

My FRIENDS,
From the day I ventured to assume the office of public instructor, I have, upon all occasions, asked my readers to weigh my writings in the scale of their own unbiased judgment, adopting what appeared reasonable, rejecting what appeared unreasonable, and asking for explanation of all that appeared doubtful. In the course of my busy career it has fallen to my lot to have to deal with saucy, insolent, conceited and ignorant antagonists, who relied more upon abuse of me, and your credulity, than upon their own understanding. I have always held, that a virtuous, independent public writer, was the most valuable of all public functionaries; and, upon the contrary, that the hired writer was the most debased and insignificant wretch living. The Messrs. Chambers, by a most unaccountable process—to me a riddle—have wormed their way into the confidence of a large portion of the comparatively stified of the working classes, and they have very extensively presumed upon the gullibility of that order. In truth, they have published more rank nonsense than any set of scribblers within the same period. It once before fell to my lot to expose their strivings and ignorance, and this week it has pleased God to deliver them bound HAND AND TONGUE, to my mercy.

As a matter of right to me, and of pride and justice to yourselves, I ask you to read their published opinions—upon a principle on which the mind cannot much vary—in 1845 and 1847, and then ask yourselves for an explanation of such heartless brutality, and you will find spite for my exposure of their former folly the answer. As yet, you have seen comparatively nothing of their duplicity. They have published thirty-two whole columns in the number of the most extravagant laudation of the three-acre system. You shall see every word of it, and then your indignation will be complete. As long as I have been a public man, I have not met with one instance of similar depravity—that is the only word in the English language to characterise their corruption. I implore of you to read my answer to the article of W. C., and to come to some resolution upon the conduct of those public instructors, and send your verdicts for publication in the *Star*; and let them feel the weight of your anger also. Tell them plainly, that their insolence is an insult to your order; and that you will not support such depravity. Now, a word—What would you say of me, or what punishment would you consider sufficiently severe for me, if the *Star* had thus doubly dealt with any subject of like fixity? My Land and Chartist friends—if the Trades wish to be galled, don't you.

Chambers is your most deadly enemy; and as I have only one means of punishing such a fellow, I resort to that plan. I will aid and encourage a few well-informed men, of sound, good principle, in bringing out a weekly publication in every way superior to Chambers' trash, for I do. I will write gratuitously for it, and would rejoice in such an auxiliary. This week's letter to Chambers is my greatest triumph. No man can meet me in opposition to the Small Farm system and Spade Husbandry as a means of elevating every class of society, and making these countries independent of the world and their people independent of the domestic tyrant and foreign invader. I hope the Manchester man will get Mr. W. Grocott to read my answer to Chambers, and that all will listen attentively.

Ever your consistent instructor,
F. O'CONNOR.

THE HIGHER A MONKEY CLIMBS THE
MORE HE SHOWS HIS

CHAMBERS CONVICTED OF CORRUPT,
MALICIOUS, AND WILFUL LYING.

TO MR. W. C.

Sir,—I dare say you are aware that the first large letters which strike the traveller on alighting from a train are W. C. on a certain door, and I assure you the same letters appended to your paper entitled, "A WORD ON LAND," in your Journal of the 20th of February, very forcibly reminded me of its legitimate use. Now, you must bear patiently with this sort of reasoning upon that article, as I shall presently prove, to the satisfaction of the merest dolt, that when you wrote it, you knew you were writing a mean falsehood. No man is disreputable in that situation of life, to which it has pleased God to call him, so long as he fills it to the best of his ability. A sweep with his eye up a chimney, is not at all a ridiculous object; while he WOULD be an object of ridicule, if found investigating the planets through Lord Rosse's telescope, with the intention of instructing the world in astrology. The BAWD who sells her beauty and fascinations indiscriminately for hire, is an object of profound respect, when compared with the PROSTITUTE who indiscriminately hires himself as a writer. There is no more dangerous instrument than a pen in a corrupt hand; while a standing army would have but a sorry chance against the battery of a virtuous press. You have mistaken your calling—you were made for the SCISSORS, and not for the PEN.

As long as you confined your labours to the art of compiling, you were a useful LITERARY COOK, and not unfrequently gave us savoury hashes from other men's brains, but whenever you have stepped from the narrow and easy path of compilation and selection into the unbounded field of originality, you became lost in the vastness of space, and were unequal to the task of recovering your narrow limits prescribed by nature. So long as you confined your research to bees and ants, moles and frogs, you were at home, but THE LAND AND ITS CAPABILITIES is beyond your genius. You have attempted a long and rambling article upon a subject of which you are wholly and lamentably ignorant; indeed, so much so, that I venture to assert, if a wag fastened a turnip-top to a "cricket ball," and drew it from the drill in your presence, you would describe it as the discovery of a new species of black turnip. You possess some influence with the aristocracy of the Trades, especially with the ATHENÆUM THIEF of that order, and you—not unreasonably—suppose them gullible upon a subject of which they are as ignorant as yourself. The blind leading the blind!

I had reason to hope that my refutation of your Malthusian Free Trade philosophy would have had the effect of making you more cautious in your future experiments even upon that class of gullible readers; but I was mistaken. There is much more leniency due to an adversary who errs from ignorance, than to him who LIES FOR HIRE; and I should not deal so harshly with your article upon the land, if I was not in a situation to prove your meanness from your own lips. I shall now proceed to comment upon the article in question; and in order to show you that I rely upon the poison carrying its own antidote, I have given it at full length in the second page.

You commence your observations with a kind of apology for a former article on some very meagre experiments made by Lord George Hill, and having committed yourself when commenting upon those experiments, you are compelled to say that "you pronounced no opinion on the question of land allotments;" however, you do admit that you said Lord George Hill DESERVED HIGH PRAISE, and therefore you may naturally conclude that he did not deserve censure, the reward which he did not bestow on the CLAP-TRAP HUMANITY-MAN, whose experiment goes much farther; perhaps too far for the benefit of your Free Trade clients.

I cheerfully accept the name of HUMANITY-MAN, and I shall now proceed to quote your objections to the small farm system for two purposes. Firstly, to refute them *seriatim*; and, secondly,

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LONDON, SATURDAY, MARCH 6, 1847.

