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THE NORTHERN STAR,

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 28, 1892.

THE DERBY CABINET.

'Unwept, unhonoured,' the Russell Ministry has fallen from its own feebleness. The event had long been anticipated, and generally desired. Everybody, but those who were peculiarly interested in its continuance in office, was sick of it. Lord John saw condemnation and defeat ahead on grave and important matters, and eagerly seized the opportunity of resigning upon a defeat which merely involved a difference of opinion, without disgrace. Whether his tricky policy, true to the last, will avert the censure he dreaded, remains to be seen; but we are, at all events, able to congratulate the country in having at length got rid of a Cabinet which, for the last four or five years, has been the greatest possible obstruction to practical reforms of every description. They had brought the art of Ministerial Do-Nothingism to perfection, and invented a new system of making a Parliament sit six or seven months in the year apparently very busy, and then rise, leaving behind it results so infinitesimally small that it required a political microscope of no ordinary power to discover them at all.

The Whigs are gone, and with them their brood of sham measures, which would have wasted another six months and left us, as usual, nil as a net result. With their departure from office has also been removed many difficulties and stumbling blocks from the path of independent and liberal members. We know that they were embarrassed as to the course they should take on the Sham Reform Bill. It was so obviously beneath the occasion, and constructed in so dishonest and evasive a spirit, that they could not accept it without proposing many additions and alterations; but, on the other hand, it would have given some addition to the constituencies of a few large towns, and that might have afforded a fulcrum for a future and more powerful movement. They were therefore unwilling to give Lord John an excuse for throwing it up altogether in a pretended pet. All these embarrassments and difficulties are now removed. There is a clear stage and no favour. Men will settle down to their natural places again on this question of Parliamentary Reform at least. We shall now know friends from foes. The Tories were to have opposed the sham bill, small as were its dimensions—they will,

therefore, not give us a larger one. But the Examiner, in announcing his leave of office, took care to intimate very distinctly that he will be much more determined on the opposition than he was on the Treasury Bench. No Protection, Extension of the Suffrage, and Peace, were the three watchwords adopted as his policy for the future; and knowing how wonderfully the bleak atmosphere of the shady side of the Speaker's chair invigorates Whig patriotism and liberality, we quite expect to witness some strange metamorphoses in the course of the next few months. It will of course be the duty of the rank and file men to take care that in case of a victory, the substantial results are not monopolised by another 'Family Party.'

As to the New Ministry, nobody fears them. With the present House of Commons they cannot reverse any great measure that has been carried of late years. They cannot pass any that will greatly trench upon either popular or individual liberty. If they dream of inaugurating a retrogressive and Tory policy, they must try what a dissolution will do for them, and that, it is understood, the QUEEN has requested shall not be done until a much later period of the year. The aspect of Europe is not very reassuring just now; and a fiercely contested general election would not be the pleasantest addition to the already sufficiently alarming indications of a tempest, which gather about the political horizon.

As to the capability of the DENBY Cabinet for the duties it has undertaken, most of its members are so untied in administration, that it is impossible to predicate how they will succeed. Certainly some of the names sound queerly enough in conjunction with the offices they fill. Who, for instance, would ever have thought of the satirical rhetorical DISRAELI as Chancellor of the Exchequer; who of that respectable 'Justice of the Quorum,' PARKINGTON, as Controller of the destinies of Colonies in every part of the world; who, of MALMESBURY as Foreign Minister, whose only claim to the position of a diplomatist must be hereditary. As to the head of the Ministry, his merits and defects are equally well known; and it is as well known that the latter very decidedly preponderate, when the peculiar qualifications for the position he holds are taken into consideration. For such a Cabinet no one can expect a long existence.

But its formation brings before the public again a question to which we have frequently directed attention. Why is it that this game of see-saw is permitted to be played between certain great families of the aristocracy, who seem to assume that they alone monopolise all the administrative ability of the country, and consequently toss the ball from one to the other, as if there were no other persons in the kingdom who had the smallest claim to consideration or a participation in power?

