Let us illustrate this position. A tenant holds a hundred acres of land at one pound an acre, and dear in its present state. It will require £500, or £5 an acre to drain it, and then it becomes worth £2 an acre—thus returning the tenant twenty per cent. upon the expenditure of £500, so that, had he given fifteen per cent. for the capital, he would still be a gainer of five per cent. by the transaction; while, through that amount of expenditure in labour the district absokepers would be benefited, through them the domestic manufacturer and merchant, and, through all, the government. But this source of speculation is stopped by the landlord's indifference to benefit his tenant, and the tenant's indifference to benefit the landlord; whereas if it belonged to the occupier the work would be done. But how much more pointedly the fact will present itself to the reader, when the capital is applied to enable and encourage the small husbandman to prosecute his own industry. The summary of these observations is that

### A Nation's Greatness

is better secured by individual prosperity than by commercial traffic, which must restrict industry. The duty of a government is to increase the national resources of the country to the highest state of cultivation they will admit of; and the way to insure this national good is, by the application of free labour, and the equitable (NOT EQUAL) distribution of its produce; while the error of the present system is, that those who possess capital have the power of resisting the cultivation of our national resources to that particular standard which insures them the largest monopoly of the produce. We hold it to be an indisputable fact that the application of free labour, which means the labour of the small proprietor to the land, the cultivation of our mines, minerals, and higher rate superinduced by well required industry in the natural market, could be borne by the manufacturer, the merchant, and trader, by the incalculable impetus given to domestic trade and commerce, through the increased consumption of the free labour class.

The industrious man who has contributed a long life's accumulation of property for others must start at the announcement of our present prime minister:—"That the criminal law is a problem yet to be solved."—"That the sanitary condition of the people is miserably deficient;" and "That our whole system of education requires deep consideration and improvement." Now we hold that governments, and governments only, are answerable for the law's inequality and imperfections, for sanitary deficiency and educational regulation; and we further hold that free and well-required labour would render our criminal law, now a problem, if not obsolete, at least a thing of rare application to an improved and moral society.

That the free labourer can best educate his own children, ventilate his own house, and preserve his own and family's health. In the free labour market we estimate a man's labour cheaply, very cheaply, at £50 per annum, and thus, if we have a million of paupers whose strained labour is now worth £10 a year each, the nation loses £40,000,000 per annum, added to an expense of seven millions per annum wrung from the labour of the industrious, for no other purpose than to keep up an idle reserve at other people's expense, for the capitalist to fall back upon as a means of reducing and keeping down wages in the artificial market. Here then is a national sacrifice to class gain and individual monopoly.

In order, then, to illustrate our plan for creating a free and independent labour class, whose industry shall be applied to the cultivation of our national resources, we propose to establish

## The National Land and Labour Bank

upon the following principle:—viz. That it shall consist of three departments:—a Deposit Department; a Redemption Department; and a Sinking Fund Department; and we shall now treat of those several departments each under its proper head.

### Deposit.

The Deposit Department to be open to all who wish to vest their monies upon the security of the landed property of the National Co-operative Land Company.

and bearing interest at the rate of 3½ per cent. per annum.

The capital deposited to be regulated by the following scale:—that is to say,—that for every £60 payable as rent-charge by the occupants, over and above the amount necessary to pay the interest of £4 per cent. on the Redemption Fund, the directors will be empowered to receive £1000, thus leaving a sinking fund in this department, over and above the company's liabilities, of two and a half per cent.

Suppose, for instance, an estate producing £600 a year over and above the Company's liabilities of £4 per cent. (upon the amount in the redemption department) to be occupied by the members of the company, who will each have received a conveyance in fee of his allotment, subject to a rent-charge proportioned to the purchase money and outlay; upon this estate, conveyed by the trustees as security to the bank, the directors would be empowered to raise £10,000, and would be liable to £350 a year interest at 3½ per cent. upon the borrowed capital of £10,000.

Each depositor of any amount not exceeding £10 would be entitled to draw that amount on demand.

A depositor wishing to draw any amount from £10 to £20, must give one week's notice.

From £20 to £50, a fortnight's notice; and from £50, to any amount, one month's notice.

The amount of deposit at any one time not to be less than two shillings and sixpence.

### Redemption Department.

The Redemption Department to be open to the members of the Land Company, and who, whether occupants or shareholders, will be entitled to deposit their funds in that department upon the following conditions:—

That each shareholder may deposit any amount not less than threepence at one time, and for which he shall receive interest at the rate of four per cent. per annum. This fund will be applicable to the purchase of Land or paying down of the occupants' rent-charge, at the rate of four per cent., or twenty-five years' purchase—that is, that a depositor having £25 in the redemption department when he is eligible for occupation, will be entitled to a reduction of £1 in the redemption of his allotment at £7 rent. We state £25, but the depositor of any sum under that amount, down to £5, would be entitled to apply their monies in the Redemption Department not being allowed to withdraw more than one-half the amount deposited, and being obliged to give a month's notice before they can draw any portion of their deposit from that department, which however would be equivalent to ready money as a transfer of the deposit less the month's interest (the lender receiving the interest) could be effected.

### Sinking Fund Department.

The funds of this department consist of two and a-half per cent. in landed property over and above the liability of three-and-a-half per cent. payable as interest to the depositors. The profits from this department to be added to the redemption department, and equally applied to the purchase or reduction of the rent of shareholders who had been depositors in the redemption department; and to be applied in aid of the location of the poor occupant, to be repaid by them in easy and convenient instalments.

