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Star of Freedom
J. Bezer

TOWN EDITION.

JUSTICE—IMMUTABLE, UNIVERSAL, ETERNAL!

THE Star of Freedom

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ENGLAND DISHONOURED.

Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience, above all liberties.—MILTON.

THE visitor to the British Museum cannot but admire the gorgeous gates and elegant palisade now nearing completion, and in course of effacing the last vestiges of that dingy and discreditable-looking dead wall, so long an eye-sore to all lovers of our national repository of foreign treasures and relics of ancient States. Outside, and some feet distant from the above line of granite and gilt castings, is a shabby looking bar of iron, supported by dwarf posts of the same material, and on each of which is perched the figure of an animal, which to be appreciated must be seen: This enigmatical-looking brute is fixed in the attitude of a whipped cur, with an expression of countenance something, between that of a sick-monkey and an ill-tempered but toothless cat. To your horror, you discover on closer investigation that this precious creation of 'native genius' is set up to pass muster as a (burlesque) copy of the far-famed *British Lion!*

BURKE'S celebrated exclamation: 'The Age of Chivalry is gone!' was (although he knew it not) rather the utterance of a prophecy than the affirmation of a fact. In a certain sense, even as regarded his own time, BURKE was correct. That false chivalry which in 'the good old times' fanaticised the millions to cast themselves beneath the wheels of the Juggernaut of Royalty had expired—at least in the country which was the subject of his 'reflections.' But that true chivalry was not dead in France, was proved by the Thermopalæan devotion with which her sons marched to death for the safety of their country and the glory of the Republic. On this side of the channel too was exhibited a not less heroic, though far less enlightened, chivalry. The volunteers, eager to meet the invader, the prodigality with which blood and treasure were poured forth, and those unparalelled sea-victories achieved by our gallant seamen, shewed how 'undegenerate' was *then* the spirit of our people. But *now*! I will not speak of unhappy France. Enough to contemplate our own less excusable humiliation. *We* are not transfixed to the earth by half a million of bayonets, yet *we* submit to the withering disgrace of being ruled by incapables and charlatans—sometimes Whig, sometimes Tory; *we* submit to the rule of political shufflers and barterers of the national honour. DERBY rules the Cabinet, DISRAELI the Senate, and MALMESBURY 'does business' for foreign tyrants and assassins, to our degradation and burning shame. The lion (?) of the Museum but too faithfully symbolises the actual front and attitude, the moral and physical aspect of *Grande Bretagne*! To all appearance superannuated and imbecile, the British Lion has degenerated to some unnatural and humiliating combination of the ape, the cat, and the cur. Truly, 'the Age of Chivalry *is* gone!'

Last Monday the attention of the House of Commons was occupied by 'Lord' JOHN RUSSELL and other speakers of his party, while he and they detailed the discreditable acts of the existing ministers since their elevation to office. 'Lord' JOHN'S leading accusation was founded upon the case of Mr. MATHER, so brutally cut down by an Austrian ruffian in the streets of Florence. With the masterly hand of an old operator the Ex-Premier dissected the statesmanship of the 'Earl' of MALMESBURY, and proved him to be the most incapable, or the most anti-national of ministers that ever held the seals of the Foreign-office. But, contented with the *exposé* they had made, 'Lord' JOHN RUSSELL and his backers stopped short, and declined to commit the House of Commons to a vote condemnatory of the Government's Foreign Policy and MALMESBURY'S disgraceful performance of the duties of Foreign Secretary. Not the national honour, but the interests of faction were to be subserved, and therefore 'Lord' JOHN RUSSELL contented himself with a speech which might have preceded a motion for impeachment, but which ended, as it was intended to do, in—nothing. If this kind of Government and Opposition—worthy of each other—can find tolerance on the part of the people, it will prove to the world, much better than LEDRU ROLLIN could hope to prove, that the 'Decline of England' has not only commenced, but is in rapid course of consummation; and will shew that for another GIBBON there will soon be ample materials to delineate the commencement, progress, and completion of England's fall.

The facts in relation to Mr. MATHER'S case have been so often before Parliament, and stated through the Press, that the briefest outline of those facts may here suffice.

At the end of the month of December, 1851, two young men of the name of MATHER, one aged nineteen, the other seventeen, (sons of Mr. MATHER, of South Shields, a man well-known and highly respected on the banks of the Tyne), being in a crowded street at Florence, and having, in their attempt to cross the street, met a detachment of an Austrian regiment and its regimental band—the elder received a blow upon the back, next a severe blow upon the face, and before he recovered from this unlooked for assault, he was cut down with the sword of one of the Austrian assassins, by whom he had been previously struck. His skull was laid open, and for some time his life was in danger. Mr. MATHER'S only offence was that while crossing the street, which was very much crowded, he passed between a body of Austrian troops and their band of music. It has been asserted by the Austrians that Mr. MATHER put himself in a 'boxing attitude.' Even if he did so, it was, as his brutal assailants admit, after he had been struck with the flat of a sword, and had also received a blow in the face. If he then put himself into an attitude of defence, he but followed the natural instinct of an Englishman, and did perfectly right. Admitting that Mr. MATHER was twice struck, before he made even a show of resistance, Marshal RADETZSKY insists that Lieutenant FORSTUBER did perfectly right in drawing his sabre and cutting the young man to the ground. According to this old butcher, RADETZSKY, this grey-headed assassin literally drenched with human blood, it would have been dishonourable for the Austrian lieutenant to have risked receiving a blow from an unarmed man; while it was not only honourable, but according to the rules of the Austrian service, that the epauletted ruffian should make use of his sword to assail one who had not the means of injuring him. If such are the rules of the Austrian service, they are the rules of a gang of cowardly assassins; and that minister who allows his countryman to be treated in accordance with such rules, or who fails to insist upon the most complete atonement, is a cowardly betrayer of his country's honour, and a disgrace to the name of Englishman.

Mr. MATHER senior, applied for redress to Lord GRANVILLE, then foreign minister, who instructed Mr. SCARLETT, acting secretary to the British legation at Florence, to see that inqury was made into the matter by the Tuscan Government, and that justice was obtained. Immediately afterwards the Whigs resigned, and MALMESBURY the memorable (his disgraceful term of office will long be remembered!) was appointed secretary for foreign affairs. To do his 'Lordship' and his precious despatches justice, I should require two or three columns. On the 4th of March Mr. MATHER senior, had an interview with the 'Earl of MALMESBURY, when he was asked what reparation he considered he was entitled to receive. Mr. MATHER replied that he wanted no compensation for the injury done to his son, but expiation for the insult offered to his country. The 'noble' secretary, who was evidently intended by nature for the occupation of pedlar, chandler, pawnbroker, or some such lofty calling, insisted that there was nothing like *golden* ointment for healing a wound, and required Mr. MATHER to name a sum. Thereupon Mr. MATHER, feeling himself compelled to take the course suggested by the guardian of England's honour, named the sum of five thousand pounds. Lord MALMESBURY made no objection, and so the interview terminated. Lord MALMESBURY then wrote to Mr. SCARLETT intimating Mr. MATHER'S claim, but adding thereto that 'Her MAJESTY'S Government considered that sum greater than they ought to demand!' In a subsequent despatch, Lord MALMESBURY spoke of Mr. MATHER'S claim as 'exorbitant,' adding that Mr. SCARLETT was, if possible, to get five hundred pounds. It would be amusing to note the contrarities of language employed by 'Her MAJESTY'S Foreign Secretary,' but that the amusement is more than counterbalanced by the disgust excited by the shabby, dirty, huxtering spirit of the 'noble lord.' To abridge a long and painful story, Mr. SCARLETT wound up the negotiation by consenting to accept 1,000 francesconi (about £222 4s.), coupling therewith the release of two young English gentlemen named STRATFORD, who had been in prison during some months for sympathising with the Tuscan liberals. In acknowledging this settlement, Lord MALMESBURY characterised Mr. SCARLETT'S *ultimatum* as at variance with sound reason and equity; but at the same time complimented him on 'acting to the best of his judgment!' Finally, Mr. MATHER having indignantly refused the 'practical atonement' in the shape of the thousand francisconi, and Lord MALESBURY finding his 'bargain' the subject of ridicule and denunciation in all the journals, turned round upon his instrument, disavowed Mr. SCARLETT and his proceedings, and committed the affair to the hands of Sir H. BULWER, to get his principal out of this precious mess—if he can.

Throughout this affair Mr. MATHER *sen.*, has conducted himself as a man in whose veins flows the true blood of his forefathers. On the other hand the so-called 'noble,' the representative of the British Monarchy, the official guardian of British honour, has played the part of a miserable, pettifogging panderer to the ruffianly power, whose myrmidom has spilt the blood of an Englishman, one of whose countrymen in Florence at the time, states that being on the spot within five minutes after the outrage had been committed, he found several large pools of blood covering the stone pavement, and his first impression was that a sheep or bullock, injured by some accident, had been slaughtered on the spot! No sum of money, even £5,000, could of itself be considered compensation for such an outrage. Such a sum might have been justly demanded by Mr. MATHER; but, over and above that, our Government should have insisted upon the cashiering of the ruffian, and the most ample apology on the part of both Tuscan and Austrian Governments. The American Government would certainly have been satisfied with no less. Ah! but there is a difference. America is not emasculated by the rule of an *effete* monarchy, and a worn-out aristocracy. She is not governed by those who judge everything by a money standard, and who, as DISRAELI unblushingly reminded the Legislature, amid sympathising hear, hears, and 'laughter,' are content, 'even in a matter which concerns their most delicate honour,' to seek pecuniary damages in a court of law! 'Such is the custom of the country,' and such customs have ever been premonitory of a country's ruin. Better the times of 'ferocity and barbarism,' when men to defend their honour, or avenge their wrongs, thought of but one means—the sword; and when an insult offered to the humblest member of the community was considered an outrage upon all, and the government acted in accordance with that proud sentiment of the nation.

But we have fallen, fallen, fallen; and it is to be feared that only some terrible calamity, some dread struggle for national existence, will afford a chance for the restoration of the olden spirit, and even that may not avail; for once on the downward path of degeneracy, it is but rarely that even miracles can save a people from destruction.

The case of Mr. MURRAY, condemned to death by the Papal Government, the infamous Extradition Bill introduced by MALMSBURY to serve the tyrant BONAPARTE, but subsequently abandoned, and the villanous combination with the 'Holy Alliance' to rob Switzerland of Neuchatel, together with other matters connected with our Tory Government's foreign policy, I will treat of in my next letter. The friends of European freedom have great need to be on the alert. I observe that on Thursday evening, in the House of Commons, that lying libeller of the Italian patriots, the notorious BAILLIE COCHRANE, denounced MAZZINI for what he termed 'sedition,' and gave notice of bringing his accusations in due form before the House. Let every true man who values justice, and who does not yet despair of his country's honour, firmly resolve to stand by the political refugees, and, at any sacrifice, protect them from the assaults of such creatures as this COCHRANE, and those above him, who have shown too clearly that their sympathies are with despotism and the blood-stained foes of the rights and liberties of mankind.

L'AMI DU PEUPLE.

SOCIETY OF THE FRIENDS OF ITALY.

At the first annual meeting of this Society, held in the Music-hall, Store-street, Mr. P. A. Taylor in the chair, the following, among other resolutions, were adopted. Moved by Professor Newman, seconded by Mr. H. Gisen, A.M.:—

That the recent alarming successes of despotism, civil and ecclesiastical, make it the duty and the interest of England to be ready to incur sacrifices for continental freedom, and especially for the freedom of Rome, which has been unrighteously overthrown by foreign interference, in order to keep up the temporal Papacy.

Moved by Mr. George Dawson, A.M., seconded by Mr. Shaen:—

That it is incumbent on the constituencies of this country, on the eve of a general election, to be prepared to test the opinions of candidates with respect to the leading questions of our foreign policy and relations, and to require from them declarations on these topics, as explicit as those they are in the habit of demanding on home questions.

Mr. Dawson addressed the audience on this resolution in his usual striking and happy manner. One of his hits told with particular effect. Speaking of the pecuniary compensation in the Mather case, and of the conduct of Lord Malmesbury in regard to that case, he compared England at the present moment to a dog who first presents himself to be kicked, and then turns round to the kicker, holding a tin canister in his mouth, that halfpence may be dropped into it.

M. Mazzini, who was received with great applause, read the following address from the Italian National Committee to the Friends of Italy:—

You have stretched a friendly hand to the struggling Italian people; you have felt the righteousness, the sacredness, the importance of our cause; and you have thought that to feel it and to work for it ought to be identical things to any enlightened man who believes in duty; who, knowing that life is not merely thought or contemplation, but mainly action, for what mind and heart suggest as just and true. In the name of our oppressed country, and as the only recognised organ of the national Italian party, we thank you. By your friendly endeavours, by your sympathising meetings and writings, you have added courage to those who struggle, strength and consolation to those who suffer. You have, as far as it was in your power to do so, weakened that feeling of solitude which is so bitter to those who are doomed to fight and fall in darkness and silence, without a word of praise, without a legend on their tombstone, saying to their survivors 'they fell for justice.' You have rekindled—and for this your own country must be grateful—that flame of mutual love and trust between our country and yours, which the systematically immoral and short-sighted indifference of your statesmen had nearly extinguished. You have sown in a soil, made fertile by the tears of the good and by the blood of the brave, better seeds of future union and alliance with England than can be done by protocols about Prussian rights, or free Switzerland, or surrender of French accused, signed in your foreign office with dying monarchies on rotten parchments thirty-eight years ago. Yours are written on the heart of man with nations that are called, and will, ere long, come to life. These endeavours, these collective and individual exertions of yours, may be now multiplied, organised as much as possible on a wider field. Times are fast approaching in which, according to all human probability, the oppressed will appeal to their own strength against the oppressors, in which we shall want from you more than you can actually give, a decided efficient series of acts enlisting the sympathies of all your nation and binding your government to a less illiberal and un-English policy than the one pursued in 1849, when brave Hungary fell under Russian invasion without a single protesting official word from England—when, at Rome, attacked in the foulest and most unprovoked way by France, Austria, Spain, and Naples we could not obtain any communication from the British ministry except the cold, gloomy, fatal one—you are doomed. For humanity's sake and for the honour of England, you must not allow such a policy to be renewed on the day of the holy battle, when the crisis, of which 1848 gave only the programme, will take place. England's duty will then be, not to stand aloof from the mighty contest between good and evil, as if she was not belonging to the family of European nations, and liberty, for which they will fight, was not her own creed and blessing; but to stand by the side when the good flag will shine, and to utter loud and solemnly, whatever consequences may arise, the belief in justice and truth on which alone her greatness rests. Your task is now to pave the way for such a noble manifestation, to stir up, by redoubled efforts, in your population a better knowledge of our Italian question, to shake off from uninformed or misinformed minds the long lingering prejudices which make them hesitate before the choice. It is an extremely important European task. We say it with deep conviction, in which the secret of our strength and of our persevering activity lie; the question of Italian liberty is the question of the European liberty; liberty of the soul and of the body at once. If the greatness, the universality of the aim constitute the initiating power, we are now called on by Providence to be the initiating people of Europe. We have to contend against the two heads of all lies and sham authority—the Emperor and the Pope. We cannot rise to a common, free, god-like life of ours, without hurling both Pope and Emperor to the dust; without uttering at once a cry of general decisive emancipation to man's soul wherever it breathes and aspires, and a cry of emancipation to all the different races which are now trampled upon by that tyrannical fact which they call the Austrian empire. We cannot live without having Hungary living. We cannot become a nation without arousing the national feeling in the heart of German, Sclavonic, Latin, Magyar populations. There is no life for Italy unless the map of Europe be re-drawn. Liberty of conscience for all—liberty of free-chosen self-government for all—are, God be thanked, implied in the existence of our free independent Italy. We feel this, and feel our struggle doubly sacred for it. You must inspire your countrymen with this grand feeling. The task is well worth the continuous efforts of the good. It will be, when successful, amply repaid by the blessings of all mankind. You must, with unceasing cares and work, unfold these views, which are yours too, to all your countrymen. You must tell your religious agitators that religion is nothing but a narrow, hypocritical, sectarian concern, unless it is a collective, all-binding, all-harmonising thought and action—everlasting action—for good, wherever good can be done; that whilst the idol is up, God, the God of truth and justice, must veil his face, and cannot send his blessing spirit amongst the multitudes; that the Pope—the idol—is not to be overthrown at Maynooth, or in Exeter-hall, but in his own seat at Rome; that to endeavour to spread bibles without spreading liberty, the sole interpreter of the bible—is to strive after the aim and to renounce the means. You must tell your agitators for peace, that we shall not, and will not, have peace, unless we have justice; that providence has caused man to achieve, through war, the civilisation of half the world, and may achieve, through a single glorious, sacred battle of right against brutal force, the emancipating work on which alone peace and love can be for ever enthroned; that the duty of every man is, first, to abolish war by abolishing its causes; secondly, when war is raging throughout all Europe, between the honest and the wicked, to side by the honest and conquer the wicked, by overwhelming forces, to peace. You must tell your Manchester anti-militia men that they will have to fight unsuccessfully against militia bills and restrictive systems, or threatening of systems, until they have, on one side, grounded British commercial liberty on European commercial liberty, inseparable from European political liberty; and on the other torn to pieces the source of perennial wars, the treaties of Vienna, and founded on justice and free contentment a real European equipoise; that, out of this way, there is only one left—the one hitherto unhappily chosen by them—that is to isolate England in Europe; that isolation for a nation is suicide; and that, should England chose to follow them in such a direction, she would find herself, before twenty years have elapsed, and when the map of Europe will have been redrawn, shut out of all sympathies, of all alliances, of all rights, of all markets. You must tell your working men not to fear that the agitation for international mastery should prove a deviation of forces from vital internal questions; that the very existence of the actual cabinet sprung up after the establishment of Despotism in France shows how connected European enemies are; that the death-blow to despotism and aristocracy on the continent would be a death-blow to British aristocracy, and that the emancipation of the working classes is not a mere interest, but a principle, which is to be conquered everywhere or nowhere. We trust you for the fulfilment of this task. Trust us for the accomplishing our own. And may this mutual trust and active co-operation towards a single aim be the forerunner of that alliance that we have long dreamt of, for the general good of humanity, as of a national one between new-born Italy and England.

JOSEPH MAZZINI, AURELIO SAFFI, MATTIA MONTECCHI, } Committee.
MAURIZIO QUADRIO, CESARI AGOSTINI, } Secretaries.

London, June 8th, 1852.

Frequent cheering interrupted the reading of this document.

Foreign and Colonial Intelligence.

FRANCE.

The French Government and the English Press—Defeat of the Government—The Tyrant's Crimes—Secret Societies—Petitions for the Empire—Non-Jurors—The Orleans Estates.

(*From our own Correspondent.*)

PARIS, June, 16th.

In my communication of last week I mentioned the fact, that the French Government had threatened the Correspondents of the English Press with expulsion, if they did not cease their hostility to Bonaparte. In consequence of the representations of the British ambassador, Lord Cowley, the French Government have let the matter drop for the present.

As a straw will serve to show the course of the stream, so are the most trifling occurrences important in the existing critical state of affairs in France. In the Corps Legislative, on Saturday last, the government proposed that the new sumptuary laws should be referred to the committee of the budget. The house, however, decided that the laws in question should be referred to a special committee. On a show of hands the government was beaten by a considerable majority, a result which occasioned an immense sensation. None of the papers here mention this defeat!

I have always held the opinion that on the first defeat sustained by Louis Napoleon, the now cringing legislators will turn upon him. "Coming events cast their shadows before."

It is rumoured that the President is far from being satisfied with the clergy, for whom he has done so much. It is even said that he has thoughts of adopting a "Liberal" policy, in order to gain the assistance of the Republicans to crush the Royalist parties. I need hardly say that they are not to be so easily "done" by the hypocrisy of the brigand of December.

Could the attendant atrocities of the *coup d'etat* be forgotten, facts like the following would be enough for the workers:—

The carpenters of Nantes having struck for higher wages, the military authorities placed a number of soldiers at the disposal of the masters. All who took an active part in the organisation were arrested, and the money remitted to the carpenters out of work in the adjacent towns seized. Yet these robbers have called themselves a "government of the people."

At Perpignan, one of the places that suffered most from the crimes of December, the wife of a man transported to Lambessa died from misery and grief. More than 2,000 persons assembled to conduct her to the grave. To inspire terror in the minds of the population who had made this *guilty demonstration*, twenty-five men were conducted through the town towards Lambessa. These unfortunates were, for the most part, prisoners of *December released with their certificates of "Not Guilty!"* They had been arrested at their own homes in order to *produce an effect* on the town by their passage. What surety can there be in France until this abominable despotism be overthrown?