One very potent cause for this is to be found in the want of unity, training, and organisation among the independent and professedly liberal members of Parliament. They have never displayed any organised strength, or developed as a party the power of acting in concert, and carrying out a constructive and a consecutive policy. The 'Family Party' which has been driven from office, perhaps gave them small opportunity; but the game is now changed, and if they do not take advantage of the fact that it is so, and show themselves capable of taking office, and discharging its duties in a comprehensive and liberal spirit, on them alone will rest the blame. Meantime a General Election in any case cannot be far off, and those who really want to promote genuine reforms, and to prevent the return of the old Ministry, must take care to make the issue, and, as far as we can discern, causeless, dissensions which distract the party that assumes the exclusive use of the title 'Chartist,' will prevent them from taking any useful or honourable part in the approaching struggle, we know not. But this we are sure of, that there is in every large town of the United Kingdom a sufficient number of clear-headed, intelligent, and practical working-men to form a committee, and an active canvassing force for the purpose of fairly testing the opinions of their townsmen on the question of Representative Reform. There are also plenty of men whose past services to the cause of Democracy entitle them to the honour of being selected as the candidates through whose medium that test can be applied. If this is done in a firm but temperate spirit, it cannot fail to operate favourably for the cause of electoral reform, and neutralise to some extent the baleful influence of those intestine squabbles which make so-called Chartism, only known for mischief and powerlessness for good.

ABOLITION OF THE NEWSPAPER MONOPOLY.

Mr. DISRAELI has 'kissed hands' on his appointment as Chancellor of the Exchequer. He is a literary man himself, and the son of a literary man. He has voted in favour of the repeal of the taxes on knowledge; and, therefore, we see some sanguine people are expecting they will not appear in the Budget we may expect from the DENBY Ministry. We suspect that these parties are reckoning without their host, and upon the very antiquated notion, that the actions of political men should be in accordance with their professions. They forget altogether the terrible exigencies of 'place,' the changed medium through which men look at the same objects from the opposition and Treasury benches, and, above all, the instinctive tenacity with which financial Ministers stick to taxes. It is true that Mr. DISRAELI takes office with a surplus in hand amounting to millions, but there will not be wanting excuses when the time comes for dealing with that surplus. For instance, the Income Tax expires on the 5th of April next. It raises annually nearly double the whole surplus. Is it possible to persuade the present House of Commons to renew the tax for another year, or, failing that, to produce a new mode of levying the tax, which will allay the deep and general discontent that exists among a large portion of those who are now assessed to it? Besides this little difficulty, the new Chancellor has Earl GREY's bequest in the shape of the Kaffir war, which, if it continues, will dip deeply into any surplus for years to come; and there are his own pet schemes to be looked after—for relieving the squires and farmers, by throwing county rates on the consolidated fund, and lightening their burdens at the cost of the general body of tax-payers.

These are only a few of the reasons that might be adduced for suggesting more moderate expectations; and yet, if public stood on the same footing as private morality, and the actions of men accorded with their professions, we know not any demand that has such a strong claim for immediate settlement as that for the repeal of the duties which obstruct the diffusion of intelligence. 'Taxes on Knowledge,' said Leigh Hunt, in his characteristic letter read at the meeting on Wednesday night, 'appear to me very like taxes on the prevention of finger posts, or for the better encouragement of "erring and straying, like lost sheep." And DOUGLAS JERROLD pitifully asked, "why not, to help the lame and aid the short-sighted, lay a tax upon crutches, and enforce a duty upon spectacles?"

The extent to which the triple duties prevent the establishment and impede the circulation of newspapers, may be judged of from the fact, that the United States, with a population little more than two thirds of Great Britain and Ireland, consume yearly four hundred and twelve million copies; while in this country there are only eighty-four million copies circulated annually among the larger population. The difference points to a radical distinction between the Governments of the two countries. In one the people are the rulers, and the Government takes care to promote the education and intelligence of the masses; in the other, two factions of an oligarchy alternately hold the reins of power, and they think their interests are best subserved by a contrary course.

The practical effect of these taxes is to establish a monopoly of the Newspaper Press. The large capital required to carry on a newspaper efficiently, and the comparatively limited circulation resulting from a high price, limits the number of journals, and confines their proprietorship to Capitalists. We need not tell the working classes the inevitable effect of this. They know it to their cost, whenever any question affecting their rights or interests becomes the subject of public discussion. The advertising and purchasing section of the community belong to the classes against whom the producers have to wage an almost incessant struggle for fair wages and reasonable treatment. It is any wonder that the newspapers support those who keep them in existence?