PRICE FIVEPENCE OR
Five Shillings and Sixpence per Quarter

that the W. C. of February, 1847, may be confronted with the same W. C. of May, 1845.

On the true Malthusian principle, you commence your objections to the small farm system with a falsehood, supported by a vague assumption as to the probability of a REDUNDANT POPULATION being the result. In speculating upon the chances of wretchedness and poverty caused by an over-population, you say—

"Such must inevitably be the consequence of every scheme for allotting patches of land to poor agriculturalists, unless at the same time provision be made for employing or carrying off to new fields of enterprise the redundancy of the population. After the long experience of the wretchedness produced by patch-farming in every part of the empire, Ireland in particular, it strikes us as something very remarkable that men should be seen advocating the institution of the practice on a wide scale, as a means of national prosperity. Fascinated by the seeming humanity of bestowing allotments upon paupers, and gratified by the first appearances of prosperity which next ensue, they altogether forget what is to come next—overcrowded cottages, new pauperism, and a poor-rate which may pretty nearly absorb the whole rental of the parish."

Now, I was the first person to distinguish between what you call "patches of land" and a sufficiency to employ a man and his family every day in the year. The one I described as perfect freedom, the other as GILDED SLAVERY, which tied a man to the caprice of his TYRANT LAIRD, while, as to the effect of the system in Ireland, you appear to be wholly ignorant on the subject. The cause of Irish poverty has been the breaking up of the 40s. freeholders, and the throwing hundreds of small farms into one large one. The curse of Ireland is not the small farm system, but the WANT OF TENURE PRINCIPLE. You base your guess upon the presumption, that the HUMANITY-MAN proposes to give the occupants small allotments; and from these false premises you arrive at the forced conclusion, that crowded cottages and pauperism must be the inevitable result. Foolish, ignorant man! If we live for 500 years I will talk with you upon that subject. But have you ever thought, that a shilling a week paid by a father from the time two children arrive at the age of fourteen, till they are eighteen, will entitle each to four acres of GOOD LAND, a cottage, OUT-BUILDINGS, and THIRTY POUNDS CAPITAL, to make a home for himself of some spot which the grasping hand of trade has depopulated and made barren? And, don't you think a boy's labour, from fourteen to eighteen, is worth sixteen pence a week, or one penny a day, to his father? And, don't you think, when the boy arrives at the age of twenty or twenty-one, he will take unto himself a wife from the family of some neighbour, freeman, and go cheerfully to that location which LOT shall assign as HIS OWN—HIS FUTURE, HIS HAPPY HOME? And, don't you think he will be a better man, and she a better wife, than if both were bred up in an immoral manufacturing town? You next come to the cream of your opposition—

"Silly man! How could you be so foolish as to throw yourself into my power! What has given me so much strength as the ignorance of malicious fools, whose folly requires but the repetition to insure its refutation?" You say—

"At this moment a scheme is on foot in England and Scotland for buying and giving an acre of land to every poor man who is willing to accept of a certain allotment. In other words, a section of industrious and well-disposed operatives have, through the agency of some clap-trap humanity-man, been deluded into the fancy that each of them would be happy if he became the owner of a morsel of land—land situated, perhaps, hundreds of miles from the place of his ordinary occupation. We have no hesitation in denouncing this project as one of the greatest follies ever conceived. While Nature's laws work as they are doing, there cannot be a doubt that it will terminate in the loss and discomfiture of all concerned."

You commence here again with a falsehood. There is no such scheme now on foot in England as that of giving AN ACRE to every working man; and then you come to Nature. YOU SAY, WHILE NATURE'S LAWS WORK AS THEY ARE NOW DOING. Foolish man!—what has Nature to do with leases and their harsh conditions? with cotton lords and their tyrant oppressions? with scribblers and their folly? The very thing the HUMANITY-MAN is endeavouring to do is, to bring man to a more natural state, by taking his artificial shackles off him. You follow the passage I have quoted, with one of the OLD SYMPATHETIC Free-Trade appeals to the working classes, "BY EARNESTLY INVITING the members of the association to ponder well over those things;" and then you are obliged to meet the self-respect and pride with which the possession of a house and land of his own inspires the working-man. Ay, Mr. INHUMANITY-MAN. That is just the fulcrum by which I hope to raise him beyond the reach of your debasing folly, by which you would reconcile him to the poor pittance doled out by his tyrant master!

You next tell us a story about a laird, who preferred 4s. a week at home to 14s. in Edinburgh; and I honour him for it. Were you sober when you, the advocate of the working classes, wrote the following beastly passage?—

"The heritable possession of dwelling houses, or scraps of land, we repeat, may in many instances be injurious to working men. It induces them to remain at home to a spot; whereas, in order to make the most of their labour, which is their capital, they ought to hold themselves ready at the shortest notice to remove to places where the highest wages are to be obtained."

What, then, your object is to make men mere tractable machines, allowing them no local attachments, no home, no neighbourhood, no associations beyond those imposed by dire necessity!

How the following passage, so entirely in keeping with the HUMANITY-MAN'S project, and so at variance with your little attempt at reasoning, happened to creep into the WATER CLOSET, I cannot understand—

"With respect to land, it is, in the greater number of cases, also advisable to leave it in the ownership of persons who lease it to others as a means of livelihood. Thus, for example, if the annual rent of an acre of land be £1, it will be greatly preferable for an agriculturalist to pay £400 for the use of a hundred acres, than to expend the sum of £12,000 in buying the property. And why? Because in the one case he is binding up a great deal of capital, which might be of service in his own proper business of husbandry—besides putting an embargo upon his personal freedom; while, in the other, he would not only keep his capital to farm the land properly, but be so far from being shut at the end of a term of years he could remove to a larger farm, or, without loss, altogether relinquish the trade of an agriculturist."

