

Poetry.

NEVER FEAR.

Never fear, never fear!
See the light is yonder gleaming,
Time for action now is here,
Men have long enough been dreaming;
Break the bigot's staff, and say,
"Join the stream! bring on the day!"
Every doubt shall pass away:
Never fear!

Never fear, never fear!
Light and darkness struggle ever,
Long the battle may appear;
But shall darkness gain it? Never!
Face to face the foes have met,
And the clouds are o'er us yet,
But the day will brighter get:
Never fear!

Never fear, never fear!
See the march of destiny,
Not alone to restless peers,
But to men of humble station.
All shall burst the darkness cell,
Learn to read, and write, and spell,
And a little more as well:
Never fear!

Never fear, never fear!
Popes and Cardinals have flourished;
Tyranny must disappear,
By the soil no longer nourished.
Men a little wiser grow,
All things change and onward flow,
Popes have come, and Popes will go:
Never fear!

Never fear, never fear!
Hope shall whisper words of kindness,
Prejudice shall disappear,
Striped of all its wretched blindness;
Scales from bigot eyes shall fall,
And mankind shall be small,
Find the world was made for all:
Never fear!

J. BURROWS.

Reviews.

The Dublin Review. No. 62. London: Richardson and Sons, Fleet-street.

This is the quarterly exponent of the views of the Roman Catholic party in this country, and whatever may be said as to the tenets of the Church of Rome, or the political consequences of its ecclesiastical system, it is impossible to withhold from the 'Dublin Review' the credit of great literary ability, conjoined with controversial powers and critical acumen, which would do honour to the best disputants trained in the most ultra-Protestant school of free inquiry and full discussion. Into the doctrinal and purely polemical aspects of the question between Papacy and Protestantism, we are happily not required, by our position as political journalists, to enter. Were we inclined to do so, however, we should find in the article on Father Gentili ample proof, that however Catholicism may succeed in subordinating the will, the passions, and the intellect to one great purpose, and thus present an example of organisation and unity not to be found among Protestant sects, this object is attained at the sacrifice of some things higher and more precious to humanity than what is gained in their place. Few can lament more deeply the incoherent, incongruous, and subversive state of society than we do, or more anxiously desire to see its jarring elements harmonised, its conflicting interests reconciled. But, in order to produce a genuine and lasting unity, it must be produced by fusion, not mechanical compression. The combined and harmonised action of society should spring from the enlightened action of all the human faculties—not from the obliteration of all that constitutes the life of each individual, and his perversion into the unreasoning instrument of the will of a supreme superior, whose decrees must neither be questioned nor evaded. Father Gentili seems to have given much trouble to his superiors before they could reduce him to the requisite mill-horse obedience. He could not help thinking for himself, and, as a consequence, occasionally acting in accordance with his own profound conviction of what was right; and this brought down upon him repeated and severe reproofs. In one instance, a wide field of usefulness opened up to him in the religious instruction of a large number of the poorest and most destitute children in Rome, as well as poor adults, who were charitably removed, to some extent, from temptations to evil courses. To this work he devoted himself with great zeal, notwithstanding his first superiors, arising from 'the obedience of the Church of Rome permits no such independent action on the part of its priests. To give way to benevolent impulses, to speak frankly the feelings and emotions of the heart, to enter upon works of mercy and charity, without leave of the superior, is designated in the article before us 'the desert of the Devil and his own self-love.' The Abate writes to him in the following style: 'You say you felt an inspiration to do so. But I wish you had fewer inspirations, and more firmness, and more obedience above all. . . . This talking with so many about our affairs, and your acting as my procurator, are not entirely in accordance with the spirit of our Institute, which recommends us rather to be unobtrusive, humble, and contented.'