We shall now proceed to consider the LIABILITIES AND CONTINGENCIES consequent upon the deposit department, and the Company's means of meeting them. We will presume that £5,000, or one half of the whole sum in the deposit department, was liable to be withdrawn on demand. The Company should, consequently, be prepared with that amount, to meet any contingency, and which it proposes to do in the following manner: That is to say, by the application of the Company's floating capital for carrying on building and other operations, and which would be always vested in a Bank, paying two and a-half per cent. as at present, and would be constituted of funds paid upon account of shares, and not belonging to any of the three departments.

The remainder of the funds in the several departments would be applicable to the purchase of land, erection of houses, and location of occupants.

### Expenses.

The expenses of the Banking Department are amply provided for by the payment of one shilling per year, per share, payable by the shareholders in the Land Company, and the surplus in the several departments to be applied to the benefit of the shareholders upon the winding up of the section to which they belong.

### Mode of Securing the Means of Meeting Liabilities.

The Land Company proposes to locate its members upon two acres of land which shall have cost £18. 15s. per acre, or £37. 10s.: to erect a house which shall cost £30, and to expend in improvements, and give to the occupant, the sum of £15, making a total of £82. 10s., and for which preliminary expenditure the Company charges £5 a year; and five per cent. upon all monies above that sum expended in the purchase of the Land and the erection of a house; that is, if the land costs £30 an acre instead of £18. 15s., and the house £60 instead of £30, the occupants will pay £5 per cent. upon £22. 10s. the additional price of the Land, and the latter case £7. 12s. 6d. per annum; the same scale being applicable to any priced land and any priced house in a descending as well as an ascending ratio—that is, if land shall be purchased at a less amount than £18. 15s., an acre, £5 per cent. in rent shall be deducted from the reduced price of the land.

Suppose, then, the occupant, whose land shall have cost £30 an acre, and whose house shall have cost £60, and who shall have received £15 capital, that occupant will have cost the Company £135, less £2. 10s. the original amount paid for the share—thus making the Company's expenditure £132. 10s. without taking credit for any portion of the £15 capital expended in operations of laundry or other improvements which increase the value of the holding. For this £132. 10s. the Society receives £7. 12s. 6d. in the shape of rent-charge, or within a fraction of 5½ per cent. upon the outlay, without any margin for the increasing value secured upon the expenditure of a man and his family's labour to that amount of ground. In the case of a man holding four acres of ground, and whose house would cost £80, the Society's profit would be reduced to about 5½ per cent. upon the outlay.

This scale shows the equity of the standard upon which the rent of allotments has been established, and, perhaps, may be met with the assertion, that it is a high per centage upon the outlay, and which assertion we meet thus—

Firstly.—Without co-operation the occupants could not procure a single allotment.

Secondly.—An individual carrying out the scheme would charge rent according to the retail value, amounting to about £15 per cent., regulated only by the convenience and desi of the poor occupant to have a field whereon to expend his own labour.

Thirdly.—The individual would not convey the convenient allotment in fee, and consequently the occupant would be liable to a periodical increase of rent as a tax upon his own industry.

Fourthly.—All profits consequent upon saving of rent over interest is divided equally amongst the several shareholders.

Fifthly.—A small proprietary class is the only possible means by which the fair standard of the price of labour can be established in the artificial market.

The only means by which poor rates and workhouses can be made unnecessary;

The only means by which the national resources can be fully developed and profitably cultivated;

The only means by which famine—save that which is the will of God—can be averted;

The only means that can render man indifferent to foreign production;

The only means that can give an impetus to home trade and home industry;

The only means that can secure a national militia, who will fly to the cry of "My cottage and my country are in danger!"

The only means by which education can be encouraged, health secured, and violation of the laws of society, be considered crime

The only means by which the arts and sciences of Britain can be made to vie with those of any other nation upon earth.

The only means by which the good in each man may be developed, and his evil propensities kept in subjection by the wholesome chastisement of public censure and disapproval.

(Continued from the Second Column.)  
of your infants' blood, and would sacrifice his seat rather than untrammel them, asks for YOUR VOTES! Land members! Bright has hired a tool to ruin your movement, and insolently relies upon your support. Voters! oppose him; non-electors! hoot him from the hustings. Don't believe him, if he disowns the "Examiner," he is the PRINCIPAL PROPRIETOR; it speaks his sentiments, and now he is opposed to yours, KICK IT OUT OF EVERY HOUSE OF RESORT. The Informer HAS NOT ACCEPTED MY CHALLENGE, he dare not, he cannot, rely upon my countrymen now to MURDER

My children, rejoice in the opposition all are offering me, else I might grow dull, and tame, and inactive. At the next election, the SPIT AND THE LEG OF MUTTON will be our watch word and our CRY, and let confident tyranny presume as I may, I tell you, that, when that time arrives, we will be better prepared and more resolute than our enemies may suppose. Our first duty is to strengthen Duncombe; our next is to weaken our enemies. Bright is one of our greatest. Good night.

Ever your faithful friend and bailiff,  
FRANÇOIS O'CONNOR.

## Chartist Intelligence.

### THE CHARTISTS OF EDINBURGH.

The Quarterly General Meeting of the Edinburgh members of the National Charter Association was held in Palmer's Hall, Carrow-cloze, High-street on the evening of the 21st ult.