Why, Mr. W. C., that is just the marrow, the essence, the whole of my plan. I quite agree with you; and, for that reason, I propose giving every man capital at the rate of £7 10s. for each acre to enable him to get on in the commencement. You proceed then, after a little rubbish—

A tradesman, laying out £100 in a speculation in January, may have a final return of £200 before the end of December. The landowner has no such chance. In England, a freehold property in land may realise four per cent. per annum at the end of a term of years he could remove to a larger farm, or, without loss, altogether relinquish the trade of an agriculturist.

attempt to damn the HUMANITY-MAN. Then you go on—

"By no process can an agriculturist take more than one crop per annum; and so neither can a landowner get more than a year's rent for a year's use of his property. While the manufacturer and merchant are daily planning extensions of their business, sometimes losing, but more frequently making large sums, in reward of their industry and enterprise, the poor land proprietor is left to pine on his meagre rental, or draw consolation only from the prescriptive fancy that he is the salt of the earth."

How can you instil such unmitigated nonsense—BY NO PROCESS CAN OUR AGRICULTURISTS TAKE MORE THAN ONE CROP PER ANNUM! Now, what do you think of a crop of rape sown upon a wheat stubble in August, eaten off by ewes and lambs and cut for cows in spring, a crop of early potatoes, planted in March, cleared off from middle of July to end of August, and turnips sown and transplanted as the potatoes are cleared? Now, there are three of the most profitable crops for you in one year. What do you say to four crops of clover or four of grass? Go to a Sunday-school, booby, and don't make yourself a laughing-stock for the Lothian farmers. Yes, yes, your friends, the manufacturers, do MORE FREQUENTLY MAKE LARGE SUMS, but not by their ENTERPRISE AND INGENUITY, but by the PLUNDER OF THEIR HANDS. Again, I ask how, in your endeavour to pull down, you could so propped up my system as by the following commendation of fee-simple property:—

"This entail system is more rigorous in Scotland than in England, and has greatly damaged the general and individual interest in land. Reducing the proprietor to the position of a life-renter, he is indifferent to improvement; and, if otherwise disposed, he has not the means to execute any beneficial alterations on his property."

I quite agree with you, and the very same argument applies to farmers, who cultivate other men's lands on bad titles, or no titles at all, and it is just one of the main abuses which I seek to remedy.

You proceed—

"Each child has now twenty acres, and the same law again operates as a subsidy. Suppose each to have five children, then each of these get four acres. There are now twenty-five proprietors instead of one. But the subdivision does not stop; on it goes, generation after generation, till at length the whole land is cut up into paltry sections not the size of a cabbage garden."

Man alive! why stop at this simple progression? why not proceed geometrically, and suppose these 25 had each 25 children, and these 625 had each 625 more? Now the only observation that I shall condescend to make on this portion of your folly is this—

—As I was going to St. Ives I met nine men and their nine wives; each wife had nine sacks, each sack had nine cats, each cat had nine kits, each kit had nine tails, and how many tails, kits, cats, sacks, men, and their wives, did I meet going to St. Ives? None, as they were all coming from St. Ives. Now, so exactly with redundant population, they would be all going to another estate. Of the French system you know nothing; however, you have the grace only to predict the consequent evil, and, at a very distant period; so remote, that, as the judges say, "WHEN THE CASE ARISES WE'LL KNOW how to deal with it." However, you are compelled to admit that "even in this abject and precarious state, they enjoy greater tranquillity and independence than their forefathers prior to the revolution." Ay, and you might have added, that while your well-paid migrating operatives with HIGH WAGES are starving, those PAUPERS are safe from famine. I seek but to deal with the errors of my time; if the condition of the French people has been bettered by the revolution, you justify the revolution; I hope to gain a better result without violence, revolution, or bloodshed, or even spoliation of any kind. Now, Mr. W. C. before I proceed to kill you, or rather to make you commit suicide by drawing YOUR OWN PEN ACROSS YOUR OWN THROAT, I have merely to observe, that all I desire is a field day with the COMBINED PRESS, from the "THUNDERER" to a little thing that calls itself the "LONDON PIONEER," and that would not know a cucumber from a hand-saw; and I promise, single-handed, and without the aid of mortal man, to demolish you all upon the question of the Land, and the principle that the adoption of the Small Farm System is the only hope of the country's redemption and the labourer's escape.

LOOK ON THIS PICTURE AND ON THIS.
Chambers' Journal, Chambers' Journal,
May, 1845, No. 72, February, 1847,
NEW AND IMPROVED SERIES. No. 164, NEW SERIES.

The only point that remains to be settled is one connected with political economy. It is alleged by the leading political economists of England, that the tenure and management of land, First, that land, like every other commodity, ought to be at the free disposal of its proprietor, to sell it while calculated to promote the growth of a population of paupers, is only distracting manual labour from its proper field of employment. But this allegation proceeds on an unproved assumption. If it could be shown that every able-bodied man could make five shillings a-day by working as a weaver, at a factory, or any other branch of labour, the assertion would in part be correct; but such is not the case. There are countries in which remunerative employment cannot be permanently had, and in such situations—TO WHICH SOCIETY IN ENGLAND SEEMS ADVANCING—the choice is in a great measure between SPADE HUSBANDRY AND STARVATION, not between spade husbandry and well-paid employment. Besides, the political economist entirely overlooks the fact, that THE COTTAGE-FARMER DERIVES IMMENSE ADVANTAGES FROM

All things considered, we arrive at the following propositions respecting the tenure and management of land. First, that land, like every other commodity, ought to be at the free disposal of its proprietor, to sell it while calculated to promote the growth of a population of paupers, is only distracting manual labour from its proper field of employment. But this allegation proceeds on an unproved assumption. If it could be shown that every able-bodied man could make five shillings a-day by working as a weaver, at a factory, or any other branch of labour, the assertion would in part be correct; but such is not the case. There are countries in which remunerative employment cannot be permanently had, and in such situations—TO WHICH SOCIETY IN ENGLAND SEEMS ADVANCING—the choice is in a great measure between SPADE HUSBANDRY AND STARVATION, not between spade husbandry and well-paid employment. Besides, the political economist entirely overlooks the fact, that THE COTTAGE-FARMER DERIVES IMMENSE ADVANTAGES FROM

the evil was universally executed, and as universally demanded to be removed. Was this too for your united friend to expect, when it was himself? Was a public meeting, without loss of time or material expense, to be got up; your petitions to be recorded upon a solitary sheet of paper, and signed by your chairman, in the name and on the behalf of you all, and sent off for presentation to a new and untried mode of doing time for the cause of god-like Liberty? Let those who have been guilty of the neglect answer the question. I know not how far the apathy has extended, but I see by the public papers that a petition has been presented at up at the Crown and Anchor, in town, and one from Leicester? Yes, brethren, from one of the most wretched, the most degraded, the most impoverished places bounded by the four seas which enervate Britain, where the few Charlists, who traitors and hypocrites have left, would have the purchase of the few sheets of paper which would have been necessary if the names of the petitioners had been appended.