It appears to have been a long time before Father Gentili's mind was deprived of all re-active and independent volition. In a subsequent part of his career, while residing in this country as a missionary, in Leicestershire, it was resolved by Father Pagan, the superior, to remove him to Birmingham, on a new mission. For what appeared to him sufficient reasons, he opposed this change, defeated it, and wrote to 'the Father General' to explain his reasons. The reply breathes the very essence of despotism. It is a severe and stern exposition of the supreme 'holiness' of 'a total abnegation of your own judgment, and a perfect obedience to your superiors,' which seems to be the Alpha and Omega of the Roman Catholic Church in ecclesiastical matters, and which, as we know by the recent revelations from Naples and elsewhere, is but too faithfully and strictly applied to matters political also, wherever the opportunity presents.

We cannot help giving the impressions produced upon the mind of an Italian and a sincere Catholic by his first sight of London, and his subsequent opinions when resident among the green pastures and white flocks of Leicester. Father Gentili is, however, not singular in interpreting God's judgments according to his own notions, and devoting to Satan all that does not exactly harmonise with what is right and wrong; the spirit of Bigotry is the same, whether it displays itself in the Roman Catholic Priest or the itinerant Ranting tub thumper, though the expression of it may be more polished in the one than the other. Here is Gentili's description of London:—

We seemed to be really entering the city of Pluto: black shadows, a black sky, black shipping, and black looking creatures—filthy to an extreme degree—the waters of the Thames coloured with a colour between black and yellow, and emitted a stench highly offensive; on land, there prevailed a confused noise, with horse carriages and men of every condition running and crossing each others' path—in fine, to make a long story short, here the devil is seen enthroned, exercising his tyrannical sway over wretched mortals.

His missionary life in Leicestershire seems to have been scarcely more agreeable:—

Here I am, among heretics; alas! what a humiliation it is for a son of Holy Church to behold his mother here in the most deplorable slavery! What errors, vices, miseries, and folly prevail! Who will give tears sufficient to my eyes to wipe over such a desolate state of things? God's judgments fall upon this wretched land! It is a chaos, where nature's order, and heaven's harmonies, have been destroyed; and seems to concur in reducing it to this condition: for the country, generally speaking, presents nothing to view but by and oak trees. The atmosphere is almost always cloudy, and whenever it shows itself serene, it appears with a leaden coloured veil, which weighs down the eye's spirits. . . . When at noon, or at midnight, I can raise my eyes to see the sun's brilliant beams, and at night, to the starry vault of Italy's azure sky, and feel at the same time, my where, in fine, amid the warbling of nightingales, I used to raise my voice in psalms and canticles, in behalf of my country, and the Church's wants, to the Great Creator of all things. Here, on the contrary, a flock of garrulous crows continually stunning my ears, render my solitude still more dismal.

Now, we can easily comprehend how an Italian should long for the brilliant skies of his own bright climate; but really we must protest against our haystacks, 'brave old oaks,' and pleasant old rockeries, being denounced as evidences of a 'divine malediction' upon England, because she is 'heretical.' Sup-

posing the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster succeeds in restoring her to the fold of the One True Church, shall we have 'the sun's brilliant beams,' 'the starry vault of Italy's azure sky,' and the warbling of nightingales, in the north of England? But enough of this, which we have only introduced to show how much we differ from the essential principle of the ecclesiastical system of the Romish Church. The first article is a readable and well executed review of Wordsworth's Life and Writings, which is characteristically introduced by a tirade against the 'Libraries of frantic novelties,' which

Are issued weekly and monthly by the press, at prices varying from a penny to a shilling, the least faults of which are, that they corrupt the taste, and the worst, that they corrupt the hearts of the rising generation. Numerous infamous bookshops (continues the author) are supported in every large town in the United Kingdom, by the almost exclusive sale of these immoral publications. They are sold in the streets about the rail stations, and above all, on Sundays, by milliners and tradespeople, who are confined to sedentary occupations during the week. The best of these publications are written as if all the functions of the soul as well as the tools of the body were confined to this world; they never take one earnest glance heavenward, and if the same be mentioned, it is merely as a figure of speech to express earthly felicity. Their virtues are the outpouring of mere natural benevolence and kindness, and thus they are calculated indirectly to effect that which the world openly attempts, the destruction of the faith and morality of the gospel. From the weakness and corruption of the human heart, such writings, however contemptible as literary productions, will be far more widely circulated, and consequently far more remunerative, than those which touch with the most exquisite tenderness the highest and holiest impulses and sympathies of man's immortal spirit.