Mr. John McDonald was unanimously called to the chair, who, in a brief but excellent address, opened the business of the meeting.

Mr. Alex. Grant, sub-Treasurer, then read the minutes of the preceding quarter, and entered at length into the position and prospects of the branch. He remarked that the cause now occupied a respectable and honourable footing; and that it required only energy and perseverance to produce great and permanent results. He was confident of great assistance to their members if a system of constant agitation was kept up.

The following gentlemen were then elected to serve as members of general council for the ensuing quarter:—Messrs. William Meachin, John Grant, James Cumming, John McEwan, James Morton, James Robertson, William Murray, Alexander McDonald, John Watson, Walter Pringle, David Watson, Duncan Mc Dougal, Robert Renton.

Mr. Archibald Walker was re-elected Treasurer by acclamation.

Mr. Alexander Grant was proposed, and unanimously approved, as sub-Secretary; but he distinctly stated that he could not accept the office again, as he found that he could not command time sufficient to discharge the duties of sub-Secretary with satisfaction to himself and benefit to the branch. He was never in the habit of doing anything by halves; and he was the less disposed to do so in connection with the great and paramount question of the political salvation of the country. He would do all he could, save his evening office; and the council would find him always at their disposal if he had a leisure moment to spare. He thanked them for the honour proposed to be conferred upon him; and as he could not accept it for himself, he would propose as his successor a young, able, and promising gentleman, sufficient to benefit the branch, and to discharge the duties of sub-Secretary with satisfaction to himself, and to the satisfaction of the branch; and although he could not be expected to have the benefit of the experience of older friends yet he doubted not but his general aptness would quickly conquer the objection. He concluded by proposing Mr. Alexander Black as sub-Secretary.

Mr. Archibald Walker brought the subject of the Repayment Fund of Mr. O'Connor under the notice of the meeting, which was received in the warmest manner, and a resolution was carried that a voluntary subscription should be commenced, to continue for six weeks.

The motion being seconded and put, was carried by acclamation.

Mr. James Morton addressed the meeting on the propriety of inviting Mr. James O'Connor to oppose Babinetion's Cause at the next election for the City, which, from the present position of political parties, was thought to be near at hand. The subject was referred to the council, in the meantime to be considered by them, and prepare for a special general meeting.

A vote of thanks was unanimously given to the chairman; after which the meeting broke up.

### SUNDERLAND.

The Chartists and members of the Land Company held a New Year's Festival on the 1st inst. The meeting was addressed by Messrs. Irvin and Dobbin. A very happy evening was passed.

### PRESTON.

A special meeting of the Preston branch of the Chartist Co-operative Land Company will take place on Monday evening next, Jan. 11th, at Mr. Hill's, Temperance Hotel, Lane-street, to elect auditors and scrutineer, in accordance with the Rules issued by the directors.

### BOLTON.

A public tea party and festival was held here in the Chartist Association Room on the evening of New Year's Day, in honour of F. O'Connor and E. Jones, Esqs. The room was tastefully decorated with evergreens and portraits of patriots of by-gone days, and those of the present. After tea the tables were removed and the amusements commenced which were kept up until early in the morning.

### LONGTON.

A few friends to popular government have recently opened a subscription already amounting to £12, they resolved to forward the same to the Central Registration and Election Committee, to aid and assist in returning to the ensuing Parliament men imbued with talent, energy, and public principle, sufficient to enable them to assist T. S. Duncombe, Esq., in effecting the enfranchisement of the militia.

Books for the reception of subscriptions, of any amount, are still open at the house of Mr. Isaac Hasmerley, York-street, where the committee meet every Sunday afternoon, at half-past two o'clock.

### TO THE PEOPLE.

Dixon Hotel, Manchester, Jan. 6th 1847.

DEAR FRIENDS,

Some very annoying mistakes have occurred in the arrangements announced for my lectures, by which great inconvenience, and loss of time have ensued. No answers have been sent me from Halifax, Rochdale, or the Potteries. Hence any disappointment which may have been felt should not be attributed to negligence on my part. I have always endeavoured to be punctual to an appointment. I regret the misunderstanding, as to Sheffield, and will do away with that lecturing, there on Sunday the 17th, and Monday the 18th, if these days will suit them.

I will also remedy the disappointment at Rochdale, by lecturing there on Sunday, the 10th, without fail. I have accepted the invitations from Accrington, and Blackburn, and will lecture in the former town, on Monday, the 11th, and in the latter, on Tuesday, the 12th.

I propose visiting Preston, on Wednesday, the 13th, as a friend informs me a room can be had. I can also be a lecturer to deliver a lecture in Chorley, on Thursday, the 14th. I hope the above arrangements will prove satisfactory to the people, and beneficial to the cause.

Answers had better be forwarded in all cases to me, if up to Monday, the 11th, at Dixon's, Great Ancoats-street, Manchester, or to the above mentioned places in Lancashire if later.

Faithfully yours,  
FRANÇOIS O'CONNOR.

### A BULL.

—Was there ever a better bull perpetrated than the following one?—

"A new stove had been invented, and a gentleman soliciting order for it was praising its comfortable and economical qualities, in the highest terms to Mr. O'Shoughnessy, who listened with the greatest attention. As an ultimatum to his eulogium, the interested party declared that the purchaser of one of these stoves would save the purchaser one half the quantity of fuel he at present consumed."

"Do you mean to say," earnestly inquired Mr. O'Shoughnessy, "that one of the stoves would save half my fuel?"