It is no excuse to say now whether meetings for the purpose were in progress. Shake off, I beseech you, the clear film of this miserable apathy, and ever bear in mind, and act upon my text,—That done cannot be now remedied, but be alert for the future. Remember that the National Petition has been before the public for months for signatures, and we know not how soon it may be wanted, and yet I see that many places meetings are only now called for its adoption, though the importance of the political struggle is great; and I trust I shall not be thought ecstasical when I say, that our poverty-stricken friends here have obtained more than eleven thousand signatures to that document.

I am, Brethren,
Your faithful servant,
T. R. SMITH.

30, Sankey Gate, Leicester,
28th Feb., 1847.

WHITECHAPEL.—At a general meeting of the Brass Founders' Arms locality, February 28th, it was unanimously resolved:—"That a vote of thanks is due and hereby given to Mr. T. Clark, for his energetic and noble defence of the six points of the TOWNSHIP CHARTER."

On Sunday evening, February 28th, at the Crown and Anchor, Friends, Morgan Street, Commercial Road, the following resolutions were unanimously carried:—"That a petition be sent to T. S. Duncombe, Esq., M.P., for presentation to the Commons House of Parliament, praying for the abolition of the rate-paying clauses in the Reform Act."—"That reports be given to Thomas Clark for the able and masterly manner in which he discussed the principles of the People's Charter with A. Gurney, Esq., M.P., for presentation to the Commons House of Parliament, praying for the abolition of the rate-paying clauses in the Reform Act."

At a meeting of the People's Charter with A. Gurney, Esq., M.P., for presentation to the Commons House of Parliament, praying for the abolition of the rate-paying clauses in the Reform Act, it was unanimously resolved:—"That a meeting be held in the City of London, on Tuesday evening, March 2nd, at 8 o'clock, for the purpose of forwarding the cause of Chartism, and the Co-operative Land Company."

MARLBOROUGH LOCALITY.—Moved by Mr. Gwynn and seconded by Mr. Huthings, "That it is the opinion of the Marlborough locality of the National Charter Association, that a correct list of members' names on the books of the association, for the purpose of being sent to the General Secretary, so that he may lay the same before the annual Convention, to enable the delegates to form an opinion how they can best advance the movement; and that we recommend the Executive to issue an address to this effect."

TO THE CHARTIST BODY.

FRIENDS.—At foot you will find an analysis of the division in the House of Commons on Mr. Duncombe's motion for the repeal of the Rate-paying Clauses of the Reform Act. Upon an analysis of that division, it will be seen that of the 65 who voted against the motion, 22 are Government officials, and 30 belong to the old Tory faction.

So that, without the assistance of the Tories, the "Liberals" could not have defeated the attempt of Mr. Duncombe to abolish those disgraceful clauses which tend so much to limit and narrow the elective franchise.

The Executive Committee, along with the "Central Election and Registration Committee," are now devising means to bring the conduct of those "liberal" gentlemen before their constituents, and they are without hope of being able to do so without good. In the meantime, they consider it their duty to call the attention of the country to those men who have figured in this last act of the "finality" farce, under the impression that steps will be taken by the Chartist body to find persons more fitting and competent to do the work of legislation.

On behalf of the Executive Committee,
CHRISTOPHER DOLZ, Secretary.

TORIES.—20.

Ansion, Hon Col Craig, W G Dundas, Admiral Fox, C R Gibson, M Grey, Sir George Hawes, B Hobhouse, Sir J Labouchere, I Macaulay, T B Arundel, E Baring, F T Buller, P S Gore, Hon Robert Howard, P H

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amongst the rest by Galiano, and General Narvaez. The latter called on the generals who surrounded him to imitate the defender of Saragossa, in his love for his country and his country's independence.

THE LAND AND ITS CAPABILITIES.

No. 2 of
THE LABOURER.
 Just published, contains a reprint of Mr. T. O'Connor's Letter, in the "Northern Star" of January 3rd, demonstrating the certainty with which an allottee may support himself and family, and accumulate money, on a "Two Acres" allotment, and the City, stop at the establishment every minute of the day.

The very general demand that was made for the paper containing the above letter has induced the Editors to reprint it, after careful revision, in the March Number of the Labourer.

No. 4 of the Labourer, to be published on April 1st, will contain an elaborate article on "the Bank" in relation with the "Land Company."

JUST PUBLISHED.

No. 3, (price 6d.) of
THE LABOURER.
 Monthly Magazine of Politics, Literature, Poetry, &c.

Edited by
 FRANCIS O'CONNOR, ESQ., and ERNEST JONES, ESQ.,
 (Barristers-at-Law.)

The Democratic Movement in this country being wholly deficient in a monthly organ, the above magazine is established to remedy this deficiency. Placed by its low price within the reach of the poorest, and by its extensive and varied contents, it embraces the following features:

1.—THE LAND AND THE LABOURER, or the progress and position of the National Land Company, and all interesting facts connected with the culture and produce of the soil.

2.—THE POOR MAN'S LEGAL MANUAL, (by an eminent Barrister,) giving all necessary legal information for the express use of the poor on the land, and the working classes in general.

3.—THE HISTORY OF THE WORKING CLASSES. Compiled from sources hitherto carefully hidden from the public eye, narrating the encroachments on their rights, and the wild and daring insurrections, by which they endeavored to regain them.—Being a lesson for the future, derived from the past.

4.—POLITICS OF THE DAY, comprising the State of England and the Continent, the progress of the movement, an analysis of proceedings in Parliament, and a summary of news at home and abroad.

5.—POETRY AND ROMANCE, since these are important branches of education; and some of the first democratic authors have undertaken to furnish narratives of intense and vivid interest.

A large portion of the April number will be devoted to the plan and working of the National Land and Labour Bank, in connection with the Chartist Co-operative Land Company.

Such publications will be reviewed as deserve the attention of the People.