But it is said that this monopoly has the effect of producing a superior article to that which we should have if the Press was free; and in proof of that assertion, we are referred to the American newspapers, which certainly cannot, generally, be compared with our own, as respects the extent, variety, and literary ability of their contents. While, however, the superiority of the British journal may be admitted, the concession requires to be accompanied by certain qualifications and drawbacks. In the first place, America is a younger country, and if its journals have the immaturity, they have also the vigour and the elasticity of youth. In the second, what they want in literary polish they gain in being a truthful reflex of the popular mind and progress. The stated English journalist either does not touch at all upon topics that are not 'respectable' and 'orthodox,' or, if he ventures out of the charmed circle, it is to cast doubt or ridicule upon the novelty. In the United States, upon the contrary, questions of all kinds are freely discussed in the columns of the newspapers; and though some of these are ridiculous enough in the estimation of an English reader, there is after all no test so searching, no method more efficacious for detecting shams, or winning truth from the chaff with which it may be mixed.

The abolition of the tax on newspapers, in connection with an equitable plan for continuing existing Post Office facilities, would, we have no doubt, be accompanied by an immediate improvement in the tone of English papers. Greater breadth, freedom, and independence of tone would distinguish these articles, and the intelligence they contained would no longer be confined to the narrow and exclusive channels in which it at present flows. The press would become national, instead of being factious, exclusive, or sectarian.

Apart from the merely political point of view, however, there are other important reasons why these duties should be abolished. There is, at the present moment, no question of greater urgency than the means by which increased employment can be given to our increasing population. Now, the curse of all excise restrictions is, that they do not stop with the mere enhancement of price, but prevent all improvement and extension in the article on which they are imposed. The repeal of the duty on paper would at once open out a source of profitable employment both for capital and labour of which we can at present scarcely form any adequate conception. It is not alone in the increased quantity that would be consumed by an enlarged demand for newspapers and books, though that would be great, but in the application of paper to numerous purposes, which the excise regulations now prevent. There is scarcely any fabric, the raw material of which is so valueless in itself, but capable of so many and such varied uses as paper, or of being made so valuable, by the combined exercise of labour and ingenuity. In the decoration and furnishing of houses, in art and in manufactures, it is equally susceptible of new and indefinite modifications and extended use. Out of rags and refuse, which would otherwise be thrown aside as rubbish, and in many cases become nuisances, engendering corruption and infection, industry fabricates a material which now amounts to the annual value of about three millions sterling, and employs at present about fifty thousand persons directly in its manufacture. But this gives only an imperfect view of the entire number of persons whose industry is set in motion by the paper manufacture. There are numerous other trades and occupations connected with it, either in collecting and conveying the raw material, or in working it up into various forms for use. The whole number may perhaps be taken at a quarter of a million; and as the consumption has doubled since 1832, when the duty was reduced, it is but reasonable to calculate that its total abolition would speedily again double the number of persons employed, and the quantity produced. A measure, which would open out healthy and remunerative sources of employment to a quarter or half a million more of our population at home, which would add several millions more to the real wealth, annually produced in the country, and at the same time facilitate the diffusion of knowledge among all classes of the Community is one which, if the new Chancellor of the Exchequer be ambitious of being remembered in history, well deserves his attention. Though generally supposed to be more *au fait* at figures of speech, than figures of finance, the salient points of the proposed change are so easily comprehended, and the benefits to be derived so immediate and varied, that it will show great want of tact, to say the least, if he does not identify his name with it. Will his lordly colleagues let him?

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM—THE FIRST THING NEEDFUL.

A controversy has been going on for some time past between Political and Social Reformers, as to the comparative merits of their respective movements, and which should have precedence in its claims upon the support of the unfranchised and labouring classes. On the one hand, the Suffrage Reformers contend that the Co-operative movement is confined too exclusively to material and personal objects, and diverts the attention of those engaged in it from those political questions which affect their scope and bearing all classes of society. The Co-operative reformers, on the other hand, that Political Reformers, in their anxiety to promote great changes in the constitution of the country, overlook, or fail to make use of, the means actually in the possession of the producers of wealth for improving their own position, and consequently giving them greater influence in the settlement of political questions.

Perhaps, as in many other cases, the practical truth lies between the two extremes. Each phase of the popular movement necessarily presents peculiar attractions to differently constituted minds; and if the bad habit of calling names and imputing motives could be got rid of, these two sections of the army of progress would find it very easy to unite their forces for the attainment of the one object they have in view. Angry discussions—in which the honesty of one party, and the intelligence and patriotism of the other are mutually impugned—can only tend to repel from each other parties whose purposes are identical, and to continue those fatal divisions which have so long made the masses the helpless prey of the organized and wealthy few.

It appears to us, that without trenching on the modern doctrine of the division of labour—which in the industrial world has produced such vast and astonishing results, and which is, within certain limits, applicable also to political and social action—the promoters of Co-operative and Industrial Associations ought now to take an active part in the political movement.