Louis Napoleon has loudly proclaimed that he has completely destroyed the Socialists and Red-Republicans; yet the government opposes the reduction of the army, *because there are 63,000 affiliated members of secret societies in the Herault alone!* Truly it is not without cause that some of the most rabid Bonapartists have formed an association for the protection of the "Prince President." Cannot the "saviour of society" save himself?

Petitions for the establishment of the empire are now extensively circulating in the department of the Basses-Alpes. At Barcelonette, Seyne, Javie, and Turriers, a large number of signatures have been collected.

It is said that the subscription raised for General Changarnier amounts to twelve thousand pounds sterling, but that he has refused it.

A letter from Valparaiso mentions the arrival in that port, on the 7th of April, of the corvette Artémise, commanded by Captain Page, Governor of the French establishments in Oceania. On the following day the Moselle, bound for the Marquesis, with MM. Gent, Longomazino, and the other persons condemned to transportation by the court-martial of Lyons, also arrived there. They are accompanied by their families. The health of both vessels was most satisfactory.

Refusals to take the oath still continue to pour in, notwithstanding the exertions of the prefects to prevent them. It is affirmed that one of these zealous officers has issued a *printed* circular thus worded:—"You are informed that the oath must be taken *with sincerity.*"

GERMANY.

Determination of the German Governments to Extinguish the Newspaper Press.—Disarming of the Civic Guard of Hesse Cassel, &c.

(*From our own Correspondent.*)

FRANKFORT, June 15.

The "Censure" will be abolished in Austria, and the Press Laws, forming part of the penal code, will be introduced in the whole Austrian empire on the 1st. of September next. These Press Laws are so contrived as to give the government such power as will enable them to gradually extinguish the Press altogether. "Caution-money" must be deposited as heretofore, and no new paper can be published without the permission of the Stadthalter of the province.

You will not be surprised to learn, therefore, that the "Correspondenz-Blatt aus Böhmen," published at Prague, ceases to appear with the end of the month.

A new regulation is that newspaper venders will be obliged to have a special license, which must be renewed every six months. The caution money is 10,000fl., 7,000fl., or 5,000fl., according to the population of the city or town in which the newspaper appears. It will be readily conceived that few will be induced to risk their money and their personal safety with such a lawless and unscrupulous despotism as the Austrian government. Indeed, none will do so, except such as are willing to be the vile flatterers of the existing tyranny. But the Austrian government do not want a Press; they could get on much better in the "good old times," when they had no Press, except the government organ, to bring to the happy subjects of the paternal Kaiser the weekly account of those imprisoned and flogged by order of the military courts. It is true in those days the rest of the world looked upon the Austrian empire as a barbarous unknown country; but it was not the business of the world to be acquainted with the state of the Emperor's *inheritance*; it was, and will again be, his fatherly care to prevent his subjects being tainted by the "subversive doctrines" of other nations.

Prussia follows in the wake of Austria. A new law, imposing a stamp duty on newspapers, was promulgated in Berlin on the 7th of the present month. The scale varies, according to size and frequency of publication, from four silver groschen a year for each subscribed copy to two thalers fifteen groschen, or about 7s. 6d. Foreign journals pay a duty of ten per cent. on the price at the place of publication, which will be included in the subscription paid at the post-office, the authorities of which establishment are the great news-agents.

The German governments seem determined to extinguish the Press. If they do not receive a check, they will attempt to destroy German literature altogether. Those who know this intellectual people, will readily agree with me that the attempt will not be successful, and that the present system of compression will not be of long continuance.

HESSE CASSEL.

An order has been issued for the disarmament of the civic and urban guards throughout the Electorate.

SAXONY.

The "Gazette" of the 9th inst. contains an ordinanc opening a new four per cent. state loan of 5,850,000 thalers

ITALY.

Edward Murray's Case—The Neapolitan State Trials, &c., &c.,

ROME.—According to the Roman correspondence of the Paris "Constitutionnel," of the 4th inst., the same date as our own correspondence received and published on Saturday, Edward Murray "will probably be executed with his accomplices."

NAPLES.—The trial of forty-five state prisoners is now being proceeded with. It is conducted about as fairly as state trials usually are in Naples, that is to say the charges are still pressed, notwithstanding scarce one of the numerous witnesses for the Crown have had the face to appear to verify in public the falsehoods they had secretly sworn to.

One of the most glaring instances of the means used to incriminate the accused came out from a soldier, a certain Carpentieri, brother of the celebrated paid denouncer of that name. He stated that on the 14th and 15th of May he had seen all the prisoners forming and fighting at the barricades (one of the accused M. Leopordi was at Turin at that time.) After this assertion a prisoner, M. Viscusi, rose and presented the court with "a certificate of service," signed by the colonel of this witnesses's regiment, and General Saluzgi, which proved that the soldier Carpentieri, on the 14th and 15th of May, was on duty in the barracks! The court was obliged to accept this document, because it was a military declaration.

Another witness declared he had seen one of the prisoners kill fifty Swiss soldiers on the 15th of May, whereupon the accused reminded the court that the official report stated that only forty-five Swiss had fallen on that day.

Such is the character of most of the evidence brought forwards by the crown. Whether any or all of the accused under trial did or did not take part in the events of May 15th is a question; one thing, however, is quite certain, that the means employed to prove their guilt is the most degrading and illegal that could be employed in a court of justice.

PIEDMONT.—In its sitting of the 9th, the Chamber of Deputies of Turin adopted the bill for the calling out 10,000 men of the class of 1851, by sixty-nine votes to thirty-six.

TUSCANY.—The Marquis Bartolommei has been exiled from Tuscany for a year, his sentence of imprisonment having been commuted, after an investigation which shows that he was entrapped, possibly by the police, into taking charge of forbidden papers.

The marble slabs bearing the names of the Tuscans who fell in 1848 fighting against the Austrians in Lombardy, and which the government has removed from the church of the Holy Cross, have been claimed by the municipality of Florence. The council remind the government that the slabs were erected at the expense, not of the state, but of the citizens, and remain their property. The tablets, if obtained, will be placed in the chapel of the civic council.

SWITZERLAND.

National Rally in Neuchatel.

On the 7th inst. the federal flag of Switzerland was brought from Basle to Neuchatel, and set up with great ceremony at the latter place in the midst of a square formed of Swiss officers. The Major of the rifle corps of Neuchatel addressed the officers, and called upon them to remain true to the flag, promising that, if necessary, the Federal government would assist them in maintaining their independence. A large crowd had assembled to witness the ceremony.

DENMARK.

The Danish government has refused to acknowledge, and has pronounced null and void, all the loans, whether forced or voluntary, contracted by the provisional governments which administered the affairs of Schleswig-Holstein during 1848, and until the restoration of the authority of the sovereignty in the Duchies. This act has produced a great sensation, as the government of the Statthaltershaft was recognised by the Frankfort Diet, and the stock was considered at Hamburg as legitimate as any upon the bourse. The patents annulling these loans are published by the Copenhagen journals.

HOLLAND.

The election for the partial renewal of the states general took place on the 8th inst. In seventeen of the twenty-two constituencies the returns of it have come to hand; the Liberals have triumphed; in four the opposition have returned their candidates.

ALGIERS.

Letters of the 6th inst from Bona state that the Ouled-Dams, a tribe in the neighbourhood of Ghelma, have risen and attacked a camp of workmen, who were constructing a khan at Ain-Sonda. The camp was attacked at two hours after midnight. A cantonière and two soldiers of the 10th were killed. Ghelma being unfurnished with troops was menaced by a body of a thousand Arabs. The militia were armed, and slept on the ramparts until military succour arrived from Bona. An engagement ensued between 400 sent in aid from Bona and the Arabs, in which some loss was sustained on the side of the French.

UNITED STATES.

OUR AMERICAN CORRESPONDENCE.

Opening of the Democratic National Convention at Baltimore—Ohio Women's Rights Convention—Kossuth's Progress—Reception of Meagher—Ravages of Cholera in the West—Fighting in California.

(*From our own Correspondent.*)

NEW YORK, June 4th.

The Humboldt will leave this port to-morrow. I have but little intelligence to send you likely to be interesting to European readers. The all absorbing question now agitating the American mind is the approaching presidential election.

I have received by electric telegraph the latest intelligence of the proceedings of the Democratic National Convention, for the nomination of candidates for the presidency, at Baltimore. It was opened on the 1st inst., when the Hon. R. M. Saunders, of North Carolina, was appointed Chairman *pro tem.*, and the Hon. John W. Davis, of Indiani, permanent President. Both belong to the Douglas party. Young America has it all her her own way. The success of Douglas is considered certain; but no decision has yet been come to. An immense number of delegates are in attendance, and members of both Houses of Congress are present in considerable force. Amongst the strangers is a member of your aristocracy, Lord Wharncliffe. It would seem that, like his predecessor in the representation of of the West Riding of Yorkshire, Lord Morpeth, now Earl of Carlisle, Lord Wharncliffe is desirous of obtaining a correct knowledge of the Republican Society of America by mingling in the public life of our people.

A Womens' Rights Convention was held at Massilon, Ohio, last week. A large number of earnest men and women were in attendance, and the discussions were animated and protracted through several days. Resolutions, declaratory of the political and social equality of men and women, were adopted.

Kossuth continues to be received with unabated enthusiasm. Governor Martin, of New Hampshire, has espoused his cause. You will find a correct report of his last great speech in that excellent journal, the "New York Tribune," herewith inclosed.

T. F. Meagher, the Irish patriot, has also been enthusiastically received.

The cholera is very prevalent in some of our western cities, particularly at La Salle, Illinois, and at New Orleans, where great numbers have been swept off by this scourge.

Important news has been received from South California. A battle with the Indians has taken place, and their chief been killed.

KOSSUTH IN AMERICA.

GREAT SPEECH ON THE POLICY AND PROGRESS OF RUSSIA.

Kossuth has been visiting several of the towns of the State of New York. At Syracuse he was received with great enthusiasm. An immense meeting in the park included 4,000 school children with their teachers. In the course of a comparatively brief speech, delivered entering the town, he observed:—"We are told that in some parts of Europe it is the custom when a cloud is seen which threatens a thunder storm, to ring all the bells, that by the motion of the air the dangerous cloud may be dispelled. Now, gentlemen, if it be true that the voice of the people is the voice of God the ringing bell of the voice of public opinion may become the opportunity that will dispel the clouds of tyranny on earth. (Cheers.) I thank you for your kindness, and hope you will go on ringing that bell, and I give you my word that my people will add to that ringing—the roaring of cannon, the rattling of muskets, and the clashing of swords, to dispel the clouds of despotism, which hang not only over my poor country, but overcloud many other nations, and threaten to darken that sky, where the sun of freedom has heretofore shone undimmed, and that is the sky of your country. Continue to ring that bell, gentlemen. We will add the roaring of cannon, and the triumph of liberty must be sure. (Cheers.)"

At the meeting in the park he delivered a very lengthy oration, commencing with a happy allusion to the famous Syracuse of ancient Sicily.—"Citizens of Syracuse, remember the Syracuse of old Carthage, one of the competitors for the dominion of the world, as now Russia is, set up by its influence Dyonisius the Tyrant to become king over the republic of fair Syracuse, as Russia set up Francis Joseph the Tyrant to be kingly murderer of Hungary. The representant of poor Syracuse went to the mighty and flourishing Corinth to claim protection against violence, as I now claim protection against law-oppressing violence for Hungary from America—flourishing like Corinth, but a thousand times mightier than she was. Corinth granted the claimed protection to Syracuse. It has not been powerful armies she has thrown into the scale, but the prestige of her name and the renown of her energy represented by the virtues and valour of a Timoleon and the Republic of Syracuse was saved, and Dyonisius the Tyrant became schoolmaster in the same Corinth, which free, and therefore neither fearful nor jealous, granted an asylum even to fallen kings and made them schoolmasters—a better and worthier possession than to wear a crown. Well, it is no bad omen, gentlemen; Francis Joseph may yet want an asylum also, though I scarcely believe that all the miraculous power of your republic can succeed to make him a good schoolmaster. No, the blood-thirsty ambition of that young tyrant, nursed by a wicked mother, herself a member of a society which unfortunately gains ground in America, professes all means to be good only attended by success. No, the blood-thirsty ambition of that tyrant, not even the penitentiary of Auburn could cure, though indeed he has more crimes to repent than all crimes recorded in all penitentiaries of the world. Oh, for that spirit of vigorous freedom, when Republican Corinth saved ancient Syracuse from kings! Where will I find a Timoleon? If I find no Timoleon, then I may be excused from exclaiming, Would thou hadst grownold; thy progress is the decay of age; even Republics are no more what they have been of yore. Is not America a thousand times mightier than Corinth was? Yes, she is; but it is not the number which makes the age. Athens had 20,000 citizens when she defended Europe against the countless hordes of Persia, and she had still 20,000 when Demosthenes Phortaneus counted them in the market-place as slaves exposed for sale. The spirit had departed from the number, and they became slaves, notwithstanding their commerce, their science, and their arts. Had Corinth more reason to fear the preponderance of Carthage, than all the world, and America within, have to fear the preponderance of Russia? Was there more interest in the fact that over the Republic of Syracuse no tyrant should rule as a puppet of Carthagenian ambition than there is a universal interest in the fact that the Hungarian Republic should not be oppressed by a tyrant, the tool and satellite of the ambition of Russia? To answer that question, let me explain the real bearing of Russian intervention in Hungary. A combination of several leagued powers can reduce to the condition of comparative weakness even the strongest power on earth. Without the law of nations there is, therefore, no security for nations. But the European powers had long ago substituted for the rule of justice the so-called balancing system—that is to say, the political balance of power among nations. That system is iniquitous, because it is founded not upon the national right even of the smallest nation to be maintained in its independence, but upon the national jealousy of the great powers. With this system, the independence of the smaller states is not sure of right and by law, but only depending from the consideration that the absorption of such smaller states might aggrandise one of the great powers too much. In this system, humanity is taken for nothing. The mutual jealousy of the powerful is all, and the implicit guarantee for the security of the weaker ceases whenever the powerful can devise a plan of spoliation which leaves the relative forces of the spoliators the same as before. It is thus the world has seen the partition of Poland—that most iniquitous, most *ecclerate* spoliation the world has ever witnessed. The balancing system would have protected Poland from absorption by one power, but it has not protected it from partition between three rival powers. Formerly separate leagues between several states have been formed as a protecting barrier against the ambition of a single powerful oppressor. In the case of Poland the world saw with consternation, a confederacy of great powers formed to perpetrate those very acts of spoliation which hitherto had been prevented by similar means. I therefore am certainly no advocate of this false system of political balance of power, and I believe the time will yet come when that idol will be thrown down from the place which it usurps, and law and right will be restored to its sovereign sway. But still I may say it is an imperious necessity, for all the world in general, as also for the United States, that something should exist to prevent the measureless aggrandizement of one single power, chiefly when that power is the mighty antithesis of your own Republic, as indeed Russia is. Either the law of nations must have its full weight of authority or at least the balance of power must be redressed; else that power, (Russia) which already succeeded to command those governments which formerly constituting the elements of the balancing power, counter-balanced her overwhelming preponderance, will, of course, become the master and arbiter of the world. And there we are already arrived at this very point. Russian intervention in Hungary has not only crushed the law of nations, but has in the same time, beyond any measure, aggrandized the preponderance of Russia, and overthrown entirely in her favour the balance of power on earth. There is the immense danger, gentlemen, the instinctive apprehension of which has caused that the sympathy of the world burst forth in a cry of universal indignation at Hungary's unwarrantable overthrow—at Hungary's unmerited fall. The petty cares of daily domestic concerns, and the carelessness congenial to those who feel content with their present condition, have caused that the world looked at our deadly wrestling with two Emperors but as we look to a classical drama, interesting by the complications of situation and by the heroism it displays; the feelings of emotion were certainly engaged on the part of the spectators of our terrible strife, as they would be engaged at a skilful representation of the remarkable siege of ancient Syracuse and the heroic defence of its inhabitants against the mighty power of Marcellus, opposed by the civic rulers of a desperate people, and by the devotion of Archimides employing the results of his scientific contemplations to the protection of his fatherland—however, it was but the emotion of anxious sympathy with which the terrible conflict in Hungary was viewed." After some allusions to the noble conduct of the Turkish government, he added: "To appreciate wholly the danger of Russian ambition, we must well understand the special direction of Russian policy in its designs, as well as in its means. No man familiar with the history of the last one hundred years is ignorant of the fact that the Czars of Russia take it for their destiny to rule the world. It is their hereditary policy, in which they are brought up from generation to generation, till that infatuation becomes a part of their character. To come to that aim of Russian power, having large dominions in Europe and in Asia, Russian preponderance is also stepping forth with diplomatic skill and with arms, with protocols, emissaries and with war, in two directions, westward and eastward, against Europe and against Asia. As to Europe, after having completed her arrondissement on the Baltic—her covert aim is partly direct conquest and partly sovereign preponderance—direct conquest so far as the slave race is spread, which the Czars desire to unite under their despotic sceptres. To come to that aim, the house of Romanous has started the idea of Panslavism, the idea of union of the Slavish nationality—under Russian protectorate. Protectorate is always the first step which Russia takes when desiring to conquer. She has styled that ambitious design the regeneration of the Slave nationality and to blindfold those deluded nations that they may not see that without independence and freedom no nationality exists, she has flattered their visionary ambition with the prospects of the dominion over the world. The Latin race had its turn, and the German race had, and now it is the Slave race which is called to rule and to master the world. Such was the satanic lever of pride by which Russia advanced in that ambitious scheme. I will now not speak of the mischief she has succeeded to do in that respect. I will only fix the fact that the ambition of Russia aims to the direct dominion of Europe so far as it is inhabited by the Slave race. The slightest knowledge of geography is sufficient to make it understood that this would be such an accession to the power of Russia, that united under the iron rule of one man's despotic will, the independence of the rest of Europe, should even Russia prudently decline a direct con