"Most decidedly I do. I will answer for it."

"Then give your hand, my friend," said he, delighted, "and I'll tell you what I'll do: I'll have two stoves and save it all."

"And how could his friend get over this antipodean arithmetic? Would not Cooker himself, that if one stove would save half the fuel, two stoves would save it all?"

### TRANS-ATLANTIC CONTEMPT OF COURT.

A learned justice was supported on his right and left by his worthy associates, when Mrs. P. was called upon to give evidence. "Take off your bonnet, Ma'am," I had rather not, Sir," said Mrs. P. "In public Madam, take off your bonnet, I say." "In public assemblies, Sir, women generally cover their heads. Such I am sure is the custom elsewhere; and therefore, I will not take off my bonnet." "Do you hear that, gentlemen? She pretends to know more about these matters than the Judge himself! Had you not better, Madam come and take a seat on the bench?" "No, Sir, I thank you, for I really think there are old women enough there already."—American paper.

EXTRAORDINARY CURES

HOLLOWAY'S OINTMENT.

wonderful Cure of dreadful Ulcers on the Face and Legs, and of the most obstinate Rheumatism...

I, HUGH MACDONALD, of the County of Kent, do hereby declare, that a most wonderful preservation of my life has been effected by the use of Holloway's Pills and Ointment...

The above case of Hugh Macdonald, of Kent, is personally under my observation; and when he first applied to me to get some of the medicine, I thought his case utterly hopeless...

Cure of a Desperate Case of Erysipelas. Copy of a Letter from Mr. Joseph Giddon, Jun., a Farmer, East Kent, near Spalding, Lincolnshire, 8th April, 1846.

Sir,—I have the gratification to announce to you a most wonderful cure wrought upon myself, by the use of your Ointment and Pills...

Cure of a Desperate Case of Erysipelas. Copy of a Letter from Mr. Joseph Giddon, Jun., a Farmer, East Kent, near Spalding, Lincolnshire, 8th April, 1846.

Sir,—I think it to be an act of justice to inform you that I have tried your Ointment in several cases of Ulcerated Sore Legs, with a considerable time had been spent in vain...

ON THE CONCEALED CAUSE OF CONSTITUTIONAL OR ACQUIRED DYSPEPSIA OF THE GENERATIVE ORGANS.

A new and important Edition of the Silent Friend on Human Frigidity.

MEDICAL WORK ON THE INFIRMITIES OF THE GENITIVE SYSTEM, in both sexes; being an enquiry into the concealed cause that destroys physical energy, and the ability of the system to resist the effects of SOLITARY INDULGENCE AND INFECTIOUS LOCAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL WEAKNESS, NERVOUS IRRITATION, CONSUMPTION, &c.

Y. R. and L. PERRY, CONSULTING SURGEONS. Published by the Authors, and may be had at their Residence, 19, Berners-street, Oxford-street, London; sold by Strangé, 21, Paternoster-row; Hannay and Co., 63, Old-bath-street, Glasgow; 146, Leadenhall-street; Powell, Edinburgh; D. Campbell, 136, Argyle-street; Ingham, Market-street, Manchester; Newton, Church-street, Liverpool; Guest, Bull-street, Birmingham.

THE CORDIAL BALM OF SYRIACUM. Intended to relieve those persons, who, by an immoderate indulgence of their passions, are seized with plethoric affections, or are affected with any of those previous symptoms that betray its approach, as the various affections of the nervous system, obstinate gleets, excesses, irregularity of evacuations, weakness, loss of appetite, barrenness, &c.

THE CONCENTRATED TERRESTRIAL ESSENCE. An anti-syphilitic remedy for searching out and purifying the diseased humors of the blood; conveying its active principles throughout the body, even penetrating the most remote and inaccessible parts of the system...

FRAMPTON'S PILL OF HEALTH. THE BEST AND MOST EFFECTIVE REMEDY FOR THE CURE OF ALL AFFECTIONS OF THE STOMACH AND BOWELS BY GENERAL RELAXATION, WITHOUT GRIPPING OR PROSTRATION OF STRENGTH.

CONSTITUTION.

To persons entering upon the responsibilities of matrimony, and who are in the habit of indulging in the use of spirituous liquors, it is highly essential, and of the greatest importance, that serious affections are not allowed to take root in the system...

FRAMPTON'S PILL OF HEALTH. A curious affair has recently occupied the attention of the public, and has attracted much notice in the borough of Stockport...

THE STOCKPORT IMPROVEMENT BILL. A curious affair has recently occupied the attention of the public, and has attracted much notice in the borough of Stockport...

COUGHS, HOARSENESS, AND ALL ASTHMATIC AND PULMONARY COMPLAINTS. EFFECTUALLY CURED BY KEATING'S COUGH LOZENGES.

Upwards of thirty years experience has proved the infallibility of these Lozenges in the cure of Winter Cough, HoarseNESS, Shortness of Breath, and other Pulmonary Maladies.

VALUABLE TESTIMONIALS. The following Testimonial of a Cure of a Cough of twenty years standing, and recovery of strength will be read with much interest...

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CRAOVC.

BY JOSEPH MAZZINI. It is finished! The last fragment of that brave nation, whose body was riddled with wounds in the name of Liberty, against Mahomedanism, has disappeared...

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THE MOST IMPORTANT DISCOVERY OF THE PRESENT TIME.