In truth, their own movement has a two-fold aspect. The first has reference to the internal organization and management of their respective bodies, and their federal union through the medium of a central agency and Executive; the second, to the external relations of the movement, and the way in which it is affected by the proceedings of the Legislature, or the general action of our existing social system. Of this influence we cannot have a better or more timely illustration than the debate on Mr. SLAXBY's motion for the appointment of a commission to facilitate Co-operative action among the industrious classes. The want of Members who thoroughly understood the wants of working men and who were able to explain practically the principles on which they proceed, and the objects they have in view, was never more forcibly proved. The cats legislated for the mice. The owners of land, capital, and machinery, of all the raw materials, and of all the implements requisite for setting Labour to work, could not comprehend why Labour should not be content with work and wages under the regime of the capitalist. Mr. CORBET talked in a condescending tone of the ignorance of those who wanted to alter the 'natural' relations of Capital and Labour; and though he had no objections to allow them to make their co-operative trials under something like equitable conditions, he plainly intimated his conviction at the same time that they would only burn their fingers if they made the attempt. Now, what are the 'natural' relations of Capital and Labour? If 'primitive' and 'natural' are synonymous, the present relations are anything but 'natural.' Society in its progress has passed through a series of stages, each successive change becoming more complicated and artificial, the result of the growth of varied classes, and the multiplication of interests. The relations between these classes are, therefore, as purely conventional as the existence of the classes

themselves. They are co-ordinate with, and grow out of, each other, and it is as great a piece of presumption on the part of a political economist to declare that the present are the natural and final relations of Capital and Labour, as it would have been for any advocate of former phases of society to assert that they were fixed and immutable. Very probably, the hunter who, like NIXON, was 'a mighty hunter before the Lord,' the flockowner who in the pastoral age counted his flocks and herds by tens of thousands, or the iron mailed baron in the feudal times, who looked from his castle towers upon the broad possessions tilled by his serfs, were of opinion that these were the natural relations of man to man—the just and the ultimate constitution of society. But now, when the common experience of mankind has demonstrated that society is progressive, that existing combinations are merely the parents of new, it is strange to hear from the professors of a so-called science, the assumption that the very contrary is the fact.

Yet it is upon that assumption that the whole of our legislation, or rather non-legislation, for labour proceeds. What is the cause of this? It is because the Commercial idea preponderates among the more active portion of the present electoral body. The Legislature represents not the whole, but only a section of the people. The buyers and sellers of Labour—the owners of the raw materials and the machinery by and upon which Labour must be set to work—all who live by usury or profit-mongering upon industry—are represented in the so-called Commons House of Parliament. The people—the Commons—have not one *bona fide* representative there. Let us not be misunderstood; honest, well-intentioned members may be mentioned, but their number is small, and their knowledge theoretical; they do not know where the shoe pinches like those who have worn it. Labour, however it may give utterance to its own conceptions of its grievances, and the remedies for them out of doors, is dumb in Parliament. 'Hon. gentlemen,' because it is inarticulate *there*, choose to jump to the conclusion that it is really without speech; and that they know much better what is good for them than the toilers themselves.

Now we do not mean to say, that because an individual has actually suffered from the endurance of an evil that therefore he is qualified, *per se*, to suggest the best remedy for that evil. But it has been truly said, that an accurate knowledge of the evil itself is half way to the remedy for it; and so long as legislators have cloudy, imperfect or perverted ideas respecting the nature of the question itself, it is impossible there can be any practical legislation.

The great and paramount reform, therefore, upon which the sympathies and the energies of the labouring classes ought to be concentrated, is a reform in Parliament, which will enable those who really understand and sincerely advocate the interests of the workers, to speak the plain truth on such subjects.

That is the first step towards getting the machinery of the state to work for, instead of against, the masses. At present the House of Commons is a congeries or aggregation of interests, which pervert the legislative and administrative monopoly they enjoy to the promotion of their own class or sectional ends. Every interest has its representatives there but that on which they all feed and fatten. It is an indispensable preliminary to the emancipation of labour socially, that it must first be freed from political bondage. That done, it will take its stand beside other interests, and claim an equitable participation in the work, the privileges, and the responsibilities of society.