mark well!) Republican branch of the Anglo-Saxon stock melted in one mighty nationality of freedom with the Celtic and with the German race, never forgetting the oppression of their ancient homes, I tell you, are brought to the same place of immediate conflict of interests with Russia by the extension of your territory to the Pacific Ocean, where you are now drawn by a thousand natural ties of activity, toward Asia. Thus you see that Russia must try to dominate Asia, if she is willing not only to be the master of the world, but if she only desires to live. To dominate Asia, she must become the master of Europe—partly by conquest, partly by preponderance—and to ensure the autocracy over Asia as well as over Europe, the United States must be checked in their growth and development of power; and it being the law of nature that a people must either progress or decline, to check the progress of American power, America must be crushed. Thus you are brought by the development of your national existence into the compass of Russian hatred and Russian ambition. Either you or Russia must fall. You become for the world what Germany is for Europe. Without the freedom and independence of Hungary, Europe can never become free: but without the freedom and independence of Germany, it cannot remain free. So, without ruining your power, Russia could not remain the master of Asia and Europe, should she even succeed to establish her sway. Germany is the heart of Europe. You, by having extended your dominion to the Pacific, become the heart of the world. Great powers must have broad views in their policy. You cannot more encompass your activity and your policy within the narrow circle of domestic life. This situation must be comprehended, or else notwithstanding your prodigious growth your very existence will but prove a short dream, a passing episode in the history of nations. Let this be remembered by your politicians who like to press your gigantic limbs into the dress which you wore in your infant age, and let this be remembered by the public opinion of the people, which always is in advance to feel the exigencies of time. But to pursue my deduction. The double direction of Russian ambition, which I have explained, imposed upon her the necessity of desire to conquer Constantinople. Without the conquest of Constantinople she can never carry the idea of Panslavism, because it is in European Turkey that is dwelling the stock of the Sclavonic race, from Bulgaria, over Serbia and Bosnia down to Montenegro, and across through Roumelia. Without the conquest of Constantinople Russia cannot control the Mediterranean Sea; without that she cannot become a maritime power, and without becoming a maritime power she cannot rule the world. The position of Constantinople is such that she is the key to the dominion of Europe as well as of Asia for Russia. Napoleon already has said it, and he was, to be sure, a mighty genius. It is, therefore, that the conquest of Constantinople is the hereditary leading idea of Russian policy. It would be not without interest to sketch the history of Russia, step by step advancing toward that aim by war and by emissaries, by diplomatic corruption, and by corrupted diplomacy, from the time of Mehemet Baltadji, of cursed memory, through all subsequent wars—at the treaties of Kutskuk. Kajnadje, Balta, Liman, Jassey, Bukarest, Ackenmar, Adrianople, Unkian, Iskelessy, down to the treaty as to the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus, and to the treaty of commerce, which made two-thirds of Constantinople itself, in their daily bread, dependent upon Russian wheat, to the amount of thirty-five millions of piastres a year, while Turkish wheat is selling in the stores of Asia Minor. By each of these treaties Russia advanced its frontiers and pressed more closely Constantinople within its iron grasp, with such persevering consistency persuing her aim that even in other political transactions, apparently unconnected with Turkey, it was constantly this aim which she viewed. As for instance at the peace of Tilsit, when she surrendered continental Europe to the momentary dominion of Napoleon, provided Turkey was consigned to her. And still she did not succeed, and so still Stamboul stands a barrier to her dominion over the world. And why did she not succeed? Because the European powers, conscious of the fact that the conquest of Constantinople is so much as their own submission to Russia, have in the last instance always prevented it, in uniting to treat the question of the Orient as a question of life and death for their own independence. And—mark well, gentlemen—in consequence of the geographical situation of her dominions, and being also sovereign of Hungary, it was chiefly the House of Austria which was considered to be and cherished as the great bulwark against Russia, charged especially with a jealous guardianship of Turkish rights. And, indeed, had the house of Austria, comprehending the conditions of her existence, attached Hungary to herself by respecting her independence and her constitutional rights, and developed the power of her hereditary dominions by placing herself upon a constitutional basis, she could have maintained her respectable position of guardianship for centuries. Russia was aware of that fact. When Catherine visited the newly conquered Crimea, Potemkin raised to her honour a triumphal arch, with the motto, "Hereby is the road to Constantinople." Czar Nicholas has since learned that it is by Vienna rather. Russia, therefore, decided to get rid of this obstacle, and to convert it out of an obstacle into a tool. A direct conquest would have been dangerous, because it would have met the opposition of all Europe. Russia therefore tried it first by monetaty influence, and had pretty well advanced in it. Metternich himself was a pensioner to Russia. But the watchful independent spirit of constitutional Hungary still hindered the practical result of this bribery; and seeing, by our reform laws of 1848, an independent national government established, and the constitutional spirit strengthened by substituting Democracy for Aristocracy, she determined to destroy the power of the house of Austria by destroying Hungary. Austria had the destination to be a bulwark protecting Constantinople from Russia; now it becomes the high road to Constantinople and an auxiliary army to flank it for Russia.—Austria never more can be restored; she is not only doomed—she is dead. No skill, no consideration, can revive her. Having previously broken every tie of popular affection and of allegiance, she cannot vegetate but by Russian aid, turning in return in obedience around her. Let the reliance upon that aid relax, and there is no power on earth which could prevent the nations groaning under her oppressing and degrading tyranny, to shatter to pieces the rotten building of her criminal existence; and, as to my nation, I declare solemnly that should we be left forsaken and alone to fight once more the battle of deliverance for the world, and should we in consequence of it succeed in that honourable strife, we will rather choose to be Russians than subject to the house of Austria; rather submit to open manly force of the Czar than to the heart-revolting perjury of the Hapsburgh; rather be ruled directly by the master than submit to the shame to be ruled by his underlings. The fetters of force may be broken once, but the affection of a morally offended people to a perjurous dynasty can never be restored. Russia we hate with inconceivable hatred, but the house of Hapsburgh we hate and despise." After predicting that war must inevitably ensue between Turkey and Russia, in which, if the Turks were beaten, the balance of power would be overthrown, and the Russian autocrat become the master of the world, he concluded as follows:—"The only question is, will the United States remain indifferent at the overthrow of the balance of power on earth? No, they will not, they cannot remain indifferent. Their being reared on the coast of the Pacific, and that being brought to an immediate conflict with Russian autocratic tendencies in Asia, answers 'No.' Their Republican principles being about to be brought into a clashing conflict with Russian Absolutism, answers 'No.' The voice of the people clustering in thundering manifestations around my own humble self, answers 'No.' You yourself, Sir, in the name of the people of Syracuse, which is but one tune in the mighty harmony of all the people's voice, have told me 'No.' Before these assurances, upon the conditions of your destiny, I rely, and I venture humbly to advise you to strengthen your fleet in the Mediterranean. Sir, look for a port of your own, not depending upon the smiles of petty Italian despots, where the stripes and stars of America will be able to protect the principles of free ships, free goods, and raise the people's manifest will to the degree of diplomatical pronunciation upon the platform of the presidential election."

This speech was received with repeated bursts of prolonged cheering.

INDIA AND CHINA.

THE OVERLAND MAIL.

THE BURMESE WAR.

Burmese reward for the heads of the British—Rumoured Revolution at Ava—Burmese attempt to recapture Martaban—The cholera cutting off the British.

Our town edition of last Saturday contained an express from Marsailles, per electric telegraph, bringing later intelligence from the seat of war. We now subjoin particulars obtained from the Indian papers.

We have intelligence from Bombay to the 12th ult.

Accounts from Rangoon state that no further collision with the enemy had taken place.

Cholera was abating; the place was getting into some orde and cleanliness; Burmese labourers were flocking in in search of employment, and glad to work at two annas (3d.) per day; several cargo-boats were in the river, and every day furnished new symptoms of a restoration of tranquillity and resuscitation of trade. On the other hand, the rations for European troops were dear, scarce, and of bad quality, principally consisting of ill-cured pork, no beef being as yet obtainable. Temporary wooden barracks were expected from Moulmein, but, meanwhile, the troops were without proper shelter, though the monsoon was daily expected.

Nothing is known regarding the number or position of the Burmese troops in the neighbourhood of Rangoon. Some accounts state the force of the enemy at 25,000 men; others say that the troops that were assembled for the defence of Rangoon disbanded themselves on its fall, and that the ex-Governor had only 100 or 200 men remaining with him. The influx of Burmese labourers to Rangoon appears to favour the latter supposition; if the Burmese were in force in the vicinity they would drive off the inhabitants, as they did last war.

The Governor of Rangoon has invited tenders for the heads of the British forces, according to prices as per tariff, namely, fifty rupees for the head of a white man, and thirty rupees for the head of a black man. The offer has proved a strong inducement to the Burmese, who go to work desperately to earn the rewards. No sooner is a soldier or sepoy down than several Burmese rush upon him with hatchets and choppers, eager to effect a decapitation and secure the head. In most cases, however, they are compelled to beat as hasty a retreat with something about their own heads from the comrades of those fallen; though in a few instances they have been successful in carrying off the heads of our poor fellows.

On the 20th ult. the ex-Governor sent a flag of truce with an impertinent message to the General; he said, the English had won the last battle by accident, but that two more battles must be fought (alluding probably to the positions of Donabew and Prome) before we could reach Ava; he was fully prepared for us, but to prevent the effusion of blood would condescend to treat. The General is said to have stated that if he caught the ex-Governor he would hang him, for firing on his flag of truce.

There are rumours of a revolution at Ava, headed by the King's brother. It is also asserted that the King is dead, and has been succeeded on the throne by the Prime Minister.

On the night of the 14th u't. the Burmese made a spirited attempt to recapture Martaban. They got within our pickets, but retired after about four hours' firing. Our loss was two artillerymen slightly wounded. Theirs is supposed to be very heavy, but they left no dead or wounded on the ground.

The cholera amongst the troops is universally attributed to the unnecessary fatigue they underwent, and General Godwin is severely blamed for landing them so long before the guns.

INDIA.

A correspondent of the "Calcutta Englishman" supplies the following paragraph in reference to the state of the Nizam's dominions:—"The contingent is established in eight cantonments, in positions to facilitate the protection of the whole country. Detachments from seven of these cantonments, in some instances with guns, are now out against marauders, who are laying waste not only villages, but whole provinces."

CHINA.

General Garibaldi had arrrived at Hong Kong from Callao, in command of the Peruvian vessel Carmen. She has proceeded to Amoy, with her cargo of guano.

The chief matter of local interest during the month is the trial of twelve men of the late ship Herald, for the murder of Captain Lawson and others on board, in the straits of Anjeer. Ten of them were found guilty, and condemned to death.

The insurrection continued to spread, and it was daily strengthened by desertions from the Imperialist army. In consequence of these desertions applications for aid had been made by the government to the ministers of England and America.

CEYLON.

The "Colombo Observer" of May 10 says:—"One of our criminal courts has been the scene of an unusual occurrence, four soldiers of the 37th Regiment charged with burglary having made an outrageous attack on the committing magistrate and the executive officers of the court. These desperadoes have met with due punishment. A few days ago Colombo was startled by the discovery of a fearful murder and suicide, a Mahomedan having cut the throats of two women (mother and daughter) and then hung himself.

LATEST NEWS FROM THE AUSTRALIAN DIGGINGS.

By the arrival of the merchant ship Vimera, Captain Neatby, we have intelligence from the gold mines three weeks later than any yet published. New mines were being daily discovered. The yield at Sydney and Port Phillip was daily increasing, and thousands were flocking to the mines. A vigorous stream of emigration was setting in from California and the South Sea Islands, and hundreds of American diggers might be seen walking in the streets of Sydney working towards the gold regions.

The new Settlement of Canterbury was deserted, Wellington and Auckland were nearly in the same condition, and at Van Diemen's Land a similar result was expected.

Flour was down to from £10 to £12 per ton retail, and several hundred tons from Chili had been sold by the cargo as low as £7 10s.

Meat, tea, sugar, and other articles of domestic consumption were abundant and cheap.

The agricultural interests had not suffered—the pastoral interests, especially in the Sydney district—but at Port Phillip labour was getting extremely scarce, and it was feared that shepherds' wages in Port Phillip would run up to an unprecedently high rate.

The "Sydney Morning Herald" has a cheering account of the state of the colony. No workman need starve at home while comfort and independence await him in Australia.

The admirable order which has all along be maintained at our diggings, not by military restraint, but by the good sense and moral rectitude of the great mass of the diggers themselves, is indeed a just cause of pride to the colonists, and ought to encourage thousands of our fellow subjects at home to come over and help us.

We need their help. Our flocks and herds are increasing, while the labour market is exhausted. Wages have consequently advanced at rates averaging on the whole somewhat about thirty per cent. We have ample employment for many thousands of emigrants, provided they be men who really give a good day's work for a good day's wages. We do not want idlers: neither do we want any more of that swarming class of young gentlemen who can do nothing but sit on a stool and handle a quill; of these we have always more than enough. But persons accustomed to hard work, whether mechanical or rural; and persons having money to invest, whether of large amount or small, will find in New South Wales a finer opening than any other part of the world presents, or than was ever before presented. Let them remember that for mildness and salubrity our climate cannot be surpassed; that our soil is capable of producing all that man requires for sustenance, and most of the luxuries which he prizes; and at the time our gold fields were discovered the population of less than 200,000 souls possessed above 100,000 horses, 1,500,000 horned cattle, and more than 8,000,000 sheep, yielded an annual income of £600,000, and exported of her own produce or manufacture to the extent of £1,000,000 per annum, independently of her gold. Coupling these facts with the great fact, that in ten months we have shipped a million's worth of our new found product, the fruit of peaceful industry, and the earnest of a still brighter future, our friends in England must admit that our shores have strong attractions for all who think it better to emigrate than stay at home.

VICTORIA.

The following letter is from a Sydney paper:—

Melbourne, March 2.

I returned yesterday evening from the Forest Creek diggings, after a sojourn of some fourteen days, during which time I have employed myself in collecting such information as may prove serviceable to your readers.

Any description of the scene which bursts upon the new comer as he descends the ranges that border the creek would be next to superfluous, for so many writers have gone before in the portraiture of your own numerous diggings that it would be but repetition were I to delineate those of Mount Alexander. The same numerous tents, the same blazing watchfires, the same barking of dogs and firing of guns, the same busy hum of man invading the territery hitherto given up to the beast or the savage; all these are the same as with you; if I perhaps except that with us there is much more of each and every of them than there is in your colony. The Forest Creek diggings extend for a distance of some ten or twelve miles down the creek of that name, which is a tributory of the Loddon, the whole of the short ridges and gullies running down into it having proved highly auriferous, while many of the back ranges and gullies have also produced good samples of gold.

In the localities where digging was first commenced there are still very many of the holes that are being profitably worked. From these the diggers have gradually extended themselves, till there is hardly a range or a watercourse that has not been delved into in the search for the 'glittering dross.' This is more the case at present than at any other time, as the scarcity of water will not allow of any earth being washed but such as will produce a very large amount of gold. Water is attainable, but not in the water-holes of the creek, every one of which is now choked up by the tailings of the cradles; but by sinking on the flats of the creek very good water is procured at a depth of about twenty feet. This plan is now being pursued. A party sinks a well, and then cuts a hole for washing in, the cradle being placed in a convenient position; water is then drawn up from the well, and the soil, which has been carted from the hole where it was dug, is thus washed. In all cases the stuff washed is some very choice pickings from the strata of the hole, such as the experience of the miner leads him to believe may contain gold. Very many, however, who dislike the toil and expense attendant upon his process, are simply working their holes as dry diggings—nuggeting, as it is called here—putting aside such of the stuff as appears likely, and saving it for a more propitious season. Many hundreds have done this, and the advent of rain will turn out an amount of gold that will astonish the good folks of Melbourne.

Another effect that the drought has had has been that it has dispersed the diggers in every direction over the face of the country. Gulleys, creeks, hills, ridges, water courses, and ranges, have all been ransacked and turned over, till the whole country is now pretty well known to some or other of the diggers; and with water several spots that are known to be rich will be worked to advantage. In this search it is amusing to see the eagerness of the gold seekers. Dozens will watch the movements of a prospector; while the slightest rumour of a golden discovery in any particular locality will send hundreds to the spot, and will cause the ground to be parcelled out, lotted, and worked with the most astounding rapidity.

Gold has been discovered at Fingal, Van Dieman's Land, and it is believed that when properly worked a large yield will be obtained.

The government essay office in South Australia, is in actual operation, and on the first day 2,910 ounces were deposited. The government were taking steps to open up a road direct to Mount Alexander, in order to bring the gold from thence under escort to Adelaide.

MELBOURNE.

The following in an extract of a private letter, dated Stanley-street, Melbourne, Christmas, 1851:—

Tell the starving thousands in England we will give them a cordial welcome here. We want labourers. Come over and help us. Our crops are rotting on the ground for want of hands to gather them. Our thousands and tens of thousands of sheep are going unshorn for the same reason. Our flocks and herds are being boiled down merely for the fat, because we have not sufficient population to eat them. Our public buildings, roads, bridges, and works of all kind are suffering for want of workmen. The quantity of gold that is being dug up is truly astonishing; one ship that has just sailed from this port to London took three tons weight of gold, all of which has been dug principally by labouring men. Mr. Jones got about £50 in five weeks. I have not been yet, for I don't like to give up what I am doing. I send you a small lump of gold; it is from the Bunningyong district, about sixty or eighty miles from Melbourne. It was given me for a shirt pin, but you can either get a pin put to it or sell it. You will see there is a bit of the stone growing to it. Many people here have pins put to them, just as they find them in the earth.

I am truly sorry to say that intemperance prevails to a great extent. Many of the gold diggers are squandering their money like dirt. They think no more of £5 than if it was a sixpence. Every one coming here should be a teetotaller.

Mrs. Chisholm's plan of emigration is an excellent one. Captain Chisholm is now is Melbourne, engaged in the same work. We had a very hot Christmas-day. I think the weather glass was 115 in the shade. What a contrast to you! We had leg of lamb and green peas for dinner, and plumb pudding and cherries afterwards. We thought of you, and spoke of you all the time. You would all do. Tinkers, tailors, barbers, bakers, coachmen, muckmen, carpenters, masons, mantua-makers, cooks, drapers, bonnet-builders, shopmen; indeed any men but lazy men. Remember, it is a land of gold!

MORALITY AND TEMPERANCE.—A benefit in aid of the funds was held at the Star Temperance Hall, Kingsteet, Long Acre, on Monday evening, June 14th, when Mr. W. A. Fletcher's temperance drama, entitled "Animal or Vegetable Kingdom" was represented. The piece and its performance were eminently successful.

CAPITAL CONVICTIONS IN EDINBURGH.

In the High Court of Justiciary at Edinburgh on Monday two (brothers) of the name of Michael and Peter Scanlan, Irish labourers, were tried for the murder of an old woman at Hilton-of-Forthar, in the parish of Kettle, in Fifeshire. The evidence given at the beginning of the trial was circumstantial, but was afterwards confirmed by the testimony of an Irishman of the name of Thomas M'Manus, who had turned informer upon the prisoners. The name of the old woman who was murdered was Margaret Maxwell, she kept a small huckster's shop at the place mentioned. The prisoners were labourers at limeworks in the neighbourhood, and dealt with the old woman, against whom they were proved to have taken umbrage for refusing to credit them with any more bread and meal. On Monday, the 15th of February, the old woman was found murdered in her own house, her skull having been dreadfully beaten in by a three-legged stool. A watch and money to the value of £3 were stolen from the premises. The prisoners were examined on suspicion, and various marks about their clothes were found to confirm the impression which prevailed as to their guilt. Their shirts, which the woman with whom they lodged proved were put on clean on the Saturday evening, had some marks of blood on them; and one of them was stained with a white substance, like milk, which tallied with a discovery previously made in the old woman's house, of a basin of milk having been spilt in some way or another during the struggle. Their stockings were also covered with clay and dirt, showing that they had gone into the old woman's house with their stockings on only, not to alarm any of the neighbours by the noise of their shoes. They were also heard to leave their lodgings for a time in the course of the Sunday night. The approver, Thomas M'Manus, deposed that he and the prisoners had arranged to rob the old woman of her money and go to America; that they met on a Sunday evening, agreeably to appointment, to commit the robbery; that the two prisoners went into the house, by breaking open a back window; that when they were in he stood watch outside; that he heard the noise of a struggle inside, and the old woman cry out, "Oh, my God;" that, on the prisoners coming out, Michael Scanlan, in explanation of the noise, said he had given the old woman a knock or two. A witness, who had been imprisoned in the same cell in Cupar prison with Michael Scanlan, stated that Scanlan had confessed to having taken part in the robbery, but said that it was neither he nor his brother that had caused the death of the old woman; that it was M'Manus who got into "grips" with her, and did the deed. The evidence was followed by a long speech against the prisoners by the Solicitor General, who was replied to by Mr. Craufurd, the counsel for the prisoners. The Lord Justice General then summed up, after which the jury retired, and returned shortly afterwards with a verdict of Guilty against both the prisoners. They were then sentenced, in an impressive speech, to be executed at Cupar on Monday, the 5th of July. The prisoners exhibited the utmost indifference during the trial, and at its close they said the judge and jury were a set of —— asses, and they hoped that they would all be dead and —— before the day of execution.

HYDROPHOBIA.—Another fatal case of hydrophobia has just occurred at Mametz (Pas de Calais). A wheelwright named Noel had been bitten about six weeks since by a mad dog; ever since that period he has been impressed with the idea that the fortieth day would be fatal to him, and he has been preparing for that event by putting his affairs in order. On the morning of the fortieth day he proceeded to his work as usual, and as he felt no symptoms of indisposition he was cheerful and in hopes that he should escape. On his wife, however, offering him some coffee he felt a difficulty in swallowing it, and from that time the symptoms went on increasing until death put an end to his sufferings in the course of the night.—*Galignani.*

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OF THE
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF UNITED TRADES
FOR THE
PROTECTION OF INDUSTRY AND EMPLOYMENT OF LABOUR
IN
AGRICULTURE AND MANUFACTURES.

Established 24th of March, 1845.

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TREASURER.—George A. Fleming, Esq, 6, Saville Row, Walworth Road, London.
BANKERS.—Joint Stock Bank of London.
AUDITOR.—Joseph Glover, Esq., Public Accountant, 12, Bucklersbury, London.
SECRETARY.—Mr. William Peel, 259, Tottenham-court-road, London.

Objects and Principles.—To secure as far as possible a 'Great National Industrial Union' of all Classes of Labourers, and to concentrate the various Trades' Unions into one consolidated confederation, thereby multiplying their powers of usefulness, and enabling each trade to defend its own interests with the whole strength of the Association.