THE USE OF ETHER IN SURGERY. We noticed last week a method of rendering a patient insensible to pain during the performance of surgical operations by the inhalation of the vapour of ether combined with atmospheric air...

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POISONING OF A YOUNG FEMALE IN ESSEX.

BARNWELL, Tuesday.—An Inquest, which has occupied several days in the course of the last three weeks, was held at the village yesterday afternoon, before Mr. C. C. Lewis, coroner, and the jury, who were sworn at a village of Barnwell, a few miles distant from this town.

The deceased's name was Lucy Routledge. She was a healthy looking young woman, aged 18 years, and was the daughter of a labourer, living at Barnwell, near the village of Barnwell, six miles north-east of Barnwell, in the parish of Barnwell, in the county of Essex.

The deceased's name was Lucy Routledge. She was a healthy looking young woman, aged 18 years, and was the daughter of a labourer, living at Barnwell, near the village of Barnwell, six miles north-east of Barnwell, in the parish of Barnwell, in the county of Essex.

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DREADFUL ACCIDENT ON THE NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY.

A very shocking accident, resulting in the loss of two lives, occurred on Tuesday morning, at seven o'clock on Tuesday morning, at the station of Langley station, on the line of the North Western Railway.

The circumstances in connection with the melancholy affair, as ascertained from an inspection of the scene of the accident, and inquiries among the several parties who witnessed the same, may be briefly stated as follows.

About twenty minutes after one o'clock on Tuesday morning, a coal train, from the Clayross and Staveley collieries, drew up alongside the platform at the King's Langley station, for the purpose of detaching some waggon cars at that place.

The morning was very foggy, the driver not being certain as to the exact position of the signal, and addressing the policeman on duty, said he had five trucks to leave at Langley, and should be glad to know whereabouts the "points" were.

The policeman signalled him to come on beyond the signal post, and the train started. The driver, however, stopped the train before arriving at the signal post, and addressing the policeman on duty, said he had five trucks to leave at Langley, and should be glad to know whereabouts the "points" were.

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DEATH FROM IMPURE AIR IN A LODGING.

An inquest was held on Monday night at the Red Lion, Shoe Lane, on the body of a man unknown, who died suddenly in a common lodging house in Field Lane, Holborn.

The deceased had occupied a bed in the lodging house, No. 26, Field Lane, for which he paid fourpence per week, and had been in the house for some time.

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THE IRON IN SUNDAY MORNING.

A Fix.—On Sunday morning, a fatal accident was committed in the river, at Shields, owing to the negligence of the driver, that the Tyne steamer was under the necessity of dropping anchor midway in her passage between north and south, and there she lay for three hours.

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BRUTAL CONDUCT OF A BALIFF.

An inquest was held last week, at Hanley, on the body of an elderly man, named Underwood, who had been kept days but in his old age had fallen into misfortune.

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DUNDEE HERALD'S WEEKLY NEWSPAPER. ESTABLISHMENT OF ONE THIRD ON THE MESSING OF PARLIAMENT.

THE DAILY NEWS.

London Morning Newspaper, in Time for the Morning Mails. It is remarkable, that more than a century since there were sixteen papers published in London.

IMPORTANT TO PHOTOGRAPHERS.

An application was made on the 22nd September, to the Vice-Chancellor of England, by Mr. Beard, for the purpose of obtaining a patent for his process of photography.

DOMESTIC MONITOR.

On Saturday, January the 2nd, was published, Price One Penny, No. IV. OF THE DOMESTIC MONITOR.

THE WOOD SPIRIT.

An Historical Romance, in Two Vols. An unequalled and a most scientific history of the life of a young man, who, after a long and eventful career, ends in a peaceful and happy old age.

CHARTIST POEMS.

By ERNEST JONES. A collection of poems, written in a simple and powerful style, which will be read with interest and sympathy by all who are true to the cause of the oppressed.

A GOOD FIT WARRANTED.

At the great western emporium, 1, and 2, Oxford-street, A. Ubbell and Co., practical tailors, are now making beautiful suits of superfine black for £2 10s any size; and of the best quality of cloth for 25s each.

RIGHTS OF INDUSTRY.

On Monday, Tuesday, and Friday evenings, January 11th, 12th, and 15th. Mr. JAMES BRONTERRE O'BRIEN, A.M. will lecture at the Literary Institution, John Street, Fitzroy-square.

THE CO-OPERATOR.

This work, which is published in Super-Royal Octavo, furnishes weekly reports of every movement going forward in the country of a co-operative character.

THE FAMILY JOURNAL.

Beautifully illustrated, as large and elegantly got up as any other journal, price One Penny, containing a variety of original romances, tales, and literary and scientific essays.

THE LABOURER.

A Monthly Magazine of Politics, Literature, Poetry, &c. Edited by FRASER O'CONNOR, Esq., and ERNEST JONES, Esq. (Barrister-at-Law).

THE NORTHERN STAR.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 9, 1847. THE STAR. It may be, and appears to be, that the working portion of the community has not yet seen the effect of a total change in the views, prospects, calling, and speculations of the governing and heretofore dominant class.

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either by agreement or FAMILY custom, to which pride and honour binds the lessor; the overseer of the trade lord has no tenure beyond the recommendation of tyranny.

THE LABOURER OF THE TRADE LORD.