No amount of individual care, forethought, and frugality on the part of the members of the Co-operative Societies, can at present exempt them from the immediate and prospective results of a false, unjust, and exclusive political system. As long as that exists they must, to a great extent, build upon a sandy foundation, and be exposed to the mercy of a thousand adverse agencies, over which they have, either individually or collectively, no control. As in the case of a Commercial glut and panic, the sober, careful, steady workman is thrown into the streets at the same time with his less prudent shopmate, so will the efforts of an essentially antagonistic Legislature, continually expose the Co-operative Movement, not only to obstruction, but to destruction. Previous economy and organisation may mitigate, but they can neither avert the results, nor prevent the action of the general influences which arise from the working of our existing political and commercial machinery.

In conclusion, we call upon those engaged in the Co-operative movement, to take an active part in the efforts which will no doubt be made to obtain the early and satisfactory adjustment of the popular claims for political justice. Their intelligence, organisation, and comparatively superior circumstances, will enable them to exercise no slight degree of influence in the settlement of the question. Many of them are electors in the boroughs to which they respectively belong. It is their duty, at the present juncture of public affairs, to throw their whole strength into any electoral movement that may be made in their various localities, for the purpose of returning men to Parliament who are prepared to support not only the claims of Labour in the abstract, but also such a change in our representative system as will permit the labouring classes to be directly represented by their own 'order.' Various plans for that purpose have been proposed, but at present it is needless to enter into details. Let us first have the principle affirmed that all classes and all interests ought to be fairly and directly represented in the Legislature; other things will follow in due season.

A PROTECTIONIST POLICY FOR THE PEOPLE.

It is possible that the New Ministry may be consistent enough to attempt the restoration of Protection in some shape or other, though its evening organ states that it will only do so if the country demands it. But then people may differ as to the signification of the term 'country.' Mr. CORBET and Mr. NEWDEGATE, for instance, would not be likely to interpret the word in the same way. In anticipation, however, of such an attempt, the Free Trade Journals—'pure and simple'—have been chronicling the vast and transcendent benefits that have been conferred on the country by our recent commercial legislation. There is no denying that 'the tottle of the whole' presents a very pretty picture upon paper, and it is equally incumbent on us to confess, that in many aspects the state of the country is satisfactory to those who look at it from a merely commercial and material point of view. The fallacy, however, lies in confining the investigation within purely economical and statistical limits, and assuming that even for those results we are exclusively indebted to the enactment of the tariff which permits free imports; free exports have not yet gained, inasmuch as most countries levy heavy duties on British articles. The statistic who would accurately trace the causes of our present financial and commercial position, must not omit to include in his calculations, the immense quantities of gold which have been poured into the market from California, and which are now being augmented by fresh supplies from Australia. But for these we suspect that the system of free imports would have long ago shown, that even in a mere commercial point of view it is not so efficient as its advocates imagine.

Leaving this question, however, as one which it is unnecessary for our immediate object to examine briefly at the state in which the Derby Administration finds the working classes at the time of its accession to power. Notwithstanding the boastful tone of the politico-economical journals in recounting the aggregate results of the new policy, when we look at the trade reports from the various centres of manufacturing industry, they are anything but satisfactory. Trade is generally described as being slack, demand slow, and prices falling, rather than otherwise. In many leading branches of industry, profits and wages are almost at zero; and though the quantity produced and exported may be enormous, there are grave reasons for doubting whether the parties who are engaged in these departments are carrying on a substantial or remunerative trade. The competition of combined and gigantic capitals against the smaller means of individual tradesmen and manufacturers, is fast driving them to the wall, and making it more and more difficult for them to make ends meet; while, on the other hand, the necessity for economising in the most minute details bears upon wages and hours of labour in the mammoth establishments in an oppressive

way, which has driven large numbers of our skilled operatives into revolt.

In fact, the disorganised and discounted state of the operative classes is the best possible commentary and illustration of the essentially anarchical and subversive nature of the principles which have been adopted by our legislators for their guidance in those matters. They have applied the laws of pure commercialism to questions with which they had no connexion. Buying and selling does not constitute the whole life of a nation, but only a part of it, and the science of Government includes many more things than 'exports and imports.' We are far from undervaluing that portion of economical philosophy which deals with these essential elements of a nation's elevation and progress, but we feel also that lately they have usurped too predominant a place in our national policy. It is one thing to create a vast amount of wealth, and another to distribute that wealth in such a manner as to make it conducive to 'the greatest happiness of the greatest possible number.' We have lost sight of the latter just as if the affairs of a nation could be carried on without the adaptation of means to ends, the subordination of one part to another, and the harmonized and regular action of nicely adjusted machinery—animate and inanimate—which are essential even to the success of a single factory.