To secure as far as practicable, a 'fair day's wage for a fair day's work' to all classes of artizans and labourers, whether skilled or unskilled, who may join the Association.

To settle all disputes if possible by arbitration and mediation.

To employ members at their respective trades whenever practicable, who are thrown out of employment in consequence of resisting reductions of wages or other aggression upon their interests.

To secure the payment of every man his wages in the current coin the realm.

To cause the employers in all trades, wherever practicable, to provide properly lighted and ventilated workshops for those employed by them, in order to do away with middlemen, and the sweating system; and prevent the numerous evils arising from work being done at private houses.

To regulate the hours of labour in all trades, with a view to equalise and diffuse employment among the working classes; so that some shall not be overworked while others are starving for want of employment.

To urge upon government the necessity of employing the surplus labour of the country in useful works, such as the reclamation of waste lands, improvement of harbours, deepening of rivers, &c.

To promote the formation of Local Boards of Trade or Courts of Reconciliation for the purpose of amicably adjusting disputes between employers and workmen, and thus effectually preventing the occurrence of strikes.

To obtain the appointment of a Minister of Labour, to superintend the carrying out and practical operation of these various measures, for improving the condition of the working classes.

To establish a general fund to employ the surplus labour of the Trades.

1. *Constitution.*—The Association consists of men, women, and children, who conform to its laws.

2. *Management.*—It is governed by a Committee and President who are elected annually by the members in general conference.

3. *Powers and Duties.*—They direct and control the business of the Association, receive all applications from Trades for advice and assistance, and by mediation, arbitration, or other proceedings, protect the interest and promote the well-being of the Associated Trades in all cases of Trades' disputes and difficulties.

4. The internal arrangements of the separate branches are left to the management of its own Committee, or officers.

5. *Benefits.*—A weekly allowance to members when resisting reductions of wages or other aggressions, upon the principle of mutual assurance and according to a liberal scale based on the average wages returned by each trade. The mediatorial assistance of the Central Committee in cases of dispute and where practicable the substitution of honourable employment instead of the system of compulsory idleness.

Trades joining this Association are required to pay, if their Average Wages are ten shillings and under, an Entrance Fee of three pence; if above ten shillings, sixpence; together with four weeks levies of twopence in the pound on their Average wages; also one penny (monthly contribution) to a Victim Fund, and twopence for a copy of the Rules of the Association, in advance.

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LITERATURE.

Reviews.

In an age when independence of principle consists in having no principle on which to depend, and free-thinking, not in thinking freely, but in being free from thinking:—in an age when men will hold any thing except their tongues, keep anything except their word, and lose nothing patiently, except their character; to improve such an age must be difficult, to instruct it dangerous; and he stands no chance of amending it who cannot at the same time amuse it.

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Having felt and escaped from the ills and wrongs and evil circumstances incident to poverty's hell of torture, he turns round and proclaims war for ever more, vindictive and terrible war, with a societary system, so prolific in crime and misery. He has finely illustrated the force of surrounding circumstances in the creation of character in his 'St. Giles and St. James;' a work calculated to advance the doctrine of Owen perhaps more than all that venerable philosopher has himself written. We prefer Jerrold to Dickens. He may not have the latter's geniality nor his philosophy of Plenty; but he is more democratic, more terribly in earnest, more unsparing and passionate in his war with wrong and oppression; he gives no quarter; his truth is not a peace-mongering philanthropist that will make certain terms with Error, and Humbug, and Crime, and let them live on sufferance, but, like Aaron's rod, it will swallow them up! He never blesses the enemy with one hand whom he has just knocked down with the other. He does not generalise and universalise, but with a most vengeful personality realises, as it were, the wish of Nero, by compressing all the objects of his hatred under one head, and executes vengeance thereon. He has not an equal in dissecting the follies and hypocrises of the time, and in probing the rottenness of society. Of Jerrold, in attacking an abuse, it may be said truly, if his pistol misses fire he knocks it down with the butt end of his weapon. This volume of his writings contains the inimitable 'Curtain Lectures' of exquisite Mrs. Caudle, the beautiful 'Story of a Feather,' and the 'Sick Giant and the Doctor Dwarf.' The two latter are full of his peculiarly penetrating wisdom—happy touches of fancy and deep lessons of life; and as for Mrs. Caudle (superlative specimen of that not anti-diluvian class, who cannot be happy unless they are miserable, and everybody besides) what shall we say of her? Miraculous personification of the torments of Job! Happy household oracle! Felicitous delineator of married miseries! Wonderful museum of the minutiæ of wretchedness! Who that has read can have ever forgotten the following rich morsel on the lost umbrella:—

"Ah! that's the third umbrella gone since Christmas. What were you to do! Why let him go home in the rain, to be sure. I'm very certain there was nothing about him that could spoil. Take cold, indeed! He doesn't look like one of the sort to take cold. Besides, he'd have better taken cold than take our only umbrella. Do you hear the rain, Mr. Caudle? I say, do you hear the rain? And as I'm alive, if it isn't Saint Swithin's day! Do you hear it against the windows? Nonesense; you don't impose upon me. You cannot be asleep with such a shower as that! Do you hear it, I say? Oh, you *do* hear it! Well, that's a pretty flood, I think, to last for six weeks; and no stirring all the time out of the house. Pooh! don't think me a fool, Mr. Caudle. Don't insult me. He return the umbrella! Anybody would think you were born yesterday. As if anybody ever *did* return an umbrella! There—do you hear it? Worse and worse! Cats and dogs, and for six weeks—! always six weeks. And no umbrella!

"But I know why you lent the umbrella. Oh, yes; I know very well. I was going out to tea at dear mother's to-morrow,—you knew that, and you did it on purpose. Don't tell me; you hate me to go there, and take every mean advantage to hinder me. But don't you think it, Mr. Caudle. No, sir; if it comes down in buckets'-full, I'll go all the more. No: and I won't have a cab! Where do you think the money's to come from? You've got nice high notions at that club of yours! A cab, indeed! Cost me sixteen pence at least—sixteen pence! two-and-eightpence, for there's back again! Cabs, indeed! I should like to know who's to pay for 'em! I can't pay for 'em; and I'm sure you can't, if you go on as you do; throwing away your property, and beggaring your children—buying umbrellas!

"Her," says Caudle in his MS., "I fell asleep; and dreamt that the sky was turned into green calico, with whalebone ribs; that, in fact, the whole world revolved under a tremendous umbrella!"

How richly unctuous, and what a startling Rabelais-like conclusion.

And is not this a fine exposition of woman's curiosity, wheedling, defiance and cunning, to gain her end and accomplish her purpose?—

"Now, Mr. Caudle—Mr. Caudle, I say: oh! you can't be asleep already, I know. Now, what I mean to say is this; there's no use, none at all, in our having any disturbance about the matter; but, at last my mind's made up, Mr. Caudle; I shall leave you. Either I know all you've been doing to-night, or to-morrow morning I quit the house. No, no; there's an end of the marriage state, I think—an end of all confidence between man and wife—if a husband's to have secrets and keep 'em all to himself. Pretty secrets they must be, when his own wife can't know 'em. Not fit for any decent person to know, I'm sure, if that's the case. Now, Caudle, don't let us quarrel; there's a good soul, tell me what's it all about? A pack of nonsense, I dare say; still—not that I care much about it—still, I *should* like to know. There's a dear. Eh? Oh, don't tell me, there's nothing in it; I know better, I'm not a fool, Mr. Caudle; I know there's a good deal in it. Now, Caudle; just tell me a little bit of it. I'm sure I'd tell you anything. You know I would. Well?

"And you're not going to let me know the secret, eh? You mean to say,—you're not? Now, Caudle, you know it's a hard matter to put me in a passion—not that I care about the secret itself: no, I wouldn't give a button to know it, for it's all nonsense, I'm sure. It isn't the secret I care about; it's the slight, Mr. Caudle; it's the studied insult that a man pays to his wife, when he thinks of going through the world keeping something to himself which he won't let her know. Man and wife one, indeed! I should like to know how that can be when a man's a mason—when he keeps a secret that sets him and his wife apart? Ha, you men make the laws, and so you take good care to have all the best of 'em to yourselves: otherwise a woman ought to be allowed a divorce when a man becomes a mason. When he's got a sort of a corner cupboard in his heart—a secret place in his mind—that his poor wife isn't allowed to rummage!

"Was there ever such a man! A man, indeed! A brute!—yes, Mr. Caudle, an unfeeling, brutal creature, when you might oblige me, and you won't. I'm sure I don't object to your being a mason, not at all, Caudle; I dare say it's a very good thing; I dare say it is—it's only your making a secret of it that vexes me. But you'll tell me—you'll tell your own Margaret? You won't! You're a wretch, Mr. Caudle."

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF WILLIAM JERDAN, WITH HIS LITERARY, POLITICAL, AND SOCIAL REMINISCENCES AND CORRESPONDENCE, DURING THE LAST FIFTY YEARS. London: Hall, Virtue, and Co., 1852.

THERE are some men in the literary, as in the political and social, world, whose talents and position are so incommensurate that, on seeing them perched in their pride of place, like those shell-fish in the clefts of the rock and ledges of the cliff, you cannot but wonder 'how the devil they got there.' Mr. Jerdan appears to us to be such an one. We see no one element of greatness in him, nor any evidence of genius in his book, save a genius for gossip. This was also our impression of the man on seeing him, as we once did. A small-brained, bullet-headed, but active man, and a great BORE. Perhaps that word solves the problem—he has BORED his way through the world. But why he should be the acknowledged compeer of the greatest men of the age, the familiar of poets and philosophers, and a name among the city and noble, remains to us one of the 'Mysteries of Literature.' Some of his contemporaries enthrone him on the mount of Immortality; but we are quite sure that though he may have partially climbed it by clinging to the glittering skirts of Genius, he has not the pith and muscle to get beyond the half-way-house. And it is most amusing to hear him, from this elevation, decry the way by which he ascended. He has done remarkably well by literature—it has prospered with him marvellously. He is what he is through literature; he owes far more to literature than it owes to him, and yet he condemns and reviles it. He knocks down the ladder by which he mounted, and prostrates young and fiery-hearted Aspiration as coolly and methodically as the Quaker who, on board the American man-of-war during a battle, pushed the enemy's scaling-ladder from the side of the vessel, and plunged the victim into the sea, with a 'Friend, thou hast no business here!'

This is the first volume of Mr. Jerdan's work, and we learn by it that he was born on the 16th of April, 1782, in the town of Kelso, Roxburgh county, Scotland. He made his first appearance in print in the Poets' Corner of a Portsmouth paper. But Mr. Jerdan was somewhat akin to Burns' 'Poet Willie,' in regard to his relationship with Pegasus. He came to London, and was engaged as parliamentary reporter for the 'Aurora,' a morning paper, of whose editor he gives the following amusing sketch:—

Our editor was originally intended for the Kirk, and was a well-informed person; but to see him at or after midnight in his official chair, a-writing his "leader," was a treat for a philosopher. With the slips of paper before him, a pot of porter close at hand, and a pipe of tobacco in his mouth, or casually laid down, he proceeded *secundem artem*. The head hung with the chin on his collar bone, as in deep thought—a whiff—another—a try at the beer—and a line and a-half or two lines committed to the blotted paper.

The original of a well known joke was also a reporter for this paper. This was—

Mark Supple, an Irish eccentric of the first-water, he it was who, waking out of an intoxicated doze, and seeing Mr. Abbot on the Treasury bench (the house being in committee), called out, 'Master Speaker, as you seem to have nothing to do, I call upon you for a song, if you plaze." The fierce indignation of the chair rose hotly against this breach of privilege, and the sergeant-at arms was sent up to take the offender into custody; but Supple adroitly escaped by pointing out a peaceful quaker, sitting two or three seats below him, as the culprit, and the affair assumed so ludicrous an aspect, that it ended in the worthy broadbrim being turned out, in spite of his protestations of innocence, and without having fees to pay.

Many of the anecdotes recorded in this book have long been current in literature, but Mr. Jerdan will have given them a 'local habitation and a name.' Mr. Jerdan visited Paris in 1814, and gives the following characteristic of the Prussian General Blucher:—

Having mentioned the gaming tables, I may observe that the veteran Blucher was one of their most assiduous nightly attendants. Attired in a rusty black coat, and blue trousers, with no order but the common iron cross of the soldiery on his breast, and sometimes without that, he would sit down and lose rouleau after rouleau of gold, giving his moustache a twist, and trying another venture. He appeared to be invariably a victim; and so far France was revenged of his mortal hostility.

Mr. Jerdan was editor of the 'Sun' newspaper from 1812 to 1817, in its palmy days of Toryism, and editor of the 'Literary Gazette' from 1817 to 1850. He has thus been in a position to mark the changes and development of our literature, to present the world with a kaleidescope of men and manners, and indeed have given us one of the finest glimpses of the first-half of our century. With such glorious memories of the departed great—such thrilling associations—such rich remains—such a store of gossip, anecdote, and scandal, what a book might have been written if the subject had been treated with the sparkling grace, charming piquancy, and amazing mastery of detail, which characterise Houssaye, and other French writers. Mr. Jerdan lacks this gift—judging from this first volume, which is dry and dreary.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

WRITINGS OF DOUGLASS JERROLD. Vol. III. London: Bradbury and Evans.
THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF WILLIAM JERDAN. Vol. I. London: Hall, Virtue, and Co.
A RESIDENCE IN ALGERIA. London: Pickering.
THE COUNTY COURT GUIDE. London: C. Mitchell.
READABLE BOOKS. No. III. LETTERS OF PETER PLIMLEY, &c. London: Vizetelly.

OUR Pen-and-Ink Portrait Gallery.

ADMIRAL BLAKE.

Robert Blake was undoubtedly one of the noblest and greatest of all the noble and great men of the Commonwealth. In his character we find no hypocrisy or mean ambition. He was all disinterestedness; his only ambition was that of making his country respected by all the world, and of upholding his honour, as the home of a free nation, by dealing prompt and decided vengeance upon its insulters.

A short time ago Felix Pyat, in 'La Nation,' taunted England with her 'opium and sulphur wars'—her 'wars of the shop.' We blush to confess that the taunt is deserved. The material power of the British nation is no longer applied to the maintenance of our national honour, and to ensure safety and respect to our countrymen wherever they may go; but is become the vile instrument of the vile money-grubbers, for the protection of the profits of their knavish trade; while European freedom and English honour may alike perish. Yet we cannot believe those who are croaking of the coming *fall* of England (unless by 'England' they mean that immense mass of corruption and tyranny which crushes and conceals the real life of the British people) when we look back to other days, and see what Englishmen can be, and been been. When we see that when the people have have called into action, they have been fearless and unbending combatants for freedom and patriotism, we cannot doubt that the Commonwealth will yet be born anew, and that the nation will again display its free spirit and courage, disowning all the tyrannical traditions and honourless 'chivalry' of the Tories, the imbecility and expediency of the Whigs, and the cowardice and selfishness of 'liberals,' and peace-humbugs.

The subject of our memoir was born at the sea-port town of Bridgewater, in Somersetshire, in August 1598. He was the eldest son of Humphrey Blake, a merchant at Bridgewater, who, having accumulated a considerable fortune in the Spanish trade, purchased an estate in the neighbourhood. From the free school of Bridgewater, where he was educated, he went to Oxford, and became a member of St. Alban's Hall, in 1615, and afterwards removed to Wadham College. In 1617 he took the degree of B.A.; and in 1619 was a candidate for a fellowship in Merton College, but was unsuccessful, as he had previously been in standing for a scholarship in Christ Church. His education was of the right sort—the development of all his powers, physical and mental. He studied hard; but he was careful that this study should not be prejudicial to his health. Accordingly he rose early, and habituated himself to field sports and other violent exercises; by which means he preserved his bodily health intact, while he acquired a very fair amount of scholastic learning. When about twenty-five years old, he returned to Bridgwater, where he lived quietly on his paternal estate till 1640, known to all as a blunt bold man, of ready humour, and a free and fearless expressor of his unfettered opinions, which, both in politics and religion, were decidedly opposed to the bigotted and tyrannical spirit of the court. In fact, he was a republican; and, believing in the sovereignty of the people, he could not feel other than indignation and hatred towards the impudent advocates of that monstrous absurdity, the 'by-the-grace-of-God' kingcraft, placing a whole nation under the yoke of hereditary foolishness; and, feeling thus, he was too honest a man, and too brave a man, to have any desire for the concealment of his thoughts, or to have any fear of the consequences of their avowal, convinced as he was of their justice, and the necessity of implanting them in the minds of the less enlightened. His Democratic opinions gained for him the confidence of the Presbyterian party in Bridgwater, by whose exertions he was returned to the parliament of 1640. In consequence of that body being so speedily dissolved, he had no opportunity for displaying his talents for debate; and he lost his election to the Long Parliament. When the civil war broke out, he displayed his anti-monarchical principles by entering the parliamentary army, where he was soon made a captain of Dragoons.

Nothing of importance is recorded of him until 1643, when we find him commanding under Fiennes, a fort at Bristol, while that city was besieged by the Royalists. Here his impetuous courage had almost cost him his life. Enraged at Fiennes' cowardly surrender, he continued for some time to maintain his fort, and killed a number of the Royalist soldiers who attacked it. It was with difficulty that Prince Rupert was induced to spare his life, which he held to have been forfeited by this breach of the laws of war. The Royalists *could* speak of the laws of war, notwithstanding the violence and enormities they had committed after obtaining possession of the city. He afterwards served as lieutenant-colonel in Somersetshire, under Popham, who was governor of Lyme. By an attack unexpected, he captured Taunton, and gained possession of ten pieces of cannon and a large quantity of ammunition. The following year the parliament appointed him governor of this place, which was one of great consequence, being the only parliamentary fortress in that quarter. In that capacity he distinguished himself by the skill, courage, and constancy with which, during two successive sieges, he maintained the town against the Royalists in 1645; and so important was this service considered, that the parliament voted £2,000 to the garrison, and £500 to the governor. In 1646, Colonel Blake reduced Doncaster Castle, which was nearly one of the last events of the war.

As a military officer, there was no man in the parliamentary army, Cromwell excepted, who acquired and deserved a greater degree of fame for soldier-like abilities and success than Robert Blake.

In February, 1649, Blake, in conjunction with two other military officers, Deane and Popham, was appointed to command the fleet. It may be taken as a proof that, notwithstanding the fame of our early navigators, the naval service had never had much attention bestowed upon it; that, down to later times than those of which we now write, the chief command of a fleet seems never to have been entrusted to a man of naval education and experience. It may be that there was more danger and hardships than profit or honour attached to this branch of the national service in these days; and that this consideration effectually prevented any scion of the aristocracy, or place-hunting courtier adopting and following the sea-faring profession; while the command of a fleet was esteemed too great a post to be conferred on a plebeian.

Blake showed singular capacity for the post of naval commander. When the embers of the war were stirred up after Charles Stuart's death, he was ordered to the Irish Seas in pursuit of Prince Rupert, whom he blocaded in the harbour of Kinsale for several months. Despair of relief induced Rupert, at last to make a daring effort to break through the parliamentary squadron, in which he succeeded; but with the loss of three ships. Blake pursued him to the Tagus, where, being denied liberty to attack his enemy by the King of Portugal, in revenge, he captured and sent home a number of richly laden ships, on their way from Brazil. Towards the latter end of 1650, Prince Rupert escaped out of the Tagus, and Blake followed him up the straits to Carthagina, thence to Malaga, which was a neutral port. In January, 1651, he attacked, and, with the exception of two ships, in one of which Prince Rupert and his brother Prince Maurice escaped, destroyed the royal fleet in the harbour, a proceeding which was no breach of international law, as Rupert was a well-known pirate, and had destroyed British ships in the same harbour. The parliament recompensed these services by creating Blake warden of the Cinque Ports; and in March an act was passed constituting him, and his colleagues, Deane and Popham, admirals and generals at sea for the ensuing year. After this he took Jersey, Guernsey, and the Scilly Islands from the Royalists, a service for which he was again thanked by the parliament. In this year he was elected a member of the Council of State.