The labourer of the TRADE LORD is as the exotic, imported for the owner's convenience, and removed from the conservatory when withered or unneeded; no refuge from the mill of his capricious master. Hence it is clear that the interest of the labourer inclined him to a preference for the responsible over the irresponsible master, while, strange to say, the whole tendency of recent legislation has gone to convert the landlord class into a community of active speculators, likely, in future, to be actuated by the very same motives that have influenced the trading class.

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of the community. The wholesale destruction of the potato crop has involved every class of the Irish population in ruin. That simple but awful fact is sufficient to show, that, if we would benefit Ireland at all, she must be placed at the very commencement of such a position as, that the failure of a single crop of one species of vegetable shall not be followed by such appalling and lamentable results. This cannot be done without the introduction of a new element into the social economy of Ireland. We see what the landlord and tenant system, as it has hitherto existed, can accomplish. If England is to give Ireland assistance, it should be given in such a way as to leave the people in a more hopeful condition than they were at its commencement. To give it for the purpose of propping up a bankrupt system of landlordism—or merely to leave the landlord and tenant system as we found it, would be madness. We must abandon old theories of political economy, as well as old practices of political oppression. The reviving power of a new agent must be tried upon a body which the old medicines have brought to death's door. A new principle must be applied, in order to call forth new tendencies, create a new class, and by such creation generate a host of new social influences in Ireland. In the introduction of the principle of a proprietary tenancy, in conjunction with a real Poor Law, and a good system of Education, by which knowledge would be brought to the door of all who desired it, do we see alone a way out of the present difficulties of that unhappy country.

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Foreign Review.

President Polk has been playing some curious pranks of late, and seems thereby to have roused the jealousy of the European Monarchs, who, fearing they may be outwitted by their Yankee rival, are just now coming out strong in their old characters, as we shall briefly show.

In the first place, Louis-Philippe has been enacting the solemn farce of assuring his precious "Peers," "Deputies," and the "Diplomatic Corps," that "Monarchy and Liberty" are gloriously united in his person; hence France is so happy, and presents so glorious an example to other countries—just imagine the "artful dodger" of the Barricades, with his tongue in his cheek uttering these lies with a solemn and self-satisfied air made up for the occasion; and then witness his worthy courages affecting the most honest enthusiasm, and shouting "Vive la Roi!" Of all pantomimes commend us to that annually performed on the *Jour de l'An* at the Tuilleries.

That delectable bit of Royalty—Isabella of Spain, has been engaged delivering a "royal speech," stuffed with the usual lies on the occasion of opening the Cortes. Though notoriously forced to marry her "august cousin," Don (key) D'ASS-is, she, nevertheless, asks for "prayers" to "Almighty God" to bless her marriage. We refer to our Foreign news for the only points of the speech worth extracting. We may add, that her Majesty utters some vauntings respecting the "vast and free field of the Constitution," which field, however, is neither "vast" nor "free" enough to admit an obnoxious deputy to the new Cortes. The celebrated Olozaga, who had to fly from Spain in 1843, in consequence of that famous plot in which the charming Isabella proved herself worthy of her "illustrious" parents, has been elected to the new Cortes. A few days ago he left France for Madrid with his passport duly signed; arrived within eleven leagues of Madrid, he was arrested by a party of civil guards, and has been taken to the citadel of Pampluna. Here is a pretty illustration of "how they manage things" in constitutional Spain!

The neighbouring kingdom presents a more tragical picture of the results flowing from that blessed alliance of monarchy with liberty, so highly lauded by the "artful dodger" of the Tuilleries. There we see brother shedding the blood of brother, and a whole country given over to anarchy, death and mourning, through the determination of one headstrong brutal woman to rule as she pleases, in spite of the wants and wishes of the people. The defeat of Bonifacio does not decide the struggle which may yet cost Donna

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Trades' Movements.

"TRADES UNIONS."

[We take the following extracts from an excellent article in "The Labourer," (reviewed in our third page.) We earnestly recommend the entire article to our Trades readers.]

We have ever looked upon the growth of Trades Unions as the best thing that has ever happened since democratic society. Whether we consider their increasing usefulness to society, or their increasing demand for knowledge and search of social improvement, the moving mind must attach paramount importance to the elements of greatness in this prodigious mass, and must look with corresponding interest to the apparatus which combined strength.

We have admitted our delight at the new ground assumed by the Trades' movement, and we meanly dissent from the view which represents it as an element of combination. The Trades are now entitled to a representation of their own body; they are in possession of more wealth than belongs to their united oppressors; they are in possession of more intellect than belongs to their united employers; they are consequently in a position to represent themselves as well as to be within the pale of representation, but still, though possessed of the material of ample matter, they have been lamentably deficient in its application.

We are aware that the democracy of trade has a hard contest in the struggle with the aristocracy. We are aware that the perfected mechanic prefers being the least among the little at the Luring Athenaeum, to being upon an equality in his own assembly-room with him with whom he has sailed.

The Trades are not only proud of the general body, but deprecating of the indulgence in it. We believe that the Trades, like the minister, must commence, de novo. That like good workmen, they must understand the materials, and out of the most fitting, manufacture the most suitable machinery, and having got the engine, they must be able to use it.

Every man employed by the society should consent to be a full member paying two shillings week, to be applied to the purchase of land for the location of the subscribers; or, if they please to sell, those who were willing to buy.

CO-OPERATIVE LEAGUE. The objects and plans of this body (noticed in our last) are set forth in the following extracts from their prospectus—

I.—OBJECTS. The purchase or rental of land, and the erection of suitable buildings thereon for the purpose of enabling members profitably to engage in either in agricultural, mechanical, or other pursuits.