The 'pure and simple' economists repudiate any such interference or regulation as a gross social error, involving the very principle of Socialism, which, according to them, constitutes the great danger of modern society. 'Let alone' is the climax of modern statesmanship and philosophy, although the practical exceptions to the rule are perforce so many, that with a less bigoted school of philosophers, some doubts at least of the soundness of the dogma would be excited. There are scores of things in which *laissez-faire* has been compulsorily thrown overboard as totally inapplicable to the actual wants of society, and in many cases, where the innovation has been strictly resisted by the economists, as fraught with the direct mischief to the country, the result has been verified one of their predictions, and triumphantly verified the anticipation of the advocates of regulated and concerted national action. 'The Ten Hours' Act is one of the most recent and conclusive proofs of this fact.

The new Administration are not so hopelessly crazed or perverted on this subject as their predecessors, but it is to be feared that they understand the principle of regulated action only as applies to their own immediate interests, or are too much wedded to the antiquated and now obsolete method of applying the principle. If they attempt the latter we firmly believe they will fail, and deservedly so. We all know how completely the protective system of the landlord class broke down. It did not give high wages—it did not give plenty of employment—it did not prevent crime, or abolish pauperism. It was not co-existent with any very high amount of moral or intellectual progress and elevation on the part of the masses. In short it failed because it was a selfish and an empirical application of a true principle. Nations never regress under institutions like ours, where popular changes are the result of popular will, slowly enlightened and gradually but firmly made up. Instead, therefore, of attempting to reverse the commercial policy of the last seven or eight years, Lord DENBY and his Cabinet will act wisely in accepting it as *un fait accompli*, and in devoting their attention to the means by which the other institutions and arrangements of the country and the Government may be made to harmonise with it.

We have not space in the present article to do more than merely enumerate the leading measures by which this might be effected. In the first place, there ought to be an immediate and an entire revision of our whole financial system. As it exists it is the creature of accident, caprice, and the necessities of the moment under successive governments. When hard pressed for money, the Minister of the day imposed a new tax—not with any reference to the justice of the impost, but the ability of the persons to pay who were caught in the exchequer drug net. The consequences of such fiscal arrangements present nothing but a monstrous aggregation of injustice and oppressive anomalies in conjunction with wasteful methods of collecting the revenue which add to the burden and increase the discontent of the country at large. The property of the nation and the taxable capabilities of the various classes of society ought to be carefully ascertained, for the purpose of making these the basis of a new, equitable, and consistent financial system which would press fairly upon all according to their means of defraying the just and necessary expenditure of the country. That would be one great and beneficial measure. The second would be to provide a currency substantial in the security it offered to the country, and which would include the threefold quality of representing the raw material of labour and the taxation which, in all cases, constitute the true price of every article sold. Such a currency is absolutely necessary to establish just relations between buyers and sellers, and would, of itself, effect a greater and more beneficial change than any other single constructive measure that can be named; while it has the merit of leaving existing institutions untouched. A third measure should be the systematic cultivation of the waste lands by our able-bodied poor, in conjunction with a system of industrial training for the unemployed or neglected children, who now grow up to criminal courses; and, lastly, such changes in the law of partnership and real estate as would open a chance for the prudent, intelligent, and active portion of the working classes to become independent and prosperous by their own well-directed and combined exertions.

This is a policy which would lay the foundation of a new and superior state of things in this country, and it is one which, in principle, a Protectionist Ministry might adopt and carry into effect. None of the measures proposed are a greater innovation upon the existing system than the new Foreign Minister's plan for an equalisation of the poor rate, which has been stigmatised by the 'Daily News' as rank Socialism. If, on the contrary, the DENBY Ministry, instead of taking a broad and comprehensive view of the state of society, and applying measures adequate to the exigency, try to restore an exploded protective system for the benefit of landlords and particular classes, it needs no prophet to predict the end. A short shift, and speedy downfall awaits them.

ANNIVERSARY OF THE REVOLUTION OF 1848.

On Wednesday a strong muster of French refugees took place at the National Hall, High Holborn, for the purpose of commemorating the fourth anniversary of the revolution of February, 1848.

Assize Intelligence

CARLISLE.—William Palmer, 22, was indicted for having, on the 18th of January last, feloniously killed, stabbed, and wounded John Cross, with intent to kill and murder him. It appeared from the evidence that the prosecutor and the prisoner had been drinking together, and that on the prisoner proposing as a toast "the prosperity of Ireland and Scotland, and the downfall of England," which the prosecutor would not drink, a quarrel and fight ensued. The combatants were separated, and some hours after, the prosecutor, prisoner and stable boy were again seen twine in the side. The prosecutor and stable boy were recovered after a few days, but the prisoner remained to be imprisoned one year, with hard labour.