Shepherd's 'Early History of the Popery' from the Protestant point of view, undergoes a searching and severe ordeal, and the grounds on which a 'Catholic University' should be established in Ireland are ably set forth from the Roman Catholic point of view. Indeed, of all the articles in the present number, this is the one we should most recommend to the attention of the general reader. At the present time, when education is exciting so much interest, all who are active in the cause should know what can be said in favour of the supreme importance of dogmatic and authoritative theological instruction, and the utter subordination of secular and scientific instruction.

The article, however, which is likely most deeply to interest the general reader, is that entitled 'State Bishops.' There the Catholics fairly have the Established Church on the hip. Whatever may be said against the utter abnegation of will and thought required from such a man as Father Gentili, still his life, devoted to the service of his fellow man, according to his own sincere convictions and his death in the midst of labours directed to the amelioration of famine and pestilence in the terrible year 1848, present a marked contrast to the selfishness, greediness, and vulgar wrangling about stipends, not unmixed with the actual dishonesty, which has characterised the career of too many of our State Bishops. They are indeed shepherds who shear, not tend their flocks. 'The Age of Honesty' is a well written exposure of the fraudulent adulterations which are now perpetrated in almost every department of industry and commerce under our high pressure competitive system. Taking the revelations of the 'Lancet' and other recent authorities, here is a portrait of 'the Englishman' as a French draughtsman might sketch him from his own writings:—

The Englishman is naturally of a sad and melancholic disposition, and chooses his habitation accordingly. It has been gravely asserted by an Alderman of London, (a gastronomic officer of the corporation,) that its most cheerful and healthy spot, is the great cattle market called Smithfield, and the rich merchants have their warehouses and shops close to graveyards, where they imbibe a pestilential and most noxious air, at every breath.

The water supplied to him and his family to drink, is of various qualities, differing one from the other in the amount of animal life with which each abounds. The 'Lancet' has published a series of pictures, full of animation, representing the scenes which occur in every glass of water drunk in different localities. These comprehend not only Lambeth, Southwark, and places inhabited by the poor, but Hampstead, Richmond, and many other fashionable abodes of the rich.

When he rises in the morning he refreshes himself at breakfast with a cup of tea, black or green. The first is often composed, according to his own statements, of yeast, more, honey, cream, and sometimes coloured by a tea already used, and got up again with sulphate of iron and with water, and perhaps a dark sugar, swarming with his own acaries, and filled with cane splinters, and sand and grit. If he be recommended cocoa, and procure soluble or homoplastic preparations of it, he is, more than ten to one, drinking an infusion of flour, potato, sage, arrowroot, or Indian corn, possibly coloured by a tea already used, and got up again with sulphate of iron and with water, and perhaps a dark sugar, swarming with his own acaries, and filled with cane splinters, and sand and grit. 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Just Published by RICHARDSON AND SON, 172, Fleet-street, London; 9, Capel-street, Dublin; and Derby.

THE CATHOLIC REVIEW.

No. 62, January, 1852.

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The addresses on Government, on Education, to the Delegates of All Nations to the World's Fair, and on True and False Religion, which have lately appeared in the pages of this Journal, have been reprinted in the form of cheap pamphlets, and will be found to contain information of the deepest interest.

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Politics.—Letters of L'Ami du Peuple on the State of Europe, Opening of Parliament, the New Religion, the French Republic, America, Mazzini and Italy, the Enemy Within British Institutions, the Engineers, Operative and Co-operative.