THE PORTRAIT of an eminent Chartist will accompany the sixth number.

CONTENTS OF No. III.

1. The Life of a Flower, a Poem.

2. Insurrections of the Working Classes.

3. The Land and its Capabilities.

4. The Romance of a Flower.

5. The Poor Man's Legal Manual.—The Small Debts Act.

6. The Good Old Days, a Poem.

7. The Phases of Political Parties.

8. The Confessions of a King.

9. Monthly Review.

10. Literary Notices.

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Now Quarterly Review.—(Tory.)

Orders received by the author and Mr. Wheeler, at the office of the National Land and Labour Bank, 16, Great Windmill Street, Haymarket, London, where copies may be purchased.

JUST PUBLISHED.

And given free with the current number of *Hovell's Journal*, which will contain a Memoir and splendid Portrait of George Sand.

WILLIAM HOWELL'S REPLY TO MR. SAUNDERS' APPEAL TO THE PRESS AND THE PEOPLE.

"A certain man went down to Jericho and fell among thorns."—Luke 20.

Published by Wm. Lovett, 171, Strand, and sold by all bookellers.

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EXTENDING OVER THE UNITED KINGDOM.

DIRECTORS.

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All questions connected with the management of land, and the operations of building, cultivation, &c., to be addressed to Mr. O'CONNOR.

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THE NORTHERN STAR

SATURDAY, MARCH 6, 1847.

THE CAVILLERS REFUTED.

We always knew that nothing so materially tended to elevate a just cause as opposition, nothing in the end so conclusively established the truth, as the attempt of falsehood to subvert it. Never was this fact more completely illustrated than by the recent attacks made on the National Land Company by divers hirelings of the press, who have endeavored with the ink poison of their pens to blight the promise of harvest we are holding out to the working-man, as a consequence of labouring for himself instead of others. Foremost in the dirty-fingered phalanx stands *Chambers' Journal*, which has drawn down on the heads of its concoctors one of the most severe, at the same time that it is one of the most merited, castigations that falsehood ever yet received at the hands of Truth. We can respect those who conscientiously hold a different opinion, we can pity those who err from ignorance; but we despise those who, knowingly and wilfully, pervert the truth, and give lie to their own words, when self-interest or faction demand it at their hands. This is what the writer in *Chambers' Journal* has done. With a malevolence but too apparent for the success of his cause, he has proved that he can blow hot and cold at almost the same time; and after having once advocated the small proprietary system, he now unblushingly denounces it; while, with an ignorance as evident as the object of his hostility, he has ruined himself by his own arguments, and dug the grave of his philosophy in the folly of his reasoning. May all our opponents be like these since their open enmity is the greatest favour they can show us, and their dishonest friendship would be the only thing we had to fear. What has wrought this sudden, wonderful change in the "*Chambers' politics*," we care not to inquire; no doubt the same cause that makes members of Parliament in one session vote AGAINST the very measure FOR which they voted in a previous one—but we can tell these would-be philosophers, these literary cut-throats, they must not think so meanly of working-men as to suppose they are to be led by the nose by a few words from an editorial stool. We tell them men are beginning to think and judge for themselves, eye and act too—they no longer conceive all wisdom to be wrapped in a broadsheet, and truth to live in the black well of a scribble's inkstand; men are beginning to read the great broadsheet of Nature, and while they find its words written in the glorious type of grain and fruit and flower, open to all, unstamped by hereditary title-deeds of aristocracy, and untrammelled by legislative monopolies, running counter to the dictates of a "*Chambers' philosophy*," they will prefer a gospel inscribed by the hand of God on the hills and plains, to that concocted by a pair of back for the jingle of a hireling's "*siller*." They will, indeed, prefer their own cottage home to the infernal factory, their freehold domain to the hopeless and wearying tramp. It needs no glozing rhetoric to induce this feeling, and opposition might deserve contempt, were it not that the *Chambers' hireling* has set themselves up as leaders of the people, and that they rise to the height of deserving castigation from being acknowledged as the mouth pieces of a party. We are glad they have thrown off the mask. This, then, is their recommendation to working-men: "Toil for others, instead of for yourselves; desert the villages, and crowd the factory-towns; have no homes, but wander ever from spot to spot; starve, and die at last in the Bastille!" This is the real meaning, and this is the inevitable goal of that infernal competition which overworks one sphere of action, and throws an entire population at the feet of a restless monopoly. We are of those who wish trade to flourish to the full limits of its proper extent, but not to see it made a mere agent for coining the heart of labour into gold for idleness to fatten on. We are of those who wish labour to have a strong hold, whereon it can fall back, when overpressed by its taskmaster. We know that from the door of his own cottage the freeholder can hurl defiance at the Factory Lord, when he wants to clip down the wages of his workmen to meet the extravagance of his lust, or to gratify the dictates of his avarice. We know that from the fields of his own little farm he can practically refute the "*Chambers' hireling*," and the "*Pioneer*," and all the tribe of those who, living upon the ignorance of others, wish to retard the progression of society, at the same time that they profess themselves the apostles of enlightenment. We therefore hail with satisfaction the sound castigation they have received from Mr. O'Connor, and cordially acquiesce in the severe terms in which the rebuke is administered. Let all who live by labour read the reply; and as a tribute to their common sense, we ask them to pronounce an impartial verdict, and to decide whether the policy of precarious and mercenary toil can stand the test by the side of self-requiring labour, sweetened by the sense of ownership, and the knowledge that no taskmaster can come and abstract the proceeds of that labour, or divert the produce from its legitimate channel—the producer. This, however, is the very thing most dreaded by all those of the *Chambers' school* of policy, since, this once obtained, their occupation would be gone for ever. Those who live by LIES cannot brook to see men placed in a position to judge and act for themselves—a position in which all doubt would be solved by certainty, and in which schemes, like these Northern Journalists, would no longer be able to work on the credulity, or pervert the judgment of their readers—a position, indeed, to which working-men are rapidly attaining, and whose progress cannot be stemmed by such miserable attempts as those perpetrated by the W. C. of *Chambers' notoriety*. This, then, is the result which these terrible philosophers attain at last. Are these the Free Trade teachers? Are these Labour's advocates? Are these the toilers' sentinels? Are these the patrons of cottage literature, and they who sit on the watchtower, while the Factory slave is a victim to their philosophy? Yes! for once