TO THE FARMERS DISTRICT. MR FRIENDS.—If you will be at the trouble to turn over the pages of history, you will find that every institution which has been formed, every movement which has been set on foot, having for its object the amelioration of the condition of the working man, has ever been beset with a great amount of difficulty and danger.

I have not the least doubt that they will be in a position, at a proper time and place, to justify the steps taken. Others, there are who object to the present recommendation by the executive of an attempted reduction of wages or infringement of any kind made upon the rights of labour.

Let us view this question of working under protest as we may, there seems to be an evil connected with it, which, if not removed, will beget a more serious one. It is not a mere strike association; it is the object of this association to put them in possession of the means of producing and selling their own goods, and of purchasing land, by which means the working man will be able to pass through the hands of this profiteering, and to be a capitalist, and that he may, until he has got the original earnings left for the ill-used workman.

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THE "CONSPIRACY" CASE. TO THE EDITOR OF THE NORTHERN STAR. Sir,—Seeing a statement concerning myself in the columns of your valuable paper, I am compelled to state that the statement is entirely untrue.

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respectfully requested the editor to insert it in the Mercury for that week, but was told that it could only appear as an advertisement, for which I would have to pay. I then hid myself off to the Times' office, where I thought I should be more liberally treated; but blessed are they who expect nothing from sham liberals, for they shall not be disappointed. I received a similar answer.

WARRINGTON "CONSPIRATORS" AND THEIR VICTIMS. A mechanic forwards us a long letter addressed to the Trades, the conclusion of which is as follows:—"Whereas we must look for protection I say to your union, and to Mr. Duncombe and Mr. Roberts. Union enabled you to defend the Dorchester labourers and the Glasgow cotton-spinners; and union will enable you to successfully defend your brethren against the Newton tyrants.

MINERS PUBLIC DINNER. William Hulton, Esq. and sons, near Bolton, having given their collier the handsome sum of Five Guineas by way of a New Year's Gift, it was resolved by the men to appropriate the same to a public dinner.

RENEWED AGITATION FOR THE ADOPTION OF THE TEN HOURS' BILL IN FACTORIES. SECOND GREAT MEETING AT EDINBURGH. On Monday evening a second public meeting of the inhabitants of Edinburgh took place in the West Hall for the purpose of hearing addresses from Mr. Oastler and Mr. Ferrand, M.P., on the Ten Hours' Bill, and of considering the propriety of petitioning Parliament in favour of that measure.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NORTHERN STAR. Sir,—In a note which I sent you last week, with the printed address which you kindly inserted in the Star, I mentioned, and for which I return you my sincere thanks in the name of the carpet weavers of Great Britain, I gave it as my opinion, and I believe I have only given the prevailing opinion of the working class, that the Liberty Bell should be placed in the hands of the working class, and that the Liberty Bell should be placed in the hands of the working class.

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reduction of the hours of labour in factories was also necessary for the health of those employed in them. The Rev. Dr. Hays said—The facts that have been brought before us this evening have been, indeed, most interesting and affecting; and you have responded to them by the expressions of your sympathy. It has been impossible to listen to the narration without deep sorrow and distress of mind, and without perhaps a feeling of indignation.

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It is our conviction that the existing system of Society civilizes is radically false and corrupt in several of its prominent features, and that the Associationist system is laid as a solid basis upon every enlightened people. The institutions belonging to elements to present society, which we condemn as false, corrupting, brutalizing, or oppressive, and which can only be removed by an integral reform, are briefly the following:—War, or legal and illegal violence; the monopoly of the soil, and of Machinery; Property; Possession, and all approximations to it, such as mercenary marriages, and legalized impurity; the present defective methods of Education, and unequal opportunities of the same; the repugnant and degrading system of Labour, which lies at the foundation of slavery, idleness, physical debility and disease, and the general poverty in society; the universal Contempt of Literature and Hostility to Classes.

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These we propose to reform society, lay earnest and resolute, though patient and conciliatory, hands on the barbarian institutions which civilized man has too long tolerated, and against which the conscience and judgment of Christendom cry aloud.

But there are other institutions of modern society which we have untouched, whose beneficial influences we recognize, and whose tendencies to a higher order should be developed and perfected, while at the same time we are assured that if any radical changes are to take place in them they will be accomplished by other men than those of the present times; the chief of these institutions are the Christian Church, Marriage and Representative Government.

Thus in relation to the Church, we believe that the time is approaching when the scattered and hostile sects into which it is divided, will be brought into the same fold, and one Universal Church will be established on earth. But we have, as a body, no idea whatever of undertaking the reform necessary to effect this result; that work lies on the spirit, and we leave it to the future. But still we do not hesitate to declare that it cannot be brought about while discord and selfishness are the fundamental laws of society, and that our call on Christians of every sect to be true to their profession.

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Foreign Intelligence.

"And I will war, at least in words, (And should my chance be given—deeds), With all who will have thought!"

"I think I hear a little bird, who sings The people by and by the strong."—Bacon.

SOCIAL REFORM PARTIES IN AMERICA.

We think a brief account of those sections of the progressive movement in the United States not comprised in the ranks of the "National Reformers" and "Anti-Remainers" will be interesting to our readers.

When we have said that the Communists generally follow Robert Owen, or at least approximate to his views, we have said sufficient to give our readers an idea of their principles and aims.