On the 25th of March, 1652, Blake was appointed sole admiral for nine months, in expectation of a war with Holland. This war between the two great Republics has been ascribed to St. John, who, it is reported, used every endeavour with Cromwell and the British people to foment it, as a means of revenging on the Dutch the slights and insults he had received from the retainers of the Orange family, during his embassy to Holland. Be that as it may, there did undoubtedly exist a vast deal of rivalry and insensate jealousy on the part of both nations, who were then the two most powerful maratime countries in the world. The war was at length begun in the spring of 1652, on a point of etiquette, and very much against the desire of the Dutch government. On the 18th of May, a fleet of forty-two Dutch ships, commanded by the celebrated Van Tromp, appeared off the Goodwin Sands. Being challenged by Major Bourne, who commanded a squadron in the Downs, they professed to have been driven from their anchorage off Dunkirk by stress of weather; but, instead of keeping farther off from the coast, as they were required to do, they sailed to Dover, and there cast anchor; thus displaying a deliberate design to insult the British flag. When Blake, who was lying at some distance to the westward in Rye Bay, received intelligence of this insolence, he at once sailed thither, and on his approach the Dutch weighed anchor, and seemed about to retreat; but suddenly changing their course, they sailed direct for the English fleet. When within musket-shot, Blake ordered a gun to be fired at the Dutch admiral's flag, which was done thrice. Instead of lowering his flag, however, Van Tromp returned a broadside, and a hot and well-contested action ensued, which was maintained until night came on, when the Dutch, under cover of the darkness, beat a retreat, after having lost two of their ships, and a great number of killed and wounded. The States entirely disapproved of this conduct on the part of their admiral; and when in vain they had tried every means to satisfy the government of the English Republic, they dismissed Van Tromp, and appointed De Ruyter and De Witt to the command of their fleet. Meanwhile Blake actively followed up his victory. He gained a rich harvest among the Dutch homeward-bound merchantmen, which were pursuing their way without the slightest suspicion of danger, and which were, consequently, somewhat surprised to find themselves so suddenly in the power of an enemy. When he had sent home forty of these, and effectually cleared the channel, he sailed to the northward, dispersed the fleet engaged in the herring fishery, and captured a hundred of the vessels composing it, together with a squadron of twelve men-of-war, that the Dutch government had sent to protect them. On the 28th of September the opposing fleets again came to an engagement, when that of Holland was thoroughly beaten, the rear-admiral of the Dutch being taken, and three or four of their ships disabled. The battle ended with the day, and the Dutch retreated; and, although the English pursued them for two days, they were unable to come up with the flying enemy, who escaped into Gorce.

Jealous of the growing fame of Blake the executive government set itself to the task of weakening his power. Accordingly, after this engagement, numerous detachments were drafted off on various services, until the English fleet was reduced to forty sail, while even these were not supplied with the requisite men and ammunition. Van Tromp again stood over to the English coast, while Blake, in this state of impotence, lay in the Downs. The Dutch fleet consisted of eighty ships of war, but, notwithstanding these fearful odds, Blake, with his accustomed daring, did not hesitate to attack him. But in the state he was in, with but few ships, and these ill-supplied with important requisites, it was impossible for any amount of bravery to render him successful. The battle began at two o'clock on the morning of the 29th of November, and lasted till six in the evening. Only about half the ships on either side were engaged, two of the English were taken, and four destroyed, while the remainder were so shattered that they were obliged to run for shelter into the Thames. After this victory, Van Tromp sailed through the Channel with a broom at the mast-head, as a boast that he had swept it clear of English ships. However, Blake did not go to sleep, and was soon in a position to sweep away the sweeper, and his fleet, and broom. Monk and Deane were joined in the commission with Blake, and the fleet was repaired with such diligence, that sailing from Queenborough, on the 8th of February, 1653, with sixty ships of war, he was joined by twenty more from Portsmouth. On the 18th he fell in with Van Tromp, with nearly equal force, conducting a large convoy of merchantmen up the Channel. A running battle ensued, which continued during three consecutive days, until, on the 20th, the Dutch ships found shelter in the shallow waters of Calais. As many as 1,500 on either side were killed in this long and obstinate fight.

Towards the end of April Deane and Monk watched the Dutch fleet, which had taken refuge in the Texel, while Blake sailed to the north. The Dutch getting out, Deane and Monk brought them to an engagement off the North Foreland, on the 3rd of June, when the English had rather the worst of it; but Blake arriving next day the enemy was entirely defeated. Ill-health then obliged him to quit the sea, so that he was not present at the last great victory of July 29th, in which Van Tromp was killed.

In November, 1654, Blake was appointed to command a strong fleet sent into the Mediterranean, to demand reparation for the insults the nation had received during the time of civil war. Every power hastened to do honour to his flag, and grant compensation for injuries done. The Dey of Tunis alone held out, confident in the strength of his fortifications. "Here," said he, "are out castles of Goletta and Porto Ferino: do your worst; we do not fear your fleet." Blake bore right into the bay of Porto Ferino, destroyed the fortifications, and sent in a detachment of boats into the harbour, and burnt the shipping which lay there.

War breaking out between Spain and England, in 1656, Blake blockaded the bay of Cadiz. Fearing that his death was approaching, he sent home a request that a successor might be joined in commission with him. General Montague was accordingly sent out with a strong squadron. Being obliged to quit the Spanish coast in September, to obtain water for his fleet, he left Captain Stayner with seven ships to watch the enemy. At this time the Spanish Plate fleet made its appearance, of which Stayner captured four ships richly laden, which Montague took home; thus leaving Blake again alone in the Mediterranean. In the ensuing spring, having heard that another Plate fleet had put into the island of Teneriffe, he sailed thither, and arrived in the road of Santa Cruz, on the 20th of April. The bay was strongly fortified, with a formidable castle at the entrance, and a connected chain of minor forts all round it. There was, also, collected there a naval force, powerful and strongly posted, the smaller vessels being placed under the guns of the forts, and the galleons moored with their broadsides to the sea. So powerful and complete was their defence against the enemy, that the Spanish governor, a far-seeing man, wanting in neither courage nor ability, had not the slightest fear of danger. The captain of a Dutch ship, which was lying in the harbour, knowing better than the Spaniard the character of the English admiral, went to the governor and asked leave to depart, 'For I am sure, said he, 'that Blake will be among you presently.' 'Begone, if you will,' replied the governor, confidently; 'and let Blake come if he dares.' Now he should have known that daring was a quality, which, of all others, Blake had never been known to stand in want of. The sequel showed that he did not want it on this occasion. The wind blowing into the bay, he sent in Captain Stayner with a squadron to attack the shipping, placed others in such a position as to take off, and as far as possible, to silence the fire of the castle and the forts, and himself following, assisted Stayner in capturing the galleons, which, though inferior in number, were superior in size and force to the English ships. This was completed by two o'clock in the afternoon; the engagement having been commenced at eight in the morning. Hopeless of being able to carry the prizes out of the bay against an adverse wind and a still active enemy, Blake ordered them to be burnt. Fortunately the wind, which had been blowing strongly into the bay, suddenly veered round, and favoured his retreat, as it had favoured his daring approach. For this defeat the Spaniards comforted themselves with the belief that their destroyers could only be devils, not men. As a recompense for this gallant action, the thanks of parliament were voted to the officers and seaman engaged, along with a diamond ring to the admiral worth £500.

Blake returned to his old station off Cadiz, but the increase of those diseases—dropsy and scurvy—to which he was subject, determined him to return to England; but he was destined never again to set foot on that land he had so much loved and so well defended.

When he reached the Bay of Biscay, on his way home, those around him saw with dismay that his end was drawing near. 'Some gleams of the old spirit broke forth as they approached the latitude of England. He inquired often and anxiously if the white cliffs were yet in sight. He longed to behold once more the swelling downs, the free cities, the goodly churches of his native land. . . . At last, the Lizard was announced. Shortly afterwards, the bold cliffs and bare hills of Cornwall loomed out grandly in the distance. But it was too late for the dying hero. He had sent for the captain and other great officers of his fleet, to bid them farewell; and while they were yet in his cabin, the undulating hills of Devonshire, glowing with the tints of early autumn, came full in view. . . . But the eyes which had so yearned to behold this scene once more were at that very instant closing in death. Foremost of the victorious squadron, the St. George, rode with its precious burden into the Sound; and just as it came into full view of the eager thousands crowding the beach, the pier-heads, the walls of the citidal, &c., ready to catch the first glimpse of the hero of Santa Cruz, and salute him with a true English welcome—he, in his silent cabin, in the midst of his lion-hearted comrades, now sobbing like little children, yielded up his soul to God.'*

His body was transported to London, and buried with great pomp, at the national expense, in a vault in Henry VII.'s chapel. When Kingcraft was restored, his bones, like those of Cromwell and Ireton, were treated with brutal indignity by the cowardly Royalists, and at last found a resting place in St. Margaret's Churchyard.

The character of this great man, and true Englishman, is thus sketched by the Tory Historian, Clarendon:—'He was of private extraction, yet had enough left him by his father to give him a good education, which his own inclination disposed him to receive in the University of Oxford, where he took the degree of a Master of Arts, and was enough versed in books for a man who intended not to be of any profession, having enough of his own to maintain him in the plenty he affected, and having then no appearance of ambition to be a greater man than he was. He was of a melancholic and sullen nature, and spent his time most with good fellows, who liked his moroseness, and a freedom he used in inveighing against the licence of the time, and the power of the court. They who knew him inwardly, discovered that he had an anti-monarchical spirit, when few men thought the government in any danger. * * * * He then betook himself wholly to the sea, and quickly made himself signal there. He was the first man that declined the old track, and made it manifest that the science might be attained in less time than was imagined, and despised those rules that had long been in practice, to keep his ship and his men out of danger, which had been held in former times a point of great ability and circumspection, as if the principal art requisite in the captain of a ship had been to be sure to come safe home again. He was the first man who brought the ships to contemn castles on shore, which had been thought ever very formidable, and were discovered by him to make a noise only, and to frighten those who could be rarely hurt by them. He was the first who infused that proportion of courage into the seamen, by making them see by experience what mighty things they could do, if they were resolved, and taught them to fight in fire as well as upon water; and, though he has been very well imitated and followed, he was the first that gave the example of that kind of naval courage, and bold and resolute achievements.'

* Robert Blake: Admiral and General at Sea.' By Hepworth Dixon. Chapman and Hall. 1852.

THE COUNTESS OF RUDOLSTADT.

[*Sequel to "Consuelo."*]

BY GEORGE SAND.

THE RELIGION OF THE INVISIBLES.

All the seven were there, as at the first time, masked, mute, impenetrable as phantoms. The eighth personage, who had then addressed Consuelo, and who seemed to be the interpreter of the Council, and the initiator of the adepts, spoke to her in these terms:—

"Consuelo, you have already undergone some trials from which you have come forth to your glory and to our satisfaction. We grant you our confidence—we are about to prove it to you.

"Listen to me attentively. I speak to you in the name of those whom you see here assembled. It is their spirit, and, so to speak, their breath, which inspires me. It is their doctrine which I am about to lay before you.

"The distinctive characteristic of the religions of antiquity is to have two faces—one external and public, one internal and secret; one is the spirit, the other is the form or letter. Behind the material and gross symbol, the profound sense, the sublime idea. Egypt and India, great types of the ancient religions—mothers of pure doctrines—present in the highest state this duality of aspect—a necessary and fatal form of the infancy of society, and the misery attached to the development of the genius of man. You have recently learned in what consisted the great mysteries of Memphis and Eleusis; and you now know why the divine political and social science, concentrated with the triple religious, military, and industrial power in the hands of the hierophants, did not descend so far as the lowest classes of those ancient societies. The Christian idea, enveloped in the word of the revealer in more transparent and pure symbols, came into the world in order to bring down to the souls of the people the knowledge of truth and the light of faith. But the theocracy, an inevitable abuse of religions, formed in trouble and in danger, soon endeavoured once more to veil the doctrine, and, in veiling, altered it. Idolatry re-appeared with the mysteries; and in the painful development of Christianity we saw the hierophants of apostolic Rome lose, by divine punishment, the divine light, and fall again into the errors into which they wished to plunge mankind. The development of human intelligence then proceeded in a sense entirely different to that of the past. The temple was no longer as in ancient times, the sanctuary of truth. Superstition and ignorance, gross symbols, the dead letter sat upon the altars and the thrones. The spirit at last descended into the classes too long debased. Poor monks, obscure doctors, humble penitents—virtuous apostles of primitive Christianity—made of the secret and persecuted religion an asylum for unknown truth. They endeavoured to initiate the people into the religion of equality; and in the name of St. John, they preached a new gospel—that is to say, a new interpretation—more free, more hardy, and more pure, of the Christian revelation. You know the history of their labours, of their trials, of their martyrdom. You know the sufferings of the people, their ardent inspirations, their terrible outbursts, their deplorable weakness, their stormy awakenings; and through so many efforts, by turns frightful and sublime, their heroic perseverance to escape from darkness, and to find the way of God. The time is near when the veil of the temple shall be rent for ever, and when the crowd shall take by storm the sanctuaries of the holy ark. Then symbols will disappear, and the entrances to truth will no longer be guarded by the dragons of religious and monarchical despotism. Every man will be able to walk in the path of light, and to come nigh to God with all the powers of his soul. No longer will one say to his brother—'Be ignorant, and humble yourself. Close your eyes, and receive the yoke.' Every one will, on the contrary, be able to ask of his brother the help of his eye, of his heart, and of his arm, to penetrate into the arcanas of the sacred science. But that time has not yet to come; and at this hour we salute only the dawn trembling upon the horizon. The time of secret religions still exists—the work of mystery is not yet accomplished. We are still here enclosed in the temple, busy in forging arms to drive away the keepers who interpose between the people and ourselves, and compelled still to keep our own doors closed, and our words secret, that no one may come and wrest from our hands the holy ark, saved with so much difficulty, and reserved for the community of mankind.

"You are now received into the new temple; but that temple is still a fortress which has held out during ages for liberty without being able to win it. The war is around us. We wish to be liberators—we are as yet only combatants. You come here to receive the fraternal communion, the standard of salvation, the sign of liberty, and perhaps to perish on the breach in the midst of us. Such is the destiny which you have accepted. You will, perhaps, fall without having seen the pledge of victory wave over your head. It is still in the name of St. John that we call men to the crusade. It is still a symbol that we invoke; we are the heirs of the Joannites of former times—the unknown, mysterious, and persevering continuers of Wickliffe, of John Huss, and of Luther; we wish, as they wished, to free the human race; but, like them, we are not free ourselves—and, like them, we perhaps march to execution.

"Still the combat has changed its ground, and the arms their nature. We brave still the overshadowing rigour of the laws; we still expose ourselves to proscription, to misery, to captivity, and even to death—for the methods of tyranny are always the same; but our efforts are no longer an appeal to physical revolt, to the bloody preaching of the cross and the sword. Our war is entirely intellectual, as is our mission. We address ourselves to the mind—we act by the mind. It it not by armed force that we can overthrow governments now organised and supported on all the means of brutal force. We wage against them a war more slow, more silent, and more profound; we attack them at the heart. We shake their bases by destroying the blind faith and the idolatrous respect which they seek to inspire. We cause to penetrate everywhere, and even into courts—even into the troubled and fascinated minds of princes and kings, what no one dares any longer to call the poison of philosophy; we destroy all their charms; we discharge from the height of our fortress all the hot shot of burning truth and implacable reason upon the altars and the thrones. We shall conquer, do not doubt it. In how many years, in how many days, we do not know; but our enterprise dates from such remote antiquity, it has been conducted with so much faith, still d with so little success, resumed with so much ardour, pursued with so much enthusiasm, that it cannot fail. It has become immortal in its nature, like the immortal good it has resolved to win. Our ancestors began it, and each generation has hoped to finish it. If we did not also hope a little ourselves, perhaps our zeal would be less fervent and less efficacious; but if the spirit of doubt and of irony which now governs the world, should succeed in proving to us, by its cold calculations and abusive reasonings, that we pursue a dream which can be realised only in several centuries, our conviction in the holiness of our cause would not be shaken; and because we should labour with a little more effort, and a little more sorrow, we should not the less labour for the men of the future. There is between us and the men of the past, and generations yet unborn, a religious bond, so close and so firm that we have almost stifled in ourselves the selfish and personal portion of human individuality. This is what the vulgar cannot comprehend; and yet there is in the pride of the nobility something which resembles our hereditary religious enthusiasm. Among the great, many sacrifices are made for glory, in order to be worthy of their ancestors, and to bequeath much honour to posterity. Among us, architects of the temple of truth, many sacrifices are made to virtue, in order to continue the edifice of our masters, and to form laborious apprentices. We live by the mind and by the heart in the past, in the future, and in the present, all at once. Our predecessors and our successors are as much us as we ourselves are. We believe in the transmission of life, of sentiments, of generous instincts in souls, as the patricians believe in an excellence of race in their veins. We go still further; we believe in the transmission of the life, of the individuality of the soul, and of the human person. We feel ourselves fatally and providentially called to continue the work we have already dreamed, always pursued, and advanced from age to age among us. There are even some among us who have carried their contemplation of the past and of the future, so far as almost to lose all notion of the present; that is the sublime fever, that is the ecstacy of our believers and our saints; for we have our saints, our prophets, perhaps also our *exaltés* and visionaries; but, whatever be the wandering or sublimity of their transports, we respect their inspiration; and among us Albert, the ecstatic and the *seer*, has found only brothers, full of sympathy for his sorrows, and of admiration for his enthusiasm. We have faith also in the conviction of the Count de Saint Germain, considered an impostor, or deranged in the world: Though his reminiscences of a past inaccessible to human memory have a character more calm, more precise, and inconceivable still than the ecstacies of Albert, they have also a character of good faith and lucidity, at which it is impossible for us to scoff. We count among ourselves many other *exaltés*, mystics, poets, men of the people, philosophers, artists, ardent sectarians, rallied round the banners of various chiefs; Bohemists, Theosophists, Moravians, Hernhutters, Quakers—even Pantheists, Pythagoricians, Xerophagists, Illuminés, Joannites, Templars, Millenarians, Jacobites, &c. All these ancient sects, in spite of their having no longer the development which they possessed at the time of their unfolding, are none the less existing, and even but little modified. The characteristic of our epoch is to reproduce all those forms which the innovating or reforming genius has given by turns in past ages to the religious and philosophical idea. We therefore recruit our adepts in these various groups without requiring an absolute identity of precepts, which is impossible in the time in which we live. It is enough for us to find in them an ardour for destruction in order to call them into our ranks; all our organising science consists in choosing our *builders* only among spirits superior to the disputes of schools, in whom the passion of truth, the thirst of justice, and the instinct of a pure morality prevail over the habits of family and the rivalries of sect. Besides, it is not so difficult as is thought to cause to work together very dissimilar elements; these dissimilarities are more apparent than real. At bottom, all these heretics (it is with respect I use that name) agree upon the principal point, that of destroying intellectual and physical tyranny, or at least of protesting against it. The antagonism which have hitherto retarded the fusion of all these generous and useful resistances come from self-love and from jealousy, vices inherent to the human condition, fatal and inevitable counterpoises to all progress in humanity. By sparing these susceptibilities, by permitting each communion to keep its masters, its institutions, and its rights, we can constitute, if not a society, at least an army; and I have told you we are still only an army marching to the conquest of a promised land, of an ideal society. At the stage in which human nature still is, there are so many shades of character in individuals, so many different degrees in the conception of truth, so many varied aspects, ingenious manifestations of the rich nature which created the human race, that it is absolutely necessary to leave to each the conditions of his life and the elements of his power of action.

"Our work is grand, our task is immense. We wish not only to found an universal empire upon a new order, and upon equitable basis; it is a religion that we wish to reconstruct. We feel, moreover, that the one is impossible without the other. Thus we have two modes of action. One all material, to undermine and cause to crumble

LETTERS FOR WORKING MEN.

No. IX.—Free Trade and the Middle Class.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE STAR OF FREEDOM.