they have thrown the mask aside; for once they have stepped forth in their real characters, and the Northern Journalists have proved themselves worthy coadjutors of the Quaker Cotton Lord. But, now, from this very fact, we have nothing more to fear from them—let their article be read throughout the country, and so let Mr. O'Connor's reply. Their article will condemn THEMSELVES, and the reply will condemn THEM. Let every father read the refutation to his wife and children; let every friend make it a portion of his daily salutation to his neighbours, to ask, "Have you read O'CONNOR'S EXPOSURE OF THE CHAMBERS'S, and ain't we well served for following such blind leaders?" Nay! more—as a matter of justice to ourselves, who have advocated the Small Farm system, we plead, that it may be distinctly read at every meeting in the kingdom, and that we may have the unpurchaseable verdict of the yet enslaved upon it. For indeed, the Land is a question of no trivial importance; it is a question that involves the future well-being of the country; it is a question upon the decision of which will depend whether, as other empires have done before us, we go rolling down the track of luxury and ruin, or whether, like the grain from the soil, the regenerating principle shall germinate among us, and infuse new life into a now exhausted and emaciated factory-population. We therefore not only warn all friends of HUMANITY against the insidious cavillings of selfish Class economists but we ask them carefully to read both attack and reply, and dispassionately to judge for themselves, whether castigation was ever more merited, or refutation was ever more complete. And in commending to their notice Mr. O'Connor's letter, we tell the hireling scribbles, though we are safe in the unpurchaseable verdict of the toiling millions, we tell those WEATHERCOCK JOURNALISTS who this year attempt to DISPROVE what they laboured to PROVE in a preceding one, that the advocates of the Small Farm System have not exhausted their store of argument, but that they are willing again and again to fight the battle of LABOUR against MONOPOLY, and of HUMANITY against COMPETITION—that we would rather see a man his OWN MASTER than the slave of another; that we would rather see old age in the COTTAGE, than in the BASTILLE; and that we would rather see a CHARTIST VILLAGE than a Factory Town or a Nobleman's Castle. We tell them, further, that practical illustrations of our assertions are even now being given, and we invite them to leave their dusty garrets, and visit our Chartist Farms, when they will, at least, envy that which they have so vainly attempted to oppose.

ANOTHER TRIUMPH OF RIGHT OVER MIGHT.

RELEASE OF THE FOUR WARRINGTON VICTIMS.

It is with more pleasure than words can express that we announce the liberation of these victims of oppression. Ever since the commencement of their unjust imprisonment, Mr. Duncombe has been incessant in his endeavours to bring their case before Parliament; six petitions have been presented to the house, and every effort that the forms of Parliament would admit of, has been made. The matter, however, stood over till Tuesday last, when it was arranged that Mr. Duncombe's motion should be discussed. Since then, we have learnt that the discussion was prevented by the fact, that an order for the liberation of the four was sent by that night's post.

Much as every case of this kind is calculated to excite our sympathies, we have felt particularly interested in this. Mr. Roberts had entered into it with more than his usual zeal. The circumstances were, indeed, well calculated to excite such a mind as his. The mere sentence on the men was not, perhaps, more severe than in hundreds of other instances—but this case was marked by its own peculiar features of aggravation—its loud tone of insolence—"Take him away—three months' imprisonment and hard labour—where's the next?"—Now then, what have you got to say for yourself? don't be insolent to the Bench," &c. We never recollect a case exhibiting more reckless and indecent contempt of the forms and solemnities of justice. The trials of Wyke and Gerrard did not occupy—so the prisoners say—two minutes each; and there is no doubt whatever but that, if Mr. Roberts had arrived at Warrington five minutes later, all four would have been committed without his having the opportunity of uttering a word in their favour.

The working men of England should gather courage from what has been effected by the working men of Warrington. The case which has just received so glorious a termination, is another clear proof that there are some enemies even now open to the poor of obtaining redress against oppression, if they will be but true to themselves. This is a subject which we should like to enlarge upon, but are restrained by the consideration that probably the matter is not quite at rest, and may be destined before long to figure even in the presence of a higher tribunal. "A higher tribunal!" what a phrase it is—how significant!—how "extremely unpleasant" to the reckless magistrate—what retribution it threatens to tyranny! We can fancy how the justices stared at each other when the "rude expression" first wounded their ears.

It is said that during the last month Mr. Thomas Lloyd, the senior magistrate, has expressed his "fixed determination," if the men should be liberated, to retire from the bench. What a hope—what a blessing is hereby held out! But we warn our Warrington friends to place no reliance upon it. Often as some similar hope has been offered as an inducement to our exertions, it has always turned out false and delusive. "Retire from the bench!"—what a glorious opportunity of relieving the anxiety of his friends and serving his country! But Thomas Lloyd, Esq., will not avail himself of it. They who attend the Warrington court on Monday next will see him there as usual. "Constatel, tell those boys to pull their caps off—turn 'em out if they make a noise." His tone may be less boisterous, and there may will be a greater degree of order; for this, indeed, is a part of the good that has been effected by his punishment; but the man will be there—watching the people—guessing how far he may go with safety. Rely on it, Thomas, you will be well watched for some time to come. Be careful; another blunder! and you go to the right-about, "Retire into private life!" Nonsense—"Go back to the brewery first!" "Constatel, turn those boys out!"

PARLIAMENTARY REVIEW.