ROBBERY BY A SERVANT.—Sarah Sharp was indicted for having stolen, on the 12th of January last, a quantity of watchwork and trinkets, the property of Mrs. Robinson, her mistress. The prisoner was found Guilty, and sentenced to six months' imprisonment with hard labour.

The February general sessions was held on Monday by adjournment from Clerkenwell, at Westminster.

ROBBERY BY A SHOPMAN.—John Garret, aged 22, was indicted for stealing two halfcrowns, the moneys of Peter Squire, his master.—The prosecutor in this case was a chemist and druggist, of 277, Oxford-street. The prisoner was one of the assistants in the shop.

employed by him for six months, and had given great satisfaction, and came with a good character from his previous employer, Mr. White, of Piccadilly. In consequence of information received from Boyce, another young man in the shop, the prosecutor, about 10 o'clock on the night of the 31st of January, caused some money to be put in the till across which, therefore, such

out. About a quarter of an hour afterwards Boyce missed one halfcrown, and ten minutes after that another. The prosecutor returned to his shop about eleven, and made the prisoner turn out his pockets, when one marked halfcrown was found in his waistcoat and another in his trousers.

ROBBING A PALACE.—Edward Lawson, 32, was charged with stealing seven pieces of plate glass, value £5, the property of her Majesty.—The prisoner was a chimney-sweeper employed to sweep the chimneys in Kensington Palace, and the glass was the part of some mirrors in the

ROBBERY AT THE HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT.—Robert Wells was indicted for stealing three carpets, value £11, the property of John Gregory Grace, his master.—Mr. PARSONS

decorator, residing at 14, Wigmore-street, and the carpets in question were some supplied to the Houses of Parliament by him. The prisoner was employed there to assist Mr. Crace's upholsterers. Mr. Crace's foreman (Mr. Taylor) went into the Trainbearer's room in the Houses of Parliament but saw nothing.

When the prisoner saw him he dragged the wrapper from underneath the carpet and said, "The wrapper belongs to me." He then left the room, and Mr. Taylor went to where there were some more carpets, and found a red one (the

searched by the constable who apprehended him the red missing carpet was found, and also a green one, which was subsequently found to be missing from another part of the house.—The jury returned a verdict of Guilty, and the Court sentenced him to six months' imprisonment and hard labour.

ROBBING AND RECEIVING.—John Cox and John Leden were charged with stealing three iron bars and a flat iron plate, the property of Richard Anderson, and Frederick Garrett, (who surrendered to take his trial) was charged with receiving them. John Cox and John Leden were

appeared from the evidence that Cox and Leden were distinctly seen to take the articles in question from Mr. Anderson's brickfield, in Kensington, the night of the 26th of January, and take them to Garrett, who is a marine store dealer, living about 200 yards off. The boy who

SAW this went home and told his father, who, accompanied by him and police-constable 80 T, went to the shop and saw the bars there. Garrett said that he had bought them of a man named John Smith, who told him he lived at No. 19, Earl-street; and in a conversation with the constable he made an admission that he knew they

came from the brickfield. After this police-constable Miller, 46 T, went with a search-warrant to the shop. Garrett denied, at first, that he had any more bars, but on Miller's producing his warrant said if there were any he

knew nothing about them. Miller then searched, and found in the cellar three more firebars and a crowbar, covered over with old sacking, all of which were identified as the prosecutor's property. The crowbar had been missing for about two months. Policeman 80 T also stated that he had been on that beat five years, and Garrett had been

shop all that time, but he had never been accused of anything of this sort before. The jury returned a verdict of Guilty. Leden and Cox were sentenced to four months' imprisonment and hard labour, and Garrett to eighteen months' imprisonment and hard labour.

FALLACIES OF POLITICAL ECONOMISTS.
(From the *Manchester Courier*.)
On Tuesday evening, the 17th inst., a lecture was delivered in the People's Institute, Heyrod-street, on the fallacies of political economy.