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THE PUBLIC is not called upon to decide whether Chicory is better than Coffee, nor whether it is pure or adulterated, but simply whether it is to be sold as Coffee and at the price of Coffee.

What is being sold to the public as ground Coffee, at prices varying from 1s. 10s. to 8s. per pound, is, in the "Lancet" has proved, a compound consisting, in most cases, of more than half Chicory. Fair dealing dictates that articles should be sold for what they are, at their own proper price. But in the case of Chicory the consumer is made to pay six times the value of the article because it is sold under a false name.

The CENTRAL CO-OPERATIVE AGENCY has been established to counteract this and similar frauds, and every article is sold under its own proper denomination at a fair price. It guarantees to supply pure Chicory, 8d. per pound, good Coffee 1s., fine Coffee 1s. 4d., and the best Mocha 1s. 6d. per pound. They can be had either in the berry or ground, and if ground they are guaranteed to be free from any mixture whatever. Persons who have been buying ground Coffee are requested to try half a pound of Chicory for 1d., and half a pound of either of the above Coffees; by thus buying the two articles separately and mixing for themselves they will effect a saving of 14d. per pound on the 1s. 4d. on the 1s. 6d. Central Co-operative Agency, 75, Great St. Martin's Lane, London, and 15, Swan-street, Manchester.

IMPORTANT TO TRADES UNIONS.

WOLVERHAMPTON CONSPIRACY CASE.—LIBERATION OF THE DEFENDANTS.

A PUBLIC MEETING OF THE TRADES OF LONDON

will be held at

THE MECHANICS' INSTITUTE, SOUTHAMPTON BUILDINGS, HOLBORN, ON THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 21ST, 1852.

Chair to be taken at half-past seven o'clock.

When the London Central Defence Committee will present their report of the proceedings in connexion with the above Conspiracy Case, and submit the Balance Sheet of the Costs of the Defence.

Messrs. Ford, Green, Duffell, and Woodroffe, now suffering from incarceration, will attend and address the meeting, when it is earnestly hoped that all who feel an interest in Trades' Unions will attend.

By order of the Central Defence Committee.

George GREENGLASS, Secretary.

Bell Inn, Old Bailey, January 22nd, 1852.

TO Tailors, Milliners, and Dressmakers.

GENTLEMAN'S HERALD OF FASHION.

For March, 1852, contains all the Spring Fashions, a Splendid Coloured Gilt Plate two feet long, Four other Plates of the "Frisco" Frockcoat, a new system of Cutting, and important practical information, 75, Great St. Martin's Lane, London.

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See designs of bringing up their families in the pure and life-preserving air of the country, and away from the contaminations of large towns, may always have their wishes gratified by applying to the Advertiser, particularly if inclined to form themselves into ASSOCIATIONS.

the chief object of which shall be to prepare their children (at least if the Parents themselves are unfit for such a superior mode of life) for a considerable fortune.

Apply personally to Mr. HALLET, Friar Lodge, Close to the Station, Hatfield Station of the Great Northern Railway, Midland, fifteen minutes' journey from King's Cross, London. Return tickets—None.

A few shares of Freshhold BUILDING GROUND, 50 by 100 feet each, are yet on hand on this valuable Estate, a considerable portion of the centre of which is reserved for a magnificent INFANTRY CASERNE, by Sir ELYSIUM, or

MOTHER'S BLESSING.

On another Estate, twenty miles from London, each Cottage may have any number of Acres, at Forty Shillings per Acre. No letter received unless post-paid, and none answered unless it contains two stamps.

The bill brought forward by Sir G. Grey to disfranchise the borough of St. Albans was printed on Tuesday. It is a very short bill, and the enacting part states, "That shall from and after the passing of this act cease to return any members of member to serve in Parliament."

To Correspondents.

Our Correspondents will oblige us greatly by attending to the following general instructions:—

The earlier we can receive their communications in the week, the more certain they are of being inserted. This is the case especially with letters upon general subjects intended for the columns set apart for "Free Correspondence."