The terms on which the Chancellor of the Exchequer has contracted for the Eight Million Loan for Ireland, are only one degree worse than the original blunder, of meeting the exigency by an addition to the permanent debt, instead of reducing expenses, and imposing such slight temporary addition to taxation, as might have been requisite for the purpose. The houses of Rothschild and Baring, by previous agreement between themselves, are to pay 89. 10s. for every 100l. stock—in other words, in order to get hold of eight millions of actual money, upon which interest and charges to the amount of 3l. 7s. 6d. must be paid annually, the

Chancellor of the Exchequer creates a debt of 8,938,570l., or of nearly one million more than he receives! We cannot understand on what principle so improvident a bargain has been made, for the excuse, that he has followed the course of his predecessors, is no reason at all. Why should not 1l. stock represent 1l. sterling? Let us pay a fair market price for the money at the time the debt is contracted, whether that be four or five per cent., leaving it to future financiers to pay off that stock of a high denomination, and replace it by other at a lower per centage, whenever they were able to do so. But should a future Chancellor of the Exchequer ever be in a position to reduce the charges on this debt, say a half per cent., he will have to pay off 338,570l. over and above the eight millions actually received. By means of a similar juggle on the part of previous financiers, the poor tax-ridden people of this country have been saddled with enormous burdens, for which a fair *quid pro quo* was never received, in any shape whatever. From 1794 to 1817, both inclusive, we borrowed for "public purposes"—i. e. for the purpose of crushing the revolution in France, and forcing the elder branch of the Bourbon family back on its people—584,874,556l. in money, for which stock of various kinds was given, to the amount of no less than 872,289,943l., or nearly three hundred millions more than we ever received; and upon the total of which, dividends to the amount of 30,174,364l. had to be paid annually. In reducing the charges on this debt, the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund had to calculate as if the whole amount of nearly nine hundred millions had been received, instead of nearly six hundred millions; and the nation has, consequently, had to bear all the loss on this fictitious debt, under every operation affecting it, whether in paying the old charges at which the debt was contracted, or under the operations by which these charges were subsequently reduced. For these reductions the Whigs can take no credit. They are, and always have been, the worst financiers and men of business ever known to hold office in this country. From the 1st of January, 1816, being the commencement of the year after the battle of Waterloo, to the 1st of January, 1831, two months after the Whigs came into office, the Tory party had paid off no less than eighty millions of the National Debt; they had reduced its annual charges by nearly four millions five hundred thousand, and they left a real sinking fund—a clear surplus income above expenditure—of above two millions six hundred thousand a year, to their successors. They did this, notwithstanding they had to struggle through the difficulties incident to a change from war to peace—through the terrible crisis resulting from the change of the currency in 1819, and through the almost unparalleled commercial panic of 1825-6. The Whigs came into office just as all these financial difficulties had been mastered, and a new race of active enterprising men had succeeded the numerous classes whom previous causes had consigned to beggary and ruin. The fine harvests of the years 1834, '35, and '36, produced an almost unprecedented amount of commercial prosperity; and, indeed, up to 1840, they may be said to have had an unusual amount of favourable circumstances with them. What was the result of their financial management, under these circumstances? We take the returns from "Porter's Progress of the Nation," for eight years of their administration. They added nearly TEN MILLIONS to the public debt—the clear annual surplus of 2,600,000l., which they received from their predecessors, was converted, during these years of unprecedented commercial prosperity, into a deficit of above 1,500,000l. a year. The charges on the debt were, during the same period, increased by the sum of 940,000l.; and before they were kicked out of office by an indignant and disgusted country, they had increased the annual deficit to upwards of TWO MILLIONS!

We refer to these matters at the commencement of a new lease of office to these incapable, blundering blockheads, in connexion with the new loan just contracted, for the purpose of illustrating the course they are likely to pursue, and its disastrous consequences, as long as the country shall be unfortunate enough to be cursed by their rule. The Peel Government left them even a larger annual surplus in hand, than the Wellington Government did in 1830. They had no deficiency bills flying about the market; but in addition to upwards of three millions of actual surplus, had nine

Forthcoming Meetings.

MANCHESTER.—Mr. D. Donovan will lecture here to the People's Institute, on March 7th.

LEICESTER.—A general meeting of the shareholders of the Land Company will be held at 87, Church-st., next Sunday, at 6 o'clock.

BIRMINGHAM.—The shareholders of the Chartist Co-operative Land Company are requested to attend at Nicholl's Coffee House, on Monday evening next, at 6 o'clock.

STOCKPORT.—The quarterly meeting of the Stockport branch of the Land Company will take place on Tuesday evening, the 9th of March.

CITY OF LONDON.—The members of this locality are requested to attend the meeting at the George, Snow-hill, on Sunday evening, at six o'clock, for the purpose of nominating the Executive.

MANCHESTER.—A general meeting of the shareholders in the Manchester branch of the National and Company, will be held on Sunday, March 14th, 1847, in the Hall of the People's Institute, Heywood-road, Manchester, at ten o'clock in the forenoon.

WIGAN.—A meeting of the shareholders of the Wigan branch of the National Land Company, will be held at the large room, Bear's Paw, Walsgate, on Sunday next, at six o'clock, and every succeeding Sunday.

CITY OF LONDON.—The members of this branch of the Chartist Land Company are requested to meet on Sunday evening, March 7, at the George, George-court, Snow-hill, at 6 o'clock precisely, to take into consideration the propriety of taking a room in connection with the Chartist Association.

NOTTINGHAM.—The Sweet Testimonial Committee meet on Sunday, March 7th, at 8 o'clock, in the evening, at the Seven Stars in Barker-gate, to wind up their affairs.

A General Meeting of the members of the Land Company will be called on Monday, March 8th, at 6 o'clock in the evening, at the same place.

THE MEMBERS of the Charter Association will also meet at the Seven Stars, Barker-gate, on Monday evening, at 7 o'clock.

The chairholders at the National Land Company will place their seats at the Reehabite Rooms, Kenilworth-terrace, Monday, 8th March, at 8 o'clock.

THE MEETINGS OF THE FRIENDS OF THE LAND.—The same place, every Sunday, at eight o'clock in the evening.

THE MEMBERS OF THE BRASS FOUNDERS' ARMS branch of the National Land Company are respectfully informed that their future meetings will be held at the Reehabite Rooms, Morgan-street, Commercial-road. On Tuesday evening, March 9th, a general meeting.

THE CHARTISTS of Hull are requested to meet at his Ship Linn, Church-lane, Hull, on Sunday evening next, at 6 o'clock, for the purpose of appointing a Council, and nominating the Executive. The Land Company have weekly meetings at the above place, every Tuesday evening precisely. Subject—"The Land."

A PUBLIC Meeting will be held on Wednesday March the 10th, at the Globe and Friends, Morgan-street, Commercial-road, East when Messrs Thomas Grant and E. Jones will address the meeting. The Chairmen will perform the duties. The attendance well guaranteed will perform a few popular airs on their hand bells.