SIR,—I hear some asking, after my last week's onslaught against the 'Free' Traders—'Are we, then, never to ally with them? Is not this pursuing the old Chartist folly of antagonism? And, as the great bulk of the middle class is in some sort, at least the active political portion of it, free trading, is not this a most inexplicable opposition to that class?' The questions are worth putting, and I will be as explicit as possible in my reply. And first let me define what I mean by *Free Traders*, when I speak of them as a class opposed to the people. I, too, am a Free Trader; but not such an one as requires a monopoly of Free Trade for his own advantage. Free Trade, as I understand it, should be *equal opportunity*—to the weakest as well as to the strongest—to the poorest as well as to the wealthiest—to the labourer as well as to the capitalist—in order to obtain a fair price for his merchandise, be it labour, money, or goods, and to purchase what he needs without let of despotism or other dishonesty. Real Free Trade is trade set free from all artificial hindrances: it is, in consequence, *the protection* of the trader—including in that name the labourer, who has only his limbs to traffic with—from all artifice. This is Free Trade; and in the justice and desirability of this I fully believe. But this is not the 'Free' Trade of those whom I call sham Free Traders, who are pretty fairly known as the Manchester School, and whom it seems to me my duty to oppose to the utmost. Their Free Trade means only a transfer of monopoly from the landlords to the money lords. Instead of the landlords having a monopoly of corn-growing, they, the traders, are to have a monopoly of traffic. It is simply a farther carrying out of the law of the strongest—a legalised anarchy. Their freedom never goes down so low as the labourer. He may, indeed, have freedom of purchase, when out of the range of tally-shops and the truck system; but freedom to dispose of his own labour is utterly denied to him. He is the slave of a combination of capitalists; and this monopoly is what passes now-a-days current as Free Trade. It is in this sense that I attack it, and tell the people that Lord Derby and Lord Derby's opponents may well be left to fight that matter out without our interference. And in saying this I do not lose sight of even this sham Free Trade having, to a certain extent, benefited the people. Their bread is cheaper, and as yet there are not statistics of the lowering of wages. But the poor house system remains to help that issue. I do not deny, either, that the corn monopoly was a tremendous wrong (though I think a great deal of rubbish has been talked about taxing the people's food, as if every tax did not resolve itself into that: call the tax what you will, it lessens the number of the poor man's loaves); that the overthrow of that monopoly was inevitable; that the landlords must never have it back again (there is no fear of it); and that this phase of half Free Trade is a necessary step in our progress. But I see, also, that the men who have carried this measure do not mean us to have the complementary half—that, in fact, they are the strongest opponents to the carrying out of the only sound principles of that 'Free Trade' which they make their watchword; but which they would restrict and protect (there is no such staunch Protectionist as your profitmonger), and 'preserve,' and monopolise for their own exclusive benefit. I speak of the mass, very gladly acknowledging many exceptions to the rule. Well, however much the interests, the immediate interests of this party may be opposed to those of the landlord party, still that does not identify them with us. It is not for us to help the one to pull down the other, at the price of the victor being then empowered to have his will of us. The two parties are alike our enemies, and both to be so treated. Here is the answer to the question—*Are we never to ally with them?* As to the old Chartist folly, that was shown much more in the manner than the matter. I always held that it was a wise policy not to help the Anti-Corn Law League, except at price of the suffrage. But the opposition got riotous, and then were afraid to oppose for fear of being thought rioters. It was the rioting that was folly, not the opposition. Had we held out firmly against the League, they would, they must, have sought alliance with us on our own terms. Let us ally with them now; but only on our own terms. Ally with them just as you would with any other enemy, when you can do it honestly and to your own advantage; but never trust in them, nor cherish in any fond conceit of their victory being *necessarily* your gain. Your best gain would be for the two parties to fight Kilkenny-cat-fashion. But the triumph of the one, leaves that one free to turn on you. Let them alone; or, when your way lies together, make the most certain terms; and keep your eyes open while you help. It is, after all, only a question of time. The end is plain enough to be seen. Many years cannot pass, whatever course the masses may take, before the firm of old landed gentlemen—the country party as it is called—the last remains of feudalism, having done its work in the world (let us frankly own that it was often good work), *must* die out, and leave its broad acres and its sceptre to the present heir-presumptive—this sham Free Trader of whom we have been speaking. But the first position of that new royalty will depend somewhat upon the people. If, as they have shown certain tendencies of doing, the people back Free Trade in this last fight, *without pretty strong pledges*—without, indeed, the price down (and that price should be nothing short of Manhood Suffrage, unfettered by radical manœuvres) they will find on the morrow that they have only been ridding the Free Trader of an encumbrance, and setting him free to rule as his lusts may order. Woe to England, woe especially to the English workmen, if Cobden and Co. can be lords of Britain, and the Suffrage not ours, and no people's party prepared to maintain an opposition to the new and vigorous despotism of trade. Bitterly shall we rue the help we give to hasten the advent of the Shopkeepers' Cabinet. Were we prepared, it would be another matter. Had we a strong Democracy, a Republican party, intelligent, organised, and energetic, we might dare to say—'The sooner we begin the sooner we shall end; since the worst must come, let it come soon, and soon pass. Since the world must undergo its dirtiest phase, and history write its darkest chapter, let it be brief. Hasten we the crisis.' Are we prepared for this?—and if not, what madness is it to lend the little strength we have to those against whom there is so much need to husband it. No, these 'Free' Traders are worse enemies than the landlords. Let us not join the old tyrants; let us not join the new ones. To do either seems to me equally unprincipled. There may be policy in a bargain, if we can make it. That is doubtful. But let it be no bargain short of one to which we can better, honestly, and wisely set our hands—the recognition of our right to freedom *as Englishmen*. Answer no catch question of Free Trade or not, of Tory, or Whig, or Radical, of Derby or Cobden,—but ask only, will you acknowledge our right to the suffrage. If *yes*, we care not of what faction you may be: one is at least as trust-worthy as the other. If *no*, then you are against us, and there's an end. Our time for *governing* is yet afar. If, therefore, they would have our aid—either faction to take the reins till such time as we are strong enough to contend it with them, let them make these terms with us for our aid. We stand by the supporters of the People's right to the suffrage. That is the sole point for which we should move, or care to lend a hand in the faction-fight before us. And who says that this is opposition to the middle class? Are there not Tories among the middle class, and some Free Traders, who are not shams, and many others perhaps ready to do us justice, in spite of mistaken political views, which have led them into bad ways without ill intent? To them we are not opposed. Their help we ask. By them we would stand. By all of the middle class which will acknowledge us as brethren, as countrymen, as brother freemen. We do not oppose the middle class; but we oppose that portion of the middle class which would ride roughshod over us,—the sham Free Traders. We oppose these *tyrants under a new name*—this new school of monopolists—to whatever class they belong. And we will not lend ourselves foolishly to a fight between the middle class Free Traders and the Higher-class 'Protectionists,' simply because there are some who taunt us with an inexplicable opposition to the middle class. We would put an end to classes by the recognition of a people—a whole people,—not a dismembered people,—half garrison, half helots. This is all the meaning of what is called our opposition to the middle class.

SPARTACUS.

FINSBURY ELECTION.

A GREAT PUBLIC MEETING OF THE Electors and Non-Electors of the Borough will be held on CLERKENWELL-GREEN, ON MONDAY EVENING, JUNE 21ST, To promote the re-election of

THOMAS SLINGSBY DUNCOMBE,

Who will attend and address the meeting.

Chair to be taken at Six o'Clock precisely.

Men of Finsbury attend and support your old and well-tried representative.

By order of the Committee meeting at the Finsbury Literary Institution,

E. W. LANGSHAW, Chairman.
THOMAS MARTIN WHEELER, Secretary.

TO THE INDEPENDENT ELECTORS OF THE BOROUGH OF NOTTINGHAM.

GENTLEMEN,—In soliciting the honour of your Votes at the next Election, I am bound to give an explicit declaration of my political opinions; and, in so doing I shall endeavour to avoid that disgraceful quibbling and vague generalities so frequently resorted to in Election Addresses. Such, for example, 'As I am for a liberal extension, &c.,' without saying how liberal or how far; 'I am for the gradual reform of abuses in Church and State,' without saying how gradual; or where the abuses are; 'A friend to a sound and religious Education,' meaning nothing and applying whatever you please to imagine.

But with regard to myself, I frankly, and undisguisedly declare that I am for Manhood Suffrage, considering the man even as a mere animal more worthy to be represented than even the Ten-pound House or the Forty-shilling Freehold.

I am for the Ballot, as an expedient to preserve Electors from the intimidation or undue influence of Landlords, Cotton-lords, and Money-mongers.

I am for the Abolition of all Property Qualifications, both in the Elector and the Elected—the former for the grounds already stated, the latter to permit Electors to return whom they please as their Representative.

I am for the Payment of Members, so as to rescue the representation from the hands of the wealthy and privileged Order, and to afford the opportunity for Labour to be represented by honest and intelligent men belonging to its own Order.

I am for the immediate repeal of the Whig Septennial Act, and an advocate for the Annual Election of the Peoples' Representatives, as the only means of enabling constituents to exercise a legitimate controul over the conduct of their Representatives.

I am for Toleration in the most extensive acceptation of the term.

I am for Free Trade in all its ramifications; and in the most comprehensive sense—not a bastard and one-sided Free Trade—but the universal application of the principle, so as to ensure the greatest happiness of the greatest number.

I am for the Reform of all abuses in Church and State, and a general System of State Education, secular, and to a certain extent compulsory.

These are my views, which I submit to the members of a free and enlightened Constituency, who, I trust, are anxious with me for the reformation of the manifold abuses of our political and social systems, the destruction of class privileges, and the establishment of the national happiness and prosperity upon a solid foundation.

I remain, Gentlemen, your faithful servant,

CHARLES SPURGEON, Barrister-at-Law.

15, Abingdon street, Westminster.

TO THE INDEPENDENT ELECTORS OF THE BOROUGH OF SOUTHWARK.

GENTLEMEN,—As a Reformer and one of yourselves, sympathising with the interest and progress of the Industrial Classes, actively engaged in Manufactures and Commerce, and for many years resident in the Borough of Southwark, I beg respectfully to acquaint you that, in compliance with a numerously signed Requisition, I am induced to solicit the honour of your suffrage at the ensuing General Election.

FREE TRADE—CHEAP BREAD.
Extension of the Suffrage.
Equitable Arrangement of Electoral Districts.
The transfer of the right of returning Members of Parliament from decayed or corrupt boroughs to populous constituencies.
The Ballot and Short Parliaments.
No Property Qualification.
Freedom of the Press, Cheap Law, and Speedy Justice.
Probate and Legacy Duty to be charged upon Landed as well as other Property.
Income Tax to be discontinued, or revised, charging an equivalent in Annuity value, according to the number of years purchase, of Profession, Trade, or fixed income.
Customs Reform.
Militia Bill Rescindment.
Free action for Absolute religious Liberty, neither preference or disability on the ground of Religion, that Churchmen, Roman Catholics, and Dissenters of all denominations may enjoy perfect constitutional equality, so that law, which should be for the protection of ALL, may not be used for the persecution or insult of ANY. I therefore stand pledged to vote for the abolition of Maynooth, and all other grants for religious purposes; as well as for the extinction of Canon Law and Ecclesiastical Courts.
No further extension of further Centralisation, but a firm maintenance and expansion of Parochial and Municipal privileges.
Colonial Self Government, &c.
Abolition of Excise Duty on Paper and Soap, and the removal of all Taxation pressing upon Knowledge and Industry.
General Reduction upon all National Expenditure, especially for Pensions and War purposes.

These are Reforms I have long advocated, and shall continue to agitate when suitable occasions may be presented, considering them to be based upon great principles of Civil and Religious Liberty.

Southwark has long contributed to increase largely the revenue of the City of London by a tax upon the immense consumption of Coals of her Householders and Manufacturers, without receiving a fair return from the City funds, for the construction of New Roads or Streets, nor for Sanatory Improvements, nor for the introduction into the Borough of Southwark, of independent municipal rights of self-government, to acquire which the untiring and energetic zeal of your Representatives may be required in the New Parliament.

In the event of my being elected an exponent of the Liberal opinions of the Inhabitants and Electors of Southwark, having now leisure for the execution of so responsible and sacred a trust, you may rest assured that neither zeal, in egrity, nor energy shall be wanting to merit your approbation. Being so intimately acquainted with your Local interests, and the Public opinion of the Borough, and believing it to be the desire of the majority of the Electors to give the preference to Residential Candidates, I respectfully solicit the distinguished honour of being returned one of the Representatives to the Commons House of Parliament for the Ancient and Independent Borough of Southwark.

I have the honour to remain, your most obedient Servant,

ASHLEY PELLATT.

Holland-street, Southwark, May 26th, 1852.

LITERARY INSTITUTION, JOHN STREET, FITZROY SQUARE.

The Friends of the above institution, are respectfully informed that a

RURAL EXCURSION TO EPPING FOREST

By the Eastern Counties Railway, will take place on

SUNDAY, JUNE 27TH, 1852,

in aid of the Fund now raising for the REPAIR AND DECORATION OF THE INSTITUTION. Mr. Robinson, landlord of the 'Eagle and Child,' Forest Gate, has engaged to provide for a TEA PARTY ON THE LAWN, and for the accommodation of Dinner and Pic-nic Parties. Tickets for the Excursion, there and back, including Tea 1s. 6d. each. Children between the ages of Three and Ten, 1s. each.

The Excursion Train will leave the Bishopsgate Station at a quarter past ten precisely, but the friends are particularly requested to arrive by ten at the latest, and also that they will also procure their Tickets on or before Friday, June 25th, to afford time for the necessary arrangements.

Omnibuses, by way of Charing-cross and Fleet-street, and Oxford-street and Holborn, leave Griffin's Green Man and Still, Oxford-street, and the Conveyance Company's Office, Paddington, one hour before the departure of the train, calling at the Gloucester Coffee House, and Boar and Castle, Oxford-street; George and Blue Boar, Holborn; Universal Office and Bull and Mouth, Regent-circus; Golden Cross, Charing-cross. Omnibuses also run from Paddington along the New-road, Islington, and City-road, one hour before the departure of the trains, and likewise meet the return train.

TOWER HAMLETS ELECTION.

A PUBLIC MEETING of the Electors and Non-Electors of the Tower Hamlets will take place on Monday June 21st, on Bonner's Fields, when Mr. W. Newton will attend and address the meeting. Chair to be taken at Six o'Clock.

By order of the Committee,

WM. DAVIS, Chairman.

To Correspondents.

TOWER HAMLETS ELECTION.—We are informed that a great public meeting, in support of Mr. Wm. Newton, the Working Men's Candidate for the representation of this borough, will be held in Bonner's Fields, on Monday next, at six o'clock in the evening. Mr. Newton will attend and address the assembly. Democrats and working men, rally in your strength, and testify by your numbers, your union, and your suffrages, that Newton is the man of your choice, and must, and shall, be elected for the Tower Hamlets.

FINSBURY ELECTION.—From an advertisement which appears in our columns, it will be seen, that a meeting of the electors and non-electors of this borough will be held on Clerkenwell Green, on Monday next, at six o'clock precisely, to promote the re-election of Thomas Slingsby Duncombe. Democrats and Working Men of Finsbury! Mr. Duncombe's long tried fidelity to the cause of Justice and Right, political and social, claims for him your hearty support. He is threatened with the opposition of shams and shoy-boys. Gather to his support. Rally, rally, rally!

THE METROPOLITAN ELECTIONS.—An article on the several candidates for the representation of the metropolis, we are compelled to postpone till next week. In the meantime, we solicit information respecting the new candidates (we know the old ones). Mr Harvey, Lambeth (of whom we have already some interesting notes. We should be glad to have some more); Alderman Challis, Mr. Wyld, and Mr. Gardiner, Finsbury; Ayrton and Butler, Tower Hamlets; Pellatt, Southwark; Shelly and Maidstone, Westminster.

☞ The following articles and communications are unavoidably postponed till next week:—'United Trade's Report'—'Letter of Citizen Nadaud'—'Miner's Meeting at Seaton Delaval,—'J. Pearcy's Letter'—'George White's Letter on Free Trade'—'J. Taylor, Birkenhead'—'Yarmouth Democrats'—'Lancaster Address'—'A Carlisle Chartist'—'A. Dalstonian, Cumberland.'

The case of the Fellowship Porters will have our attention.

R. SNELUS.—We will communicate with the refugees.

A. ROBINSON, Wilsden.—Many thanks. We will write.

C. SEAGRAVE, Farnham.—We will communicate with Mr. Ryder.

MONIES FOR THE REFUGEES.—G. W. M. Reynolds, Esq., £1 1s—J. Smith, Whitechurch, 1s—Mr. Barham, per E. Reynolds, Esq., 1s.

☞ All Agents willing to exhibit Bills of Contents, will please to send their addresses to the 'Star of Freedom' Office, 183, Fleet-street, London.

☞ Sums under 5s. may be sent in postage stamps. Money orders must be made payable to John Bezer, Money Order Office, Strand.

THE STAR OF FREEDOM.

SATURDAY, JUNE 19, 1852.

OURSELVES ALONE.

'GOD HELPS THOSE WHO HELP THEMSELVES,' is a sublime old truism, and if the working classes of this country had banded themselves together to help each other, instead of trusting to the leadership of aristocracies of Land and Money, they might, ere this, have been the masters of their own Labour and Productions, and England have been happy and free. Trust yourselves! If the heart of the people did but respond to that noble resolve, how soon we might work out the emancipation of Labour from the thousand tyrannies that surround it, and end at once and for ever its long and murderous martyrdom. How much more suffering and tribulation—how many more terrible lessons will be necessary to ripen the masses into the knowledge that their deliverance rests absolutely with themselves, and that it is themselves alone who can achieve their triumph? Its of no use looking any longer for assistance at the hands of such a miserable mockery of a Government as ours, those who preach any such means of redemption, do but deal in delusion. It is impossible that our Government should assist the Working Classes. It is composed of men who live by the present system, and who exist by the facilities which this system affords them for plundering the poor; to destroy this system, then, would be their own self-annihilation. A Government properly constituted, would be the head of the State, as the father is of the family. And as the father has a special regard to the protection and well-being of the weakest and tenderest member, so would the State fling its arm of safety around the Labour interest, if crushed and oppressed by the tyranny of other interests. But our Government is not thus happily constituted. It is a cruel and heartless step-mother to the children of Labour, and wastes their hard earnings, the price of their sweat and groans, toil and travail and tears, in debauched dalliance with the progeny of Capital, whom it nurtures to rank luxuriance in princely palaces, and fattens their rotten carcases upon the fruits of the world, whilst it drives the poor creators of all this plenty from the feast of their own creation, and sends them empty away from the bounteous banquet of life. There is no help to be derived from such a government; we must win our freedom by *Ourselves Alone*. If any one needed to be convinced of this, let him turn to the debate on Mr. SLANEY'S motion, for a commission to consider, suggest, and report measures to benefit the social condition of the Working Classes, on Friday, June IIth, let them consider its reception in that den of thieves, and the arguments and replies that were given to MR. SLANEY. He was met with continual cries of 'Divide;' and the man who has pleaded the cause of Labour the most gallantly, and with the bravest persistence, could scarcely obtain a hearing from the miserable crew of Shams, and Rogues, and Misrepresentatives, who were eager to shut their ears to the voice of Truth, and hurry off to glut their gluttony, and consume at a meal more than they earn in a lifetime, or to melt down the marrow of what manhood is left to them, and squander the plunder of the poor, with their pimps and parasites, and courtezans, behind the curtains of their grand brothels, saloons, and hells. Well may Mr. SLANEY wish to retire from such a scene; the thanks and blessings of the workers be with him for what he has done. And God forgive—for we never will—the ribald wretches who hounded him down and mocked and spurned your dearest interests.

Mr. WALPOLE in reply, stated that—

If there was one thing which had struck him since he had had the honour of a seat in parliament, it was the fact that the condition of the working classes and their improvement by means of education or other legislative measures for their benefit, met with more serious attention in the house, than any measures proposed for the interest of those who were represented in the house.

Is not that sublime? Worthy of the hypocrite whose name he bears. This is equal in audacity to the assertion of Lord JOHN RUSSELL, who affirmed that the aristocracy was beloved by the people, and had a firm hold upon their affections. A FIRM HOLD quotha? Aye, my lord, for their teeth are in our hearts with the grip of bloodhounds. A 'serious attention' Mr. WALPOLE? You are right, they have had a grim serious attention. No means have been neglected to work their injury, no one thing has been done for their benefit. Let our friends, the Co-operators, lay these things to heart, and not waste precious time and energies in a futile hoping against hope, for they will get nothing from the hands of these men, therefore, let them not put their trust in them. OURSELVES ALONE, let this be our motto, and if we were but united, and comprehended Our vital interests, we are strong enough to carry our own against all other interests,—aye, against all the world! The power to win our freedom, and establish our own supremacy, is in our own hands; but, then it lies on the combined exertions of the whole of the masses—working all for each, and each for all. No isolated endeavour, no fragmentary action, can ever accomplish this change—it is the might of numbers that we need to work the necessary political change. And the working classes have many a stern admonition of the immediate necessity of this unity and combination, if they will but read the significant signs of the times. Day by day is tyranny of one kind or other encroaching upon them and destroying, one by one, the last strongholds of Labour's liberties. Strike after strike of trade upon trade, is rendered abortive, and leaves the men in deeper degradation and misery. Darkness and despair loom up around us, blotting out all hope from the sky of our future. Decay, Starvation, and Ruin, encircle us round nearer and nearer. We are like that criminal who was shut up in a dungeon the walls of which became every day narrower and narrower, till they at last crushed him,—or like the companions of ULYSSES in the cave of POLYPHEMOUS, it is only a scramble with us for the chance of being devoured last. Friends and brothers fall at our side to-day, and our turn comes to-morrow. Our poorest brethren, and the poorest trades, fall first; the better-paid follow after—their destruction is none the less certain because they have a little longer grace. The hungry monster is only whetting its appetite with the tortures of its victims previous to eating them up. And it is only by a grand united struggle of the whole people that we can burst the tyranny of this murderous system, and break from these surrounding evil circumstances, which has to be accomplished for, and by, OURSELVES ALONE.