Reports of proceedings of Charitable Bodies, Trades, and Co-operative Societies, &c., should be forwarded immediately after their occurrence. By not doing so, they are liable to be lost, and the Editor is not responsible for the want of, and consequent non-insertion. Reports should consist of a plain statement of facts.

All communications intended for publication should be written on one side of the paper only, and addressed to the Editor.

HONESTY FUND, FOR CHARLES MURRAY.—This would have been acknowledged some weeks previous, but it was mislaid.—Edward Schmidt—George Murray 1s.—John Murray 1s.—James Murray 1s.—Charles Murray 1s.—William Rogers 1s.—William Reynolds 1s.—Joseph Middleton 1s.—William Anthony 1s.—G. Badham 6d.—R. Badham 6d.—Mr. Lewis 6d.—By Grace 1s.—Wm. Biss 6d.—John Lennon 6d.—Wm. Peters 6d.—Total 10s.

J. R. L.—Thanks for your kind note. We regret that the "lines" are not sufficiently correct for publication.

V. Barnes, Long Sutton.—Your letter was respectfully declined.

The Halifax Discussion.—Mr. Christopher Shackleton, who presided at the recent discussion, has written a reply to the vote on that occasion. After the discussion, Mr. Shackleton says:—"One of the three, of Mr. J. L. Jones's committee, told me that a resolution had been come to, that no vote should be taken. I informed the meeting of this, and stated that I should abide by the rules of the committee. When Mr. Baldwin, another of Mr. J. L. Jones's committee, stated that no such resolution had been passed, but that it had been left an open question. On this announcement from Mr. Baldwin, I put the motion, and it was carried by a large majority. A correspondent. Some dispute originated, after the discussion, concerning the distribution of the funds, when Mr. J. L. Jones's committee requested me to act as arbitrator, or referee, in the case. They pulled the minutes out of the book and handed them into my keeping. I have looked them over, and there is no resolution concerning a vote, either for or against."

J. Barnes, Long Sutton.—Your communication shall appear in our next. David Litch, Prestonholme.—All Money Orders for this Office must be made payable to Messrs. M'Gowan and Co., Printers, 16, Great Windmill Street.

G. Brown, Wakefield.—Your letter is respectfully declined.

THE NORTHERN STAR.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 1852.

WASHING A BLACKAMOR WHITE.

The House of Commons has not even the negative virtue of the people, who,

Compound for sins they are inclined to, By damning those they have no mind to.

They cherish the sin, but try to look virtuous by sacrificing the sinners who are caught in the act. The whole of their political morality is comprised in the axiom, "don't be found out." Bribe, corrupt, demoralise the people as much as you please, but do so cleverly that nobody can bring it home to you, and all is right; though the fact itself is patent to all the world, and you in your inmost soul know that it is so, so long as it cannot legally be proved that it is enough, and when a fellow sinner, who has been detected, is hauled up for judgment, wipe your mouths, assume a virtue, though you have it not, and send him, as Mr. ROEBUCK phrases it, like a scapegoat, with the sins of the 'hon. house' on his back.

St. Albans is the Jonah to be thrown to the whale, in the hope of saving the other corrupt and venal constituents which form the bulk of the cargo. Now, we really think that Mr. BELZ made a very excellent, cogent, and unanswerable speech against such a mode of lightening the ship. He is as much an 'Hon. Member' as most of those who are called upon to vote his expulsion. The only difference between him and many of them is, that he has spent less in bribery, and that he has been found out, while they have not.

Mr. BELZ, graphically, and with a fine sense of apostrophe in his metaphor, illustrated the nature of the proceeding by reference to a recent visit to the House of Correction. The 'hon. gentleman,' in going over that house, saw one hundred and fifty thieves there, while he knew there were probably forty thousand outside as bad or worse than they were. Suppose the forty thousand thieves not caught and imprisoned, were to vote for hanging the one hundred and fifty who are, would that make them any more honest? Not at all. While Mr. COPPOCK avers that he can put his hands on boroughs, from A to Z, and prove that they are all as corrupt as St. Albans has been shown to be, will the excision of that rotten member give health or soundness to the representative body? If not, why be at the superfluous trouble? Tantara rara! rogues all! St. Albans will be really very severely tried, if it is turned out of such a useful constituency.