FINSBURY LITERARY AND MECHANICS' Institute.—Place, Goswell-road.—Mr. P. McGrath will lecture on Sunday evening next, March the 7th, at eight o'clock precise. Subject—"The Land."

ASSEMBLY ROOMS, 83, Dean-street, Soho.—On Sunday evening next, March the 7th, at half-past seven precisely, Mr. G. W. Wheeler will lecture. Subject—"The Effects of Spade Husbandry."

THE LECTURE ON ACTION, at Central Registration Committee.—The Chairmen will perform the duties. Subject—"The Land."—March 9th, at the Assembly Rooms, Dean-street, at eight o'clock precisely, when business of great importance will be submitted to the Committee.

CENTRAL ROSENDALE.—The members of the National Land Company will meet at the Queen's Arms Hotel, Rawtenston, on Saturday night, March 8th o'clock in the evening, when the friends of the land cause at Edenfield, Haslingden, Crawshaw, Booth, and Rawtenston, are requested to attend.

PUBLIC DISCUSSION, Subject—"The Land." The Land and the Chartists will take place this evening (Saturday), March the 6th, at the Temperance Hall, Broadway, Westminster, entrance in Chapel-place. Admission free. The chair to be taken at eight o'clock precisely.

BURTON.—The members of the National Charter Association are requested to attend the weekly meeting, at Nicholls's Coffee House, Burton, on Monday evening next, for the purpose of nominating the Executive Committee for the ensuing year.

TOWER HAMLETS.—A general meeting of the Tower Hamlets' Agitation Committee will be held at the Reehabite Rooms, Morgan-street, Commercial-road, on Sunday evening, March 7th, at six o'clock precise.

A PUBLIC MEETING of the Tower Hamlets' boot and shoemakers, will be held at the Ilerritt Tavern, Bedford-square East, on Tuesday, March the 16th, at eight o'clock precise. A Resolutions-statement by the National Association of Union Traders will be presented to explain the rules and objects of the Association. Chair to be taken at 8 o'clock in the evening.

SPORESDITCH.—Mr. P. McGrath will lecture at Mr. Taylor's, the Railway Engine Coffee House, 122, Regent-street, near Chancery-street, on Wednesday evening next, March the 7th, at eight o'clock. Subject—"The Land." On the same evening, a meeting of the members of this branch of the Chartist Co-operative Land Company will take place, on business of importance.

LIVERPOOL FREE PRESS.—The general delegate meeting of Lancashire Miners' Union will be held on Monday next, March 8th, at the sign of the Ram's head, Haydock, near St. Helen's. Chair to be taken at 11 o'clock in the forenoon. There will also be a public speaking, which will be addressed by W. F. Roberts, Esq., of Liverpool.

BIRMINGHAM.—A general meeting of the members of the Land Company will take place at Mr. Joseph Linney's, High-street, on Sunday evening, March the 7th, at 6 o'clock.

THE CHARTISTS of Liverpool are desirous of forming a district in connexion with this locality, and would solicit suggestions from the following towns on the subject, viz., Fremington, Prescot, Chester, Oldham, and Salford. All correspondence to be addressed to Mr. Smith, 4, Cazneau-street.

A DISCUSSION will take place at Mr. Farrall's Temperance Hotel, 4, Cazneau-street, on Sunday evening, March 7th, on the following question:—"What Effect will the Chartist Union have upon the Condition of the People of Enslaved Union?"

ral meeting of the members of the National Charities Association will be held in the Democratic Temperance Room, 33, Queen-street. Chair to be taken at seven o'clock. At 8 o'clock, a discussion will take place. Subject—"The Future Prospects of the People." Persons holding books belonging to the library, are respectfully requested to forward them as early as possible. The librarian will be attending in person to receive the same, from nine till half-past ten.

STOCKPORT.—On Sunday next, Mr. Cooper, of Manchester, will lecture in the Chartist Rooms, Bomber's-brow, at half-past 6 o'clock. The same day, a members meeting will take place in the above room, at 2 o'clock.

OLDHAM.—On Sunday, (to-morrow,) Mr. Dickinson, of Sunderland, will lecture in the school-room of the Working Men's Hall, at 8 o'clock.

MANCHESTER.—The Central Committee, in connexion with the case of Dr. M'Douall, are requested to meet at Mr. William Dixon's, 93, Great Ancoats street, Manchester, on Sunday evening next, March 7th, at 2 P.M.

afterwards on every alternate Monday, in the World
ing Man's Reading and News-room, Crown-lane,
when the officers will attend, between the hours
half-past seven and ten o'clock, to receive subscrip-
tions.

IMPORTANT TO BAKERS.—A public meeting of the
Operative Bakers' Society, for the diminution of the
hours of labour and the abolition of night work, (as
far as practicable,) will be held at the White Con-
dum House, Islington, on Wednesday evening, 10

T. Wakley, Esq., M.P. The following gentlemen are expected to attend and take part in the proceedings: T. Duncombe, Esq., M.P.; J. Fielden, Esq., M.P.; J. Ferrand, Esq., M.P.; R. Oastler, Esq.; C. Cochrane, Esq.

LEES.—On Sunday (to-morrow) evening, at half past 6 o'clock, in the back-room of the Bazaar, the following question will be introduced for discussion: "Is it the Duty of Government to provide for

number will attend, as there will be one of our public meetings in the town on this important question in the ensuing week.

BURY.—The members and friends of the Chartist Association are requested to attend at the meeting room, in Clerke-street, on Sunday next, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon.

READING.—A general meeting will take place on Wednesday next, at 8 o'clock, at Mr. Twiner's Tavern.

sideration that part of Mr. O'Connor's letter respecting shareholders being located without balloting has been taken into consideration.

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.—The various branches of the Land Company and Charter Association in this district, who wish to have a visit from Dr. McDonnell, are requested to correspond with James Nisbet, Esq., at Gibson-street, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and state the days in the week will suit them for public lectures. The Dr.'s route for the forthcoming week will be Monday, March 20; Tuesday, 21; Wednesday, 22; Thursday, 23; Friday, 24; Saturday, 25; Sunday, 26.

Day, South Shields; Wednesday, Alnwick.