EUROPE AND ASIA THE COSSACKS PREY. AMERICA TO THE RESCUE!

Europe is already almost entirely Cossack, and will soon be wholly so, if the friends of freedom throughout the world do not unite and give battle to the tyrants. Bound and powerless, trampled beneath the iron hoof of military despotism, the nations of the European continent are impotent, and have no means of uniting—no means of renewing the struggle for Republican freedom. The noblest and last of their patriots have perished on the scaffold, or have been slaughtered in their dungeons. They who possess the confidence of the peoples, and who might be capable of leading them in a new struggle for liberty, are in prison or in exile.

Europe is at the feet of Russia; yet, however necessary to Russia may be the enslavement of the peoples of the west, even that is but a means to the great end she has in view. That end is the possession of Asia.

We cannot but desire to see the east inundated by a fresh stream of vigorous life from the west. We cannot but desire to see Asia, the birth-place of civilization and mental greatness, again peopled with vigorous and progressing men, instead of the emasculated races who have possession of it now, who have no real life, and who have long ceased to labour in the cause of human progress.

The Russians are a fresh and undeveloped people; they are barbarous and possessed of a great amount of physical strength—qualities which fit them above all others for the work of destruction and conquest. It is not surprising, therefore, that the man who can wield this mighty human power, should entertain the hopes of seizing upon the sunny lands of Asia, and labour incessantly to prepare the way for the time when he may launch his Cossack hordes upon the long-coveted east.

But is it the interest of humanity that Asia be re-invigorated by the barbarous serfs of the CZAR? It is true such a result would in time destroy the imperial despotism. The empire would then be too vast, however barbarous its inhabitants might be, to remain long subject to the will of one man; while, on the other hand, the possession of the rich territories of the East would soften the harshness of their nature, and develope their intellectual powers. But until the awakening would be a long night of barbarism for humanity, as dark and degrading as that which followed the fall of Rome.

Such need not be. The East may be again civilised and invigorated by others than the Muscovites—by nations that would carry there new life and soul, without ignorance and slavery. That might be the work of the great American Republic, and of our own nation, which alone in Europe has the power to do so if she will.

The only means by which Europe and Asia can be made free is by the destruction of the Russian power, which is the incarnation of the despotism of the world. All circumstances combine to point out America as the natural leader of Republicanism and freedom, and consequently the natural enemy of Russia. Between these principles of absolutism and liberty there will be a continued struggle, until one of them be universally triumphant.

America must then intervene in Europe in favour of the principles she represents, or she will have at last to combat her deadly enemy upon her own soil.

She must speedily choose, or the last sparks of liberty will be trampled out in Europe. But she has already chosen. The cheers with which KOSSUTH is greeted sound the knell of European tyranny.

It is the mission of KOSSUTH to remind the American people of their duties towards Humanity—duties so long forgotten, or neglected, or wrapped up in an obsolete policy, suitable for America in her infancy, but not for the giant Republic of our own days.

Well has KOSSUTH fulfilled his mission, and nobly have the American people responded to his appeal. They have recognised in the large-hearted and eloquent Hungarian exile the representative of the suffering nations of Europe, whose freedom it is both the duty and the interest of America to protect.

Let us prepare to unite with our American brethren to do battle for the cause of Freedom, and for the overthrow of that abominable system of despotism, which is torturing and debasing the European people.

THE VOICE OF THE WEST RIDING.

It had not been our intention to expend more words upon the promoters of the Manchester abortion, as we have already with sufficient clearness, stated the real facts of the case. However, we have been induced to depart from our determination in order to draw public attention to the Delegate meeting of the West Riding of Yorkshire, at Bradford, on Sunday last.

We cannot but consider as very important the judgment of the Chartists of the West Riding. In no other place in Great Britain, have there been so many steadfast and unvarying labourers for the Democratic cause as there. On the present occasion there was an unusually large attendance of Delegates, showing the unalterable determination of the men of Yorkshire to preserve the reputation they have acquired of having been from the commencement of the Chartist agitation the steadfast adherents of principle, and the determined enemies of usurpation; and to vindicate the principles of Democracy, against those who would set up a dictatorship in its name.

Unlike the 'Delegates' who have been sent to Metropolitan Delegate Councils—mushroom localities—some them or four men, already belonging to a locality constituting themselves a new one, and deputing two of three as their 'Delegates'—the printers and 'printer's devils' of certain parties, converted into Chartists for a week and represented by their master—localities which we know, from good authority, to have been dissolved before a week's existence—those of the West Riding really represent old localities of thinking and earnest Chartists.

The Delegates found that the men against whose unwarrantable conduct they had assembled to protest were every way deserving of their scorn and indignation. Those men, calling themselves Democrats, while they bring shame upon the cause they profess to advocate, had the sublime impudence to denounce Socialists, Republicans, and Free-thinkers, and, indeed, every man who was not content to shout in the train of the would-be dictator.

Such presumptuous intolerance render natural enough, much of their further conduct which would otherwise be almost incredible. Some of the party in favour of the Manchester farce, actually brought to the meeting a band of bullies and ruffians, for the purpose of coercing the meeting into supporting their factious chief and his lawless proceedings. Some of them even boasted of their brutality, saying that they had brought a force to put down their opponents.

Failing in obtaining their object by threats of personal violence, they next tried to prevent the progress of the proceedings, and attempted to have the meeting adjourned for a week, so that they might be able get up a number of mushroom localities like those above mentioned, and thereby swamp the real representatives of the Chartists. In this they also failed.

The prime orginator of all this mischief was present nominally in the character of a reporter, but in reality, in order, if possible, to deceive and lead away, by his sophistry and clap-trap, those who were not deep-sighted enough to perceive his real character. Enraged at being taunted with taking a report only of the things said in favour of the course he has pursued, and not of anything against that course, he said he would take reports to suit himself, a confession which is not likely to add to his admirers as a journalist or a politician.

The proceedings at Bradford on Sunday are significant of the ultimate fate of all who have recourse to treachery and deceit. No where throughout the whole country was the person we allude to more popular sometime since than there. Yet all the tactics of himself and accompanying gang of bravoes could not prevent the delegate meeting putting their seal of condemnation upon the anti-Democratic proceedings of the factious clique. Although prevented passing a resolution in due form, the delegates did not separate without putting their names, and the names of the places they represented, to a resolution repudiating *in toto* the Manchester 'Conference' as a vile attempt to establish a dictatorship in the name of Democracy.

For their noble vindication of Democratic principles the thanks of every Chartist, and every lover of honour and honesty, are due to the men of the West Riding, and to their Chairman, whose talented advocacy of Chartism, and unwearing exertions in the People's Cause, have gained for him the respect of the working men of Leeds and of the whole country.

SUPPRESSION OF PUBLIC LIBERTY.

On Monday, the 14th inst., a public meeting was called in Bonner's Fields, Victoria Park, to appoint a deputation to wait upon the Home Secretary to obtain the cancelling of the police order, forbidding public lectures, sermons, and discussions in the fields on Sundays. In spite of the rain, which fell heavily, a hundred or so of persons were on the ground, evincing a determination to maintain their rights, which is not often displayed at the sacrifice of so much personal comfort. These adjourned to the Literary Institution, Morpeth-street, where

Mr. FRANK CURZON took the chair, who, in an excellent address, gave the audience credit for being there, in spite of the unpropitious weather.

Mr. SAVAGE moved—"That the public meeting be adjourned, and that it be left to the Committee to determine when it should be held." Mr. S. spoke in support of the motion, and read a petition that he intended to present to the House of Commons.

Mr. C. F. NICHOLLS seconded the motion. During his remarks he said—"They had been told by the police that the discussion had been put down because they disturbed the inhabitants. The Home Secretary, in reply to questions put to him in the house, had said—'it was because of the immorality, obscenity, and blasphemy taught there.'" Mr. N. said—"That if you interrogate two rogues who had done a bad deed, neither intending to speak the truth, different replies would be given, which would be sure to expose the falsehood of both. As for the blasphemy, that was another affair, and if right hon. gentlemen looked back a few hundred years, they would find men blaspheming against the gods and idols of the Heathen, for which they took credit now. If they did so, they perhaps might blush at stigmatising the outspoken but earnest convictions of opponents as blasphemy."

Mr. Palmer, Mr. Finlin, and Mr. Binny also addressed the meeting, which then adjourned, after subscribing for payment of expenses.

The Committee met afterwards and determined to call another public meeting on that day fortnight, at five o'clock. All the candidates for the Tower Hamlets will be invited to attend.

NOTTINGHAM ELECTION.

On Wednesday evening a public meeting was held in the Exchange-hall for the purpose of hearing an address from Mr. Charles Sturgeon, "the Democratic candidate" for the suffrages of the electors. Mr. Sturgeon addressed the meeting at considerable length. He was much applauded. After the candidate had been put through a good deal of questioning, a resolution, pledging the meeting to use its influence to secure his election was carried with only four dissentients. Just as the proposition was being carried, and before the chairman had declared it to be adopted, there was much pressure from the back to the front of the platform, which caused it to wriggle forward and drop to the level of the floor gradually with a tremendous crash. The people in the body of the hall saw it coming, and retreated as hastily as possible out of its reach, while those upon it fell with the wreck, and were for some time struggling in a heap before all were extricated. Profound silence prevailed for two or three minutes, until the fright naturally occasioned had passed away, and the *debris* being examined nobody was found crushed underneath; then, no particular damage being incurred by any one, the meeting raised a loud cheer, and shortly afterwards separated—just at ten o'clock.

ARE THE RIGHTS OF LABOUR 'SETTLED?'

TO THE EDITOR OF THE STAR OF FREEDOM.

SIR,—The mind of England is full of errors and delusions. At every step and turn errors and delusions meet us in the face. If the mistakes of the multitude were of a purely theological character—grievous as might even then be their results—they would not be so fatal as grave and fundamental errors on all that relates to the supply of the material wants of life. The relations between the material and spiritual parts of man's nature have long been subjects of discussion, and are destined to be discussed for ages to come; one fact is conceded, and will not be disputed by thinking men of any party, whether that party be religious or political—namely, that the material wants of man demand immediate attention.

The great delusion which we are about to examine bears directly on man's material wants, and affects the interests of those whose only property is their labour, more directly and more intimately than those of any other class. The delusion to which we refer is the industriously circulated, and perseveringly propagated, assertion, that 'the Rights of Labour are settled;' and that, too, on a scientific basis. We ask for the proof in support of such assumption. We are answered, 'That to buy in the cheapest market, and sell in the dearest,' is the highest law of commerce; and that therein is contained the whole settlement of Labour and its Rights, property and its duties, commerce in all its relations. The phrase, 'Buy in the cheapest market, and sell in the dearest,' is an interpretation of a proposition contained in Smith's 'Wealth of Nations.' As Smith's proposition is explicit and full, and contains the whole economical doctrine of *laissez faire laissez aller*, or 'Let all things alone,' and as on it is based the modern economical practices of the age, we will quote it in full. 'Wealth of Nations,' Book iv., chapter I.:—'Every individual is continually exerting himself to find out the most advantageous employment for whatever Capital he can command. It is his own advantage, indeed, and not that of the society he has in view; but the study of his own advantage, naturally, or rather, necessarily, leads him to prefer that employment which is most advantageous to the society.' If that proposition were indeed true, then would the whole question of 'Labour and its Rights, property and duties, commerce in all its relations,' be 'settled.' That is the only proposition on which the 'Manchester Economists' rest their assertion of the question being 'settled.' We will try the proposition first, as regards land. The landowners of Ireland employed 'whatever Capital' they could command in the way their own interests directed; they turned their tenantry adrift, 'ejectments' being common; they spent the rentals of their estates, not in, but out of Ireland, 'Absenteeism' being common; they avoided a direct and unbroken connexion between themselves and their tenantry, 'Middlemanism' being common. In all this they acted as they supposed for their 'own advantage.' Had Adam Smith's proposition been by nature and necessity invariably true, the Irish landowners, in exerting themselves to find out what in their judgment was for their 'own advantage,' would have pursued the course that was most advantageous to the society of which they were members; their Capital was in Ireland, the fruits of their acts are also in Ireland; and where is the man that, judging the tree by its fruits, will, with Ireland staring him in the face, assert that Adam Smith's proposition, quoted above, is without qualification—anything else than a mere assumption?

We will try Adam Smith's proposition as regards the employment of Capital in manufactures. The millowners of England used whatever Capital they could command in the way which, to them, appeared to be most advantageous in so doing; they scorned all restraint, enjoyed the freest use of their Capital, ran their factories sixteen or twenty hours out of the twenty-four, increased their own gains, and increased the deaths among their 'hands,' sunk an unlettered, but not vicious, population, to the lowest depths of physical, moral, and social degradation, in the pursuit of their 'own advantage;' they enriched themselves, and impoverished 'the society' of which they were the heads. Who, with the reports of the factory commissioners before him, would assert that Adam Smith's proposition, as stated by its author, and reduced to practice by his disciples, is not a mistake?

Yet, on the assumption of Adam Smith, did the owners of factories oppose all factory legislation; their leading representatives, Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright, consistently opposing legislative interference to the last. When the London bakers, two years ago, asked for the abolition of night work in the bakehouses of the metropolis, Mr. Bright, taking his stand on the proposition quoted from the 'Wealth of Nations,' mocked their complaints, and approving commoners sneered at the motion of Lord Robert Grosvenor, made on behalf of the poor bakers out of doors.

We will now examine Adam Smith's proposition as regards labour—the property of the working man. Every observing working man knows that much of his time is occupied in preventing the less thoughtful of his fellow men from using their Capital—Labour—in the way which to them seems 'most advantageous.' Why so many complaints against 'overtime' and 'piecework?' If every working man, in following the course palpably marked out to him by self-interest, also follows the course which to all his fellow men is 'most advantageous,' such working men as complain of 'overtime' and 'piecework,' are guilty of a fatal error. All 'Trade Unions' and 'Amalgamated Societies' are evils, and ought to be dispensed with. Every working man knows that 'piecework' is a serious and growing evil, in so far as it induces the workman to overreach his natural and ordinary habits of work; the unjust employer profiting therefrom, by making the earnings of the most expert workman the standard by which to measure the earnings of all. If Adam Smith's proposition were true no such evils could exist; each would work as he pleased, and all would profit thereby.

That the disciples of Adam Smith so understand his proposition no one can doubt; they invariably cry down Trades Unions as 'evils,' Boards of Trade as 'unjustifiable interferences with the employment of Capital,' oppose by every means in their power the movements of the working men in defence of their earnings, say 'each should be free to make what bargain he pleases;' and during the recent movement of the 'Amalgamated Engineers,' through the columns of the press the disciples of Smith used arguments built upon Smith's proposition, with fatal effect, against the associated workmen. In all that the Free Trade economists are consistent, they accept a doctrine, and desire to rigorously reduce it to practice.

If we inquire into the practices of trade, we hear of adulterationss and frauds, each shopkeeper uses 'whatever Capital he can command for his 'own advantage;' but who, with the exposures recently made in the pages of the 'Lancet,' of the fraudulent, dishonest, and dangerous practices of the majority of shopkeepers, would affirm that each shopkeeper, in looking to his 'own advantage,' also cares for the 'advantage' of his customer.

A capitalist owns a factory; he employs five hundred persons; he establishes a provision and clothing mart; pays his workpeople in flour, sugar, soap, candles, flannels, &c., &c.; the goods he professes to sell are of inferior quality; he charges for them a high price; he is enriched thereby;—illegally, immorally, and unjustly enriched; but enriched withal in strict keeping with the proposition of Adam Smith, quoted in this letter, and which is said to contain a final 'settlement' of the claims and conditions of Labour, Capital, and Exchanges.

The popular doctrine of 'buy in the cheapest market, and sell in the dearest,' is for working men the very worst doctrines ever inculcated. A working man must always do a day's work before he gets a day's wages; he sells his labour to his employer; if he sells it cheap, he must be poor; except he sells it cheap, his employer cannot buy it cheap. Labour, as an active power, is the foundation of all property, and, therefore, of all traffic; and, as the act of labouring precedes the products of labour, the labourer is the first seller, and no one says that to sell labour cheap is advantageous to the labourer; but, except the labourer sells cheap, the buyer of labour cannot buy cheap. What are the facts?—they are these:—in every branch of industry in which unrestricted competition is carried to a great extent—buying in the cheapest market is most complete; in such branches of industry wages are lowest, and the labourers

between high wages all round, and low wages all round, is just the proportionate difference caused by high wages between what they produce, and the share of that produce which falls to their own lot to consume. If wages were raised all round, each shoemaker would pay a higher price for his hat, and each hatter a higher price for his shoes, and so on; but as each produces more in value than he consumes, and, therefore, sells more than he buys, each would have a balance on the favourable side; and all who do not labour, would share less of the produce of labour among them. All attempts to raise the value of labour is cried down as a 'conspiracy against consumers.' Those who raise that cry keep carefully out of sight the fact that all producers are also consumers; but all consumers are not producers. What is required in society is neither excessive dearness, nor excessive cheapness, but the medium,—*distributory abundance*; a result which can never be brought about by 'buying in the cheapest market, and selling in the dearest.' And the more that the doctrine of the 'Manchester men,' who have made it a rule to quote only such portions of the writings of Smith as suit their own ends, are examined into, the more evident will our view of their system become.

Adam Smith never entertained the opinion that any proposition in the 'Wealth of Nations' would be turned to a purely party account, and made the staple delusion of a nation. Every careful reader of his works knows that his reasonings in favour of Home Trade in preference to Foreign Trade; and his remarks on the Navigation Laws are opposed to the one proposition of the 'Manchester men.' Adam Smith is far from being an axiomatic author; he was a great and a useful thinker, a pleasant though loose writer. In the proposition on which we have commented, he conveyed to governments an important lesson, teaching them not to unnecessarily interfere with the acts of subjects; he found capitalists in many cases trammelled by interferences which had been retained after society had, in his judgment, outgrown their limits; he desired that laws should change to suit the wants of man, but he never dreamed of finding any sentence of his, picked from its context, and exhibited as a 'settlement' of the rights of Labour, Capital, and Exchanges. In almost every section of his book, he warns legislators, statesmen, and simple citizens, to guard against the monopolising spirit of merchants and manufacturers; an examination of the history of commerce impressed him with the necessity for such warnings; they were made in sincerity, and were never more needed than now. Merchants and manufacturers, with honourable exceptions, have leagued together to popularise a delusion, a fraud upon the people, and through the people on the legislature. Such men have resolved to cling to one dogma—and one dogma only, and on a gratuitous assumption of its truth 'naturally and necessarily,' they are prepared to leave the weak at the mercy of the strong, and the simple at the mercy of the cunning.

Such working men as may read this letter will do well to be on their guard against a 'settlement' to which they have not been originally consenting parties. We, on their behalf, desire to have a 'settlement' of a more comprehensive character than is to be found in the phrase 'buy cheap and sell dear.' It is necessary, first, to unsettle such 'settlement;' that once done, the whole matter will be open for investigation. It will then be found that the 'Manchester men' with Mr. Cobden at their head, have been somewhat hasty in their assertion, that 'Adam Smith and others,' had, in so summary a manner, 'settled' the whole question of Labour, Capital and Exchanges.

GRACCHUS.

MEN AND PRINCIPLES.