We hope before it is sacrificed, the member for Sheffield will redeem his pledge, and, if possible, get Mr. COPPOCK at the bar of the house to throw some of that tight-rope walking question which he is so well qualified to do. As the dispenser of Government patronage, and the confidential friend of that important personage, the Treasury secretary, who does the 'whipping,' and sees that things are made pleasant, there is no doubt but that he can make piquant and important revelations as to the way in which these things are managed. It would be useful to know who really works the puppets in the Marionette theatre of St. Stephens, and make them say, 'aye' and 'nay' as they are bidden. The manner in which the boroughs—from the first letter of the alphabet to the last—are coddled and trafficked by unscrupulous agents, and unprincipled attorneys, would form a fine practical commentary on our representative system. The effect of a vast and ever active machinery for corrupting voters, would be found not to stop in its demoralizing effects with them, but to spread from the minister who bribes the member down to the humblest and most degraded instrument of the vicious and vitiating system.

We fear, however, that even if Mr. ROEBUCK's courage does not by that time ooze out at his fingers ends, like that of SIR ANDREW AUCHEPER, the 'Hon. House' will be in no hurry to sanction such a proceeding. It would be equivalent to putting too many in the same position as Messrs. BELZ and RAYTON, and necessitating a more general clearance of the venerable nests in which electoral and parliamentary corruption is hatched and reared. A fellow feeling will make the majority of small borough members wondrous kind; but virtuous Mr. HAYTON, who is quite surprised at the insinuation that he ever spoke to Mr. COPPOCK, or any such person, about the distribution of Treasury patronage, will no doubt take care to make a good 'whip' when the question comes on.

So we suppose the undetected and unconvicted thieves will sit in judgment on the thief that has been found out, and sentence it accordingly. St. Albans will be made the scape-goat, and, having sacrificed it, 'Hon. Members' will go about their legislative duties afterwards.

"Wearing upon their face that kind of satisfaction Which men feel when they've done a virtuous action."

HOW TO UNREFORM PARLIAMENT.

If any decided feeling has been excited by the hotly poked called 'a Bill to extend the right of voting for Members of Parliament, and to amend the laws relating to the representation of the people in Parliament,' it is that of mingled disgust and contempt. The more its provisions are analysed, and their true intent and practical operation discussed, the more clearly the fact comes out, that it is a carefully concocted political swindle, intended to rob all other parties of some portion of their existing strength, for the benefit of the Whigs. In the pursuit of this object the most astounding and unparalleled combinations are proposed. A perverted ingenuity has been put to its utmost stretch for the purpose of giving to the people the minimum, to the Whigs the maximum of political power. The addition of new towns to existing boroughs, in order to increase the constituencies which sounded so well, is discovered to be a fraudulent pretence. The geographical and political relationships of the towns to be thus incorporated into electoral districts, which an honest Statesman would have kept in view, had he intended to act up to the spirit of his professions, have been disgracefully disregarded. Instead of enfranchising the few towns in the rural districts, which are growing in population and trade, and thereby likely to infuse new blood into the old, torpid, and corrupt constituencies with which they might be linked, Lord JOHN carefully excludes them in order to reconstitute a number of the decrepit, rotten, sink-holes of political feulence, which he himself extinguished twenty years ago, in his celebrated schedule A, as being then too rank and abominable to be endured. Then these miserable decaying villages are dragged from the obscurity into which, since 1832, they have fallen, either for the purpose of adding to the influence of some great Whig boroughmonger, or extinguishing that of a political opponent who deals in the same kind of merchandise. The

THE NORTHERN STAR.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 1852.

WASHING A BLACKAMOR WHITE.