The lecturer stated that in the economy of society there were certain great natural laws, the first of which he would call the law of the least effort.

dependent on the soil. Labour and land were the only sources of wealth. Labour was an exercise of man's power for purposes of utility; land was the raw material from which all that was called property and wealth was made. It therefore followed that all the wealth of a state came out of the land. The soil was the source of all wealth.

agricultural produce, fashioned and shaped into its present appearance. It was made up of stone and brick and of living human beings, all of whom were dependent upon the soil. If this law of natural dependence was true, it followed that the more efficiently the resources of a country were cultivated the more rich would that country become.

and the more independent and happy would be the people. He asserted that agriculture was the groundwork of a national greatness, and in proof of his assertion quoted extracts from the works of Abbé Fleury, of Adam Smith, and Benjamin Franklin. He also showed that Bacon dated the declining age of a state with the ascendancy of mechanic arts and manufactures.

dependence of all men he held to be of primary consideration. He proceeded to show the relations of England as a state considered by that law. He thought the tendency which existed of our population crowding to large cities ought to be guarded against rather than encouraged. In the year 1811 the population of Great Britain amounted to 11,100,000.

persons, of whom 4,408,880 were dependent on agriculture and 1,817,923 upon other sources of income. In 1841 the population of Great Britain was 18,814,434 persons, of whom 4,145,775 were said to be dependent on agriculture and 14,668,659 upon other sources of income, showing a decrease in the number employed in agriculture in 1841, compared with 1831.

compared with 1811, of 263,105 persons. The last census taken last year, showed that in the purely agricultural districts there was a tendency even towards a decrease of the population. The modern Political Economist asserted that England was chiefly dependent on trade and manufactures and that it was an advantage to have Free Trade with the world to find a market for its manufactures.

fact that the inhabitants of agricultural districts had been driven out of those districts, and forced into our great cities to compete against each other. He, with all respect to our modern Political Economists, contended that England would have been a greater nation if the mass of people born between the years 1811 and 1851 had found employment in agriculture.

employment in cultivating the land rather than competing against each other for leave to toil. Mr. Kydd then showed the great advantage of the people being employed in agriculture rather than manufactures. All men, he said, were mutually dependent on each other, and there was no such thing as free action. The people of Manchester were told that they were not in competition with the people of the

with all their prosperity, pauperism and crime had greatly increased. We had from five to six millions of acres of land in England which were uncultivated, and if that was the case, and we had one man out of work and willing to work, every quarter of wheat that we imported from abroad was a national loss, and not a national gain. The argument

of the modern Political Economists was, "money, money;" but he contended that the first grand requisite for a people was full, profitable, and regular employment. We required in this country a law of regulation, and Kydd illustrated this point by the present dispute between the engineers and their employers. He said that the

Trade principle. The Amalgamated Engineers contended that unlimited free action was a mistake, but if they believed they were Free Traders when they asked for regulations, they did not understand the meaning of the principle. They were advocating for a regulation and an adjustment between supply and demand. If they had understood the

majority of the people were not employed in cultivating the land, no scheme of association would ever save them from misery and wretchedness. He objected to unlimited competition, and to that kind of fraternity that starved the Englishman at home because he produced too much. He advocated also the employment of the Irish on their soil.

The lecture was followed by a short discussion of topics adduced by Mr. Kydd.

FRANCE.

GERMANY.

PRUSSIA.—Privy Councillor Niebuhr, son of the historian, is on a mission to London, partly in order to note the satisfaction of the Prussian court at Lord Granville's appointment, partly in order to inquire into complaints raised that the Prussian ambassador at London, Chevalier Bunsen,

TURKEY.
A letter from Constantinople of the 7th inst. states the government has just imposed a personal tax on Turkish subject, without distinction of religion. minimum is to amount to twenty piastres (5s. 40c.) and it is thought that the whole amount will reach a sum of 100 millions.

THE NEW REFORM BILL.

without inconsistency, vote for the rider also. They were told that they were obstructive; he thought the contrary was the fact. If those who had cried the bill, and not the bill, had cried for something more, they would now be deciding upon this paltry measure of Reform. He then dilated upon the six points, and expressed his confidence in the honour of Mr. Duncombe, who was one of the very best members of Parliament. (Cheers.)

men in the movement were but few, and if they were variance by rival jealousies the localities would en fall into ruin. He admitted that it was not right to persons on the Executive who were connected with

be issued, and would drag the publisher into a court
they paying their expenses out of the public purse.
was most effectually restraining cheap newspapers.

monthly publication was not liable to the stamp law of the Board of Inland Revenue was not satisfied with this decision, and, as far as could be understood, they would prosecute any other publication of the same kind that might be issued, and would drag the publisher into a court if they paying their expenses out of the public purse. It was most effectually restraining cheap public press.

Police.

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