Mr. EDITOR,—It has certainly fallen to our precious lot to live under the reign of Humbug. I do not suppose the modern world could go on for a day—it would stand still on its axis but for the grease of Humbug. The man who does not believe in Humbug is voted an ass by the men who are wise in this generation of Humbug. If I do not humbug my neighbour and fleece him, some one else will,—and why not I?—I am humbugged, every body is humbugged. That is its exquisite philosophy; and I verily believe that one-half of the world would reject life as a squeezed orange, while the other half would spurn it as a sour apple, but for the delicious oil and nectar of Humbug. People like to be humbugged; there can be no mistake about that. There is nothing half so successful as Humbug! It lolls in luxury, reeks with riches, and its lips drop fatness, while poor Truth is driven out of our midst, and made to house with those grim companions—Hunger and Cold. Humbug is the Proteus of the nineteenth century, and has its countless manifestations. People go to the mart to be humbugged; they could not trade at all with plain, honest dealing,—they go to cheat and to be cheated. People go to church to be humbugged. They have engaged the preacher especially to humbug them. Woe to that man who shall disturb their devotions at the shrine of Mammon, by giving them any uncomfortable qualms of conscience! No reference to their darling deceits and bosom sins, he must pitch into the Scribes and Pharisees and such like miserable sinners, who have been dead these eighteen centuries, and who have no living relatives who could possibly feel wounded by hearing them denounced and damned. The Government is a Humbug! The Priesthood is a Humbug! Trade is a Humbug! Demagoguism is a Humbug;—but the world is not going to give up its cherished delusions for all that! A friend of mine has made a reputation for wisdom, something beyond that of Plato, simply by the way in which he wears his spectacles—they look so wise! While fellows with just enough sense to raise themselves from the insignificance of dunce-hood to the dignity of bores, are looked up to as Tritons among minnows, and make their fortunes with their talismanic utterance of an 'ahem.' Such is the almighty power of Humbug. But, as there are some fish in every stream that swim against the current, so are there some men who, from the necessities of their nature, oppose the current of things as the world goes. I am one of these, and do not believe in Humbug. I am not one of the herd who fall down and worship everything that is uppermost, and I will not cry 'Long live Humbug.' As I have said, it has countless manifestations, but, I have noted few more mephistophelian and mendacious than one or two which have come under my notice of late. One of these consists of the canting, hypocritical cry which has been raised against what has been amusingly termed the 'personalities' of the 'Star of Freedom' Humbug! What, if I am stabbed in the dark, am I to remain silent and satisfied, when told that nobody saw the blow dealt? If I see thieves breaking into the house opposite, am I to raise no alarm, for fear it should break the slumbers of my neighbour? If I know a man to be a sharper and a rogue, and see him picking the pockets of the people, and fleecing them, under false pretences, am I to make no mention of it because it may be accounted personal? If I see Trickery gulling simple, ignorant people, like those boys who say to their unsophisticated dupes, 'open your mouth and shut your eyes, and see what God will send you,' and then dab in a lump of dirt instead of the expected plum, am I not to cry shame upon the rascality because it may be 'personal?' If I see Vice masquerading in the stolen garb of Virtue, am I to refrain from raising the mask from her horrible features, for fear of personality? Are we to permit any miserable vindictive man, who may be such an egotist that he preys on his own heart, and eats his own excrements, and who, toad-like, spits his malice and spleen upon the waters of Freedom, so that the people shall not drink; or, like a toothless, broken-winded bull dog, lies in the way, and makes amends for his dilapidated toothlessness, by the ferocity of his howling, and frightens the travellers on the Democratic road? Are we to permit this, I say, and not denounce it, because it is 'personal?' Surely this is the acme of Humbug, which can no further go! We might as well throw the same protecting shield around the devil-hearted dog Nicholas of Russia, and Bonaparte, the burglar on a national scale, and that sleek young dabbler in blood, the Austrian Tyrant, including butcher Haynau, the hoary old murderer Radetzky, Bomba, Ward, and other worthies in the same sacred band, and lay the finger on the lip of Silence, lest by naming them we should be denounced as dealers in 'Personality!' Another shape which Humbug has taken in these things, will be found in a doctrine laid down the other day, by an assumed exponent of Democracy—'Do not look to men, look to principles! No matter what a man may be, so long as he advocates our principles.' What a startlingly novel moral code for Democracy! In every way worthy of that beastly brothel, the court of Charles the second; a most appropriate toast for the ruffianhood of brigands and courtesans that hold their saturnalia at Bonaparte's Elysian revels! In what a beautiful spirit of Equality and Fraternity it opens the arms of welcome, and offers the embrace of affection to all Rogues and Shams, Tricksters and Charlatans, Hypocrites, and Traitors whatsoever, if they will but advocate our principles! So, it matters nothing if a man reckon up in his own single life the sum total of vice and villany! He may be the rottenest reprobate, the most degraded drunkard, the vilest slave of sensuality—he may have deceived and cheated all who have put faith in him—he may be bankrupt of all credit and conscience—he may have robbed the poor of the earnings coined from their blood and tears—he may have violated he dearest and nearest ties of life—he may have written that which shall circulate like poison in the veins of the nation, and blighted the young and noble life of Humanity, and he may be the Procurer for Hell who weaves the lewdest sorceries to enchant the people and render them an easy prey for Death and Damnation of Body and Soul! And for all this we are to receive him as one of us if he advocates, or pretends to advocate, our principles! Oh! but this is too terrible, and too mournfully sad for jest! All this has been done, and is still done under the garb of Democracy, and it could not grow and flourish under such a curse. But what sublime audacity for any Impostor to look upon this withering curse and say it is good, give it benison, and consecrate it! The impious words of the Parisian Arch-Bishop in blessing the red-handed myrmidons of Napoleon the Little, were hallowed and holy in comparison. Spurn such a doctrine to hell, all ye who love Democracy. It is to the men and to the lives they live, that we have to look; if they be not pure and noble, their advocacy is not worth an anathema. This enunciation was a fitting manifesto of principles to usher in the man who, we are credibly informed, delighted to boast of his debaucheries when he lay in gaol, and would lie and tell his fellow-prisoners how he had seduced the wives of Chartists, notably one, who had given him a month's food and shelter when he was hiding away from the grip of the Law, gloating and glorying in his shame! Democracy spurns the advocacy of such miserable wretches. It needs a divine man to utter anything divine; it requires a good man to champion a good cause. A bad man, though never such an hypocrite and accomplished Sham, must damage and do harm. His advocacy is sure to be fatal in the long run; he blights all he puts his hand to, and utter damnation oozes from a thousand pores. The Slave, the Sensualist, and the Coward, cannot be good Democrats. Men cannot be Democrats unless they live their principles in their lives, which should be grand and God-like. They who cherish our principles should keep them unsullied as the heart's first love, and amid the worst surrounding circumstances they should treasure some corner of the heart as a temple of the beautiful, fit to enshrine them in. How can we decry the vices and crimes of a bloated lecherous aristocracy, while we tolerate the like shame amongst ourselves? How can we cry out against other tyrannies, if we are to bend to this tyranny of mendacity and ignorance sought to be imposed upon us, the filtered sediment of all other tryaunies? No, no, my friends, if we know a man to be a knave, a liar, and vice-ridden, though he be zealous as an apostle in our cause, let us scout him, for he is none of us, and do not let us bring down the odium and obloquy of a mocking world on our holy Cause, by permitting such an one to represent it. This cause of Democracy in which we battle to-day reckons among its exponents and champions the pure and large-hearted Nazarene, who died thorn-crowned on Calvary, and whose dying smile has lit the gloom of eighteen centuries, and whose life gave a newer and nobler out-budding to the whole human existence. And that splendid spirit Rienzi, who, in the midst of dark ages, worked such a wondrous redemption for Rome, and the immortal patriot of Sempach, and a whole host of heroes and martyrs who have lived and died for Democracy—the world's purest, and noblest, and greatest. And this cause of English freedom in which we long to prove ourselves valiant and worthy workers, is rich in heroes and martyrs, heroic memories and thrilling associations. We are of the same race, and akin to earth's wisest and loftiest, who have left us their noble names as watchwords for us to battle by. Milton was of us, and held the faith we hold. It was to us that he and the great-hearted heroes of his magnificent era, entrusted their infant cause, as they, its parent, sank with uplifted arms, and the tide of destruction swept over them. Shelley, and Burns, and Nichol were with us, and pleaded our cause, and shall we prove traitors to the trust they left us, by handing it over to the advocacy of any political Charlatan, foul-mouthed Bully, and fouler-hearted Traitor, who may come to us in hypocritic guise? Nay, the banner of Democracy must not be entrusted to those who will trail it in the mire—it must be given only to those who will bear it with a brave arm, nerved by a true heart, inspired by a glorious purpose.

M. Louis Blanc remarks, that when leaders of the People cry, Follow us, the people have a right to ask, Whither are you leading us. Let the people exercise their prerogative in this case. Let them enquire where such and such a policy will lead them to, and remember that a man who is a slave and tyrant in private life cannot be a virtuous public man. We have too long sacrificed principles at the shrine of men, instead of men at the shrine of principles; and this is why we have made no more progress than we have—this is why we are stranded in the middle of the nineteenth century, no nearer to the realisation of our hopes and aspirations than we appeared to be sixty years ago.

YOUR NEW CONTRIBUTOR.

Democratic Movements.

☞ Our Friends will oblige by forwarding reports of Chartist meetings, and other Democratic proceedings.

CHARTISM.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL CHARTER ASSOCIATION.

TO THE CHARTISTS.

BROTHER DEMOCRATS,—The present is a time of sorrow and of danger,—sorrow for the friends of freedom,—danger for the existing remnants of European liberty. The reaction is triumphant throughout the continent, and even here it is triumphant also. It triumphs amongst us, not by means of the bayonet and the sword, by the brute force of hired slaughterers, but by far more deadly weapons—by the apathy of the people, by the selfish ambition of professing friends, and by the folly of those who have been induced to fight the battle of faction, and by creating disunion in the movement, prevent, or, at least, retard, the triumph of our cause. However painful to us to employ the language of condemnation to the acts of men who *have been* counted of our party, the dictates of duty leave us no alternative. The late sham "Conference" at Manchester, with its attempts at usurpation and dictation, every true Chartist is bound to repudiate. The enemies of Democracy could have imagined nothing more hurtful to us, as a party, or more likely to bring shame upon the cause we labour for, than this attempt to set up a despotism in the guise of democracy—this practical denial of the principles of democracy by "Democrats" themselves!

There exists in the country a large class of men who know little of Chartism but its name, who have heard of it only from its calumniators, and who are, therefore, its opponents. Its truths they might love, if they came to understand them. But are they likely to be converted by, or even listen to, men who so flagrantly violate their own professed principles? To dispel prejudice we must repudiate the conduct of those who bring disgrace upon our name by their insensate intolerance. The experience of the last fifteen years would be utterly thrown away, were we to adopt the "Smashing Policy," so absurdly enunciated by the sham "Conference." Not by "crushing" and "smashing," not by rant, swagger, and falsehood can any good cause be advanced. Calm and dignified argument must be our means to prove the worth of our principles and their potency to establish the freedom and happiness of the entire people.

Let those who have been deceived pause and consider the consequences of the course which they have taken. Let them remember that this blow is struck at the Democratic cause at a time when of all others it most needs the support of firmly united defenders. The faction who seek to make the Chartist movement subservient to their personal interests, have sought to disguise their proceedings under cover of necessity. There were, they said, errors of organisation which it was needful to amend. There may be errors in our organisation; but that organisation was the work of a national delegation, a full and free representation of the Chartism of Great Britain, and we have ever esteemed it our duty, as others should have done, to bow to the national voice.

We have received suggestions relative to the amendment of the organisation, which we think may well be considered by a legally elected conference, but which it would be treason on our part to attempt to act upon, because contrary to the rules laid down by the Conference of 1851. It is not necessary to review the several acts of the "eight," who represented themselves, and who elected three of themselves a dictatorial triumvirate. Their meeting being anti-democratic, and consequently according to the principles of Chartism, illegal in its origin, their acts were necessarily illegal, and in the estimation of all true Chartists will be deemed null and void. But we feel bound to add our voice to that of the great mass of the party, in opposition to the most glaring of their attacks upon our principles; we allude to their attempt to set up a particular journal as the one "sole" and exclusive organ of Democracy. This attempt to ignore, stifle and suppress journals long devoted to the advocacy of our cause; this bare-faced outrage upon the right of free thought and free expression; this plagiarism of Cossack dictation, may gladden the hearts of tyrants and slaves, but demands the scornful and indignant repudiation of all true Democrats of all who cherish the freedom of the press as one of the most valuable and sacred of the rights of man.

To the noble Democrats of the West Riding of Yorkshire we tender our earnest thanks, for their steadfast adherence to the good old cause, and their signal condemnation of faction and intolerance. With Yorkshire in the van, we have but to march in union, to ensure victory over false friends and open foes.

We have been reproached with inactivity and neglect of duty as an Executive, because we resolutely resolved to fulfil our first duty—that of rescuing the party from the stigma of debt. That stigma is now removed, our hands are unfettered, and we are free to perform the duties appertaining to our office; but our action must greatly depend upon yours. Furnish us with the sinews of war, not for self-appropriation, but to put the machinery of the Society into active operation, and you will see, to your satisfaction and to our enemies' confusion, that we are not either deficient in fidelity to our principles, nor in the energy necessary to make the Chartist movement once again powerful and respected, and calculated to achieve real and lasting benefits for the people.

As a first means towards the obtainment of funds, we have printed a large number of cards of membership, the charge for which will be as heretofore, in accordance with the rules. We invite the sub-secretaries of localities in existence, and active friends in districts where the organisation has had, but has not at present, any existence, to forthwith order cards from our secretary, and set to work with courage and energy to reorganise the Association.

That the Executive Committee may carry out its mission efficiently and successfully, it is necessary that certain seats, at present not really occupied, should be filled up. It is not necessary that we should comment upon the utter impossibility of Mr. O'Connor remaining a member of the committee. Mr. Linton's continued absence from London (he having been for some time past residing in Lancashire) precludes us from having his valuable co-operation. You will, therefore, see the necessity of electing two earnest and able Democrats to supply the place of those gentlemen. Some time since Messrs. Shaw and Bezer gave in their resignation, subject to the will of the localities; but the expression of that will being opposed to their resignation, they have returned to their duties, and their colleagues can answer for them, that they will not be the last or the least active in labouring to promote the welfare of the Association.

That the election of two new members in place of Messrs. O'Connor and Linton may be no farce, we earnestly desire that the localities be forthwith reorganised. Of course members only will be allowed to vote. The nomination of candidates we hereby fix to take place between the dates of Tuesday, June the 22nd, and Tuesday, July the 20th. The election to take place between the last named date and Tuesday, August 3rd. Every candidate must have been a member of the Association for the last six months, in accordance with the rules and regulations.

Many topics remain for comment; such as the general election—the employment of missionaries—the convening a conference, &c., and on which we will fully express our views in our next address. On the first-named topic only we will now observe, that although the eleventh hour has already struck, and although there is but brief time to make preparation for the representation of Chartism upon the hustings, still all that *can* should be done to vindicate the cause of the unrepresented classes, and to thunder in the ears of the privileged the voice of the people demanding their sovereign rights.

JAMES GRASSBY, Secretary.
96, Regent-street, Lambeth.

MONIES RECEIVED.

M. R., 10s.; A. B., 2s. 6d.; W. T., 1s. 6d.; C. J., 1s.; A Friend, 5s.; H. Y. 3s.; Y. Z., 3s.; Total, £1 6s.

JAMES GRASSBY, Secretary.

CITY WESTERN LOCALITY.—This steadily-increasing locality held its usual weekly meeting on Saturday evening last four new members were enrolled, making a total of twenty-one persons, none of whom are members of any other locality. The following resolutions were carried unanimously:—"That we, the members of this locality, cannot but express our satisfaction at the debt of the Association being finally paid, and that the legitimate Executive are resolved to carry out a wise and energetic agitation; we hereby pledge ourselves to render them all the aid in our power."—"That the character and proceedings of the falsely called Convention of 'eight,' at Manchester, are in direct violation of the first principles of Democracy; and that violation having been instigated by Mr. Ernest Jones, we feel bound to declare our entire want of confidence in that individual's political honesty, and our firm belief in his utter incapacity to be the leader of a great and righteous movemement."—"That the practice of some persons in London, calling themselves Chartists, going about from district to district inventing new localities to assist to elect themselves to the Metropolitan Delegate Council, for the sole purpose of bolstering up a mushroom dictatorship, is—to use no harsher expression—dishonest, and it is hereby resolved that all members of this locality pledge themselves to belong to no other, and refuse to accept any persons who *bona fide* belong to other branches of the Association."—"That as the late proceedings of the afore-named council has been characterised by bullyism, rather than calm, fair deliberation, we hereby request our delegates immediately to withdraw."—Messrs. Campbell and Bezer have withdrawn accordingly.—The secretary having been instructed to order fifty new cards for this locality, the meeting adjourned.—Mr. F. Mason presided, and Messrs. Johnson, Campbell, Bezer, Bridge, Dodd, Hatchard, and other friends, took part in the proceedings.

BLOOMSBURY.—The members of the above locality met on Tuesday evening last, and, after considerable discussion, adopted the following resolutions, two dissenting. These dissentients had joined the same night, for the express purpose of disturbing the proceedings:—"That we withdraw our delegates from the London Council, having no confidence in the measures of that body."—"That we recognise the Executive Committee elected by the National Charter Association six months ago; that we congratulate them and our brother Chartists upon the payment of the debt, and hereby determine to aid them so long as they shall aid the truth, consistently, honourably, and without abuse."—"That this locality repudiates, in the strongest terms, the 'smashing policy,' and earnestly calls on all the advocates of the cause to promulgate our holy principles by calm argument, without having recourse to slander or scurrility."—"That in the opinion of this locality, it is advisable that a Committee should be formed, composed of the oldest and most respected members of our Association, to be called a 'Committee of Inquiry,' whose particular business shall be to inquire *into the characters* of all advocates, whether writers or speakers, who shall henceforth come amongst us; the Committee's decision to be final. This locality believing that the great drawback to the success of our movement has been the receiving into our Councils political adventurers, and the permitting our 'advocates' *to select us, instead of us selecting our advocates*, the painful result being, in too many instances, that they have betrayed us, divided us, and picked our pockets; that a 'Committee of Inquiry' would, in a great measure, prevent all this, by expelling the unprincipled, encouraging the good, and thereby make our cause worthy of popular respect and support."

JOHN-STREET LOCALITY.—The members of this locality held their usual weekly meeting on Wednesday evening last—John Milne in the chair. A letter was read from Bradford reporting the signal defeat which the recent *attempt* at dictation and despotism had met with in that town on Sunday last, and on the motion of Messrs. Piercy and Levy, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:—"This locality expresses its great satisfaction in learning that as that barrier to action—the debt—is now finally removed, the Executive Committee have resolved to do its utmost to reorganise the movement; and we hereby pledge ourselves to render all the aid in our power for that purpose."—"Being the advocates of a free press, we cannot but repudiate and condemn the acts of a petty faction at Manchester, in attempting to ignore those valuable journals which have so long and faithfully enunciated our principles; and we trust that every true Democrat will do his utmost to make such an effort as complete a failure as it deserves to be."—"That having heard the report of our delegates to the Metropolitan Delegate Council, and being satisfied that, as at present constituted, no measure of a truly progressive character will emanate therefrom, we hereby resolve to withdraw our delegates, as we entirely disagree with the system of bombast and deceit there practised, in order to support an organised faction."—"That the best thanks of this locality are due, and are hereby presented, to the sterling democrats who attended the West Riding Delegate meeting at Bradford on Sunday last, and nobly defeated those who have evidently done their utmost to bring the principles we honour into scorn and contempt."

BRADFORD, YORKSHIRE.—The adjourned meeting of the Democrats of this town was held on Monday evening, June 14th, 1852, at Mitchel's Temperance Hotel, Union-street, for the purpose of more effectually completing the organisation of the Democrats of Bradford, and receiving the report of the delegates to the West Riding delegate meeting held on the previous day.—Mr. M. W. Brawith presided. Messrs. Ryder and Stainsley reported from the delegate meeting, and described the infamous conduct of the partisans of the Manchester Conference. A resolution was unanimously adopted, approving the conduct of Messrs. Ryder and Stainsley. After a friendly discussion it was further resolved:—"That in the opinion of this meeting Chartism has been retarded in the past by obstructing the efforts of men who ask for measures short of it. We deem it necessary, that to make Chartism respected, we should for the future oppose no man who asks for less measures, but, where practical, give them our hearty support." Twenty new members were enrolled, and several more promised to take out cards as soon as issued by the Executive. The following members were appointed to serve on the Committee:—Joseph Stainsfield