The House of Commons has not even the negative virtue of the people, who,

Compound for sins they are inclined to, By damning those they have no mind to.

They cherish the sin, but try to look virtuous by sacrificing the sinners who are caught in the act. The whole of their political morality is comprised in the axiom, "don't be found out." Bribe, corrupt, demoralise the people as much as you please, but do so cleverly that nobody can bring it home to you, and all is right; though the fact itself is patent to all the world, and you in your inmost soul know that it is so, so long as it cannot legally be proved that it is enough, and when a fellow sinner, who has been detected, is hauled up for judgment, wipe your mouths, assume a virtue, though you have it not, and send him, as Mr. ROEBUCK phrases it, like a scapegoat, with the sins of the 'hon. house' on his back.

St. Albans is the Jonah to be thrown to the whale, in the hope of saving the other corrupt and venal constituents which form the bulk of the cargo. Now, we really think that Mr. BELZ made a very excellent, cogent, and unanswerable speech against such a mode of lightening the ship. He is as much an 'Hon. Member' as most of those who are called upon to vote his expulsion. The only difference between him and many of them is, that he has spent less in bribery, and that he has been found out, while they have not.

Mr. BELZ, graphically, and with a fine sense of apostrophe in his metaphor, illustrated the nature of the proceeding by reference to a recent visit to the House of Correction. The 'hon. gentleman,' in going over that house, saw one hundred and fifty thieves there, while he knew there were probably forty thousand outside as bad or worse than they were. Suppose the forty thousand thieves not caught and imprisoned, were to vote for hanging the one hundred and fifty who are, would that make them any more honest? Not at all. While Mr. COPPOCK avers that he can put his hands on boroughs, from A to Z, and prove that they are all as corrupt as St. Albans has been shown to be, will the excision of that rotten member give health or soundness to the representative body? If not, why be at the superfluous trouble? Tantara rara! rogues all! St. Albans will be really very severely tried, if it is turned out of such a useful constituency.

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most extraordinary geographical and topographical combinations are brought together in *et armis*. Contiguity and political fitness are equally ignored. Like an old highland reiver, Lord JOHN does not hesitate to make a raid into neighbouring counties, and carry off two or three towns from their natural, social, and political relations, while he carefully protects those who pay 'black mail' to the Treasury bench, in the shape of votes. It is no wonder, therefore, that the Tories have resolved to oppose the second reading of the bill. At first sight, it appeared so harmless to them—so little calculated to extend political power among the masses, that it almost seemed to justify Earl GREY's assurance to Earl DENBY, on the first night of the session, that the measure was framed on principles that would satisfy even him. In as far as both parties are the sworn enemy of the genuine representation of the people in Parliament, that statement was perfectly correct. Instead of being a measure for a larger infusion of the popular element into the House of Commons, it is actually one for reducing that portion we now possess. Lord JOHN's political progress is crab-like, backwards. But in robbing the people he has not fairly divided the spoil; hence, on the second reading, PRACHTON and LOCKART are to have a quarrel. Whoever wins, the industrious and intelligent millions will not be in the slightest degree benefited, unless they remember and act on the old adage, 'when rogues fall out, honest men have a chance of coming by their own.'

The unblushing impudence with which Lord JOHN attempts the juggle is not the least notable part of the matter. If there was one point that had been more thoroughly discussed in reference to representative reform than another, it was the necessity for a redistribution of the Electoral Franchise. That was felt to be scarcely second in importance to its extension, for so long as a few small towns with populations of two, three, or four thousand inhabitants sent as many representatives to Parliament as towns with one, two, or three hundred thousand inhabitants, it was palpable that the one must neutralise the other, and that political power and influence was most unfairly, and most preposterously distributed. That would have been the case even had the number of the large and the small boroughs been equal. The injustice, however, became still more apparent and intolerable when it was considered that the small boroughs were by far the most numerous. The minority in numbers, property, and intelligence, therefore return a decided outvote the majority even of the existing constituency. Take one practical illustration of the operation of this system: The West Riding of Yorkshire has a population of one million three hundred and forty thousand, it has two hundred and sixty-seven thousand, five hundred houses, thirty-seven thousand county electors, and its property is assessed, at the annual value of three millions and a half. Wiltshire has only two hundred and forty-one thousand population, eight thousand county electors, and property of the annual value of one million and a quarter. Yet Wiltshire sends eighteen members, while the West Riding returns but seventeen! Were the representation based upon any rational, just, or intelligible principle, whether that of numbers, property, or intelligence, the West Riding would have five times the number of members allotted to Wiltshire, whereas when they go into the lobby Wiltshire has a majority of one.