The One-Union farm of 600 acres is purchased and paid for; chartered by the "National Reformers" and a number of "Anti-Remainers" and converted into a model farm.

It has been the subsequent history of this Community we do not know. There is one or two other Communities but of their history we cannot speak.

In October 1845 a "World's Convention" was held at New York, Mr. Owen was the convener of the Convention and its chairman; amongst the delegates present were G. E. Burleigh, J. P. Jones, and several leading "National Reformers."

The Convention was emphatically Mr. Owen's Convention. It was held at New York, and was presided over by Mr. Owen, and it is true that all plans of reform presented were discussed and decided upon; but it is equally true that Mr. Owen's plan was the beginning and end of the Convention, and that he considered that nothing short of his plan came legitimately within the meaning of the call.

The organization of the Convention was such that each session was in fact but a public meeting to deliberate on such plans as might be brought forward at the time.

At two of the largest of these, two plans were adopted, those of Bovey and Evans, both of which embraced the restoration of the soil by political action, and several other desirable reforms.

Mr. Owen's plan, also adopted at the last meeting, is in brief, to establish communities by incorporating Joint Stock Associations, the Communities to be built and led by the Capitalists, and to have the right of redeeming the stock, which Owen has to make before the year 1850. The amount of stock to be issued is a community of three thousand persons, he estimates three million of dollars, and he thinks that when one shall be established as a model, they will soon become general.

We have not heard that Mr. Owen's "Joint Stock Association" have advanced beyond the resolution-voting of the convention, but we fancy they have not. It was resolved that an annual "World's Convention" should be held in New York, in October in each year, but we have not heard of any such Convention having taken place in October last.

Recent American papers show, however, that Mr. Owen is yet indefatigable and undiminished in propagating his views. His addresses are somewhat more pertinent than of late. He is now engaged in the great instrument for effecting social reform: "The Associationist," a measure absolutely necessary to human progress.

The Associationists, (Fourierites), seem to command more public attention, at least they are better represented in the press, having several organs of first-rate talent, and one—the New York Tribune, possesses great influence. Recently this party published an elegant statement of their principles and objects, from which we give the following extracts:—

Of the "American Union of Associationists." Observing with regret, though without surprise, that misrepugnance, error, and the doctrine of Associationism, were the doctrines of Associationism, we the undersigned officers of the "American Union of Associationists," feel bound once again to state to our countrymen the real objects which we have in view.

We are convinced that the Associationist movement is a beneficent one, and that it fulfills the promise so long and counted through ages of conflict and suffering; that it opens a new era of justice and peace; that it practically embodies the Christian Law of Love, establishes the liberties and rights of citizens which have been sought in vain by legislators in ancient and modern times, and secures the enjoyment of the rights of man, and the triumph of all Christian and civilized lands are pre-claiming. Therefore do we summon all men to hearken to our criticisms of existing orders and miseries, to respond to our appeals for efficient efforts to remove these intolerable wrongs! Man—! accept the principles of Associationism, and you will see that we do, to be just and wise, and practically to apply them in hope and truth.

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In place of all these we aim to establish a new Social Order, which shall create abundant riches, and distribute them according to the laws of Justice; which shall banish poverty and pauperism, at the miseries of which give rise to every crime; which shall associate all the interests of all classes, and destroy in their very sources, the causes of selfishness, and antagonism, fraud, litigation and crime; which shall secure to every child the benefits of a complete moral, intellectual and physical development; which shall break the chains of the slave and the enjoyment of equal rights with which alone can restore position and vital marriage effectually from the world; which shall render the health of the body, and a true development and harmonious action of all the faculties and passions of the soul, which constitute happiness and the true end of human existence as they now are; which shall establish an enlightened and philanthropic opinion that will honestly examine and accept new ideas, new discoveries and plans of improvement; and which in short shall base the prosperity, liberty and peace of nations upon a true and sound foundation.

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ITALY.

On the 7th November the party proceeded a considerable distance up the river, the character of the country becoming hourly more striking. They encountered a noble reach called "Tomb." The natives were assembled with the party, and in crossing from the opposite bank, they seemed to be the greatest alarm lest any of the drowned corpses, of which they have five, should be taken to prove, and the most religious care was taken to prevent any occurrence. Three men were even engaged in holding up one of them. In the abundance, and shown the most friendly feeling, the information received by Mr. Mitchell from the various aborigines, had fallen in with, tended to show that two white men had been killed upon the Bolson, and one on the Birie; but being compelled to return, he reached Mr. Pearce's station on the 13th November, having been absent from it eight days.

It then became necessary for Mr. Mitchell to survey the located portions of the Borwin river, setting the boundaries of the runs, &c., for a distance of nearly 300 miles, downwards, until he arrived at Mohanna, a station of Mr. Nelson Lawson's. Here he found the first hill he had seen for many hundred years, and from the top of it he perceived two other districts, about 40 miles to the westward, and a third summit, which he recognized as O'Connell's Land, and thus became aware of his not being more than 70 miles from Fort Bourke; and certain of the identity of the Darling and Borwin rivers. He mounted his men upon fresh horses, and made Fort Bourke the second day, and the following day he was attacked by the blacks, who however did not during the whole night, but no accident occurred. The Fort he found almost entirely burnt down, but the temporary stock-yard, erected by Major Mitchell in 1835, was almost as secure as when erected. On the next day Mr. Mitchell returned to Mohanna.