The public mind was made up as to the iniquity and the gross abuses of such a system as this, and demanded its abolition. Mark what the political juggler in power does: He pretends to concur in the general opinion, while he really proposes a redistribution of the Suffrage, which positively carries us back to even worse than the rotten borough system which was partially destroyed by the act of 1832.

The Premier deals in the same dishonest way with the extension of the suffrage. Apparently, the extension from £10 to £5 householders should very materially increase the number of voters in our large towns, but practically it will be found to be as great an illusion and fraud as the proposed new electoral groups. In the first place, it is not to the householders, or, in other words, the rent, that the vote is given, but to the rates paid by the tenants. There is as every knows, a very great difference between the two things. Five pounds rated rental means in most instances an actual rent of £7, or £8 at least, while the cumbersome, complicated, vexatious, and obstructive machinery of the Registration Courts is such as to prevent tens of thousands who are entitled from pressing their claim. The repeal of the rate paying clauses, and the enrolment of the voter on the two-fold test of rent and residence, has long been established even among moderate Reformers, as one of the most urgent and reasonable alterations that could be made. Lord JOHN proposes to continue the system by which the attainment of the Franchise is hedged round with traps, and pitfalls, and fences, and by which thousands of those now entitled to it are defrauded of their right, and he proposes further, to repeat the delusion of giving a nominal instead of a real qualification. As the payment of ten pound rent does not enfranchise the tenant now, so the payment of five pounds will not, should his sham measure succeed, give the vote in future.

The whole thing 'is a mockery, a delusion, and a snare,' which 'no honest Reformer—no honest man of any party—can for one moment tolerate. We are glad to hear that the Tories have resolved to vote against it on the second reading as a party. We hope that the so-called Liberal and Independent party who sit below the gangway or behind the Treasury Bench, will do the same, and thus treat this miserably dishonest attempt to palter with the demands of an enlightened people, with that indignant contempt and summary defeat which it so richly merits.

Let no man fear the consequences of its rejection. Once the sham is kicked out of the way, we shall have a clear stage for a real Reform. The Sybil will come back again with one leaf more torn out of her book. Larger, bolder demands on the part of the unfranchised millions; smaller power and less courage to resist them on the part of the oligarchy. While we are about the work let us do it well and substantially.

THE CO-OPERATIVE LEAGUE.

A new body under this title has just been formed in London, which is likely to exercise considerable influence over public opinion. It has long been felt that influence was not at all commensurate with the numbers and the intelligence of those who, in one shape or another, are friendly to associative views, and who entertain the general opinion, that the only remedy for the existing evils of society must be found in the substitution of some higher principle of social action, for the individual selfishness and unregulated competition of our present system. Believing that the organisation of the friends of Co-operative Association, upon some common ground of opinion and action, would tend to accelerate the advent of such a change, and to convert that which is a latent into an active element of popular opinion, a number of gentlemen held a preliminary meeting, some weeks ago to discuss the basis of an Association, which should, in the first instance, be simply tentative, and afterwards propagandist, to the extent its members found they could agree among themselves. The basis and general objects of the Association having been fully discussed and

parochial trustees of Poplar have recently come to a determination that all coroners' inquests shall in future be held at the Town-hall instead of at public-houses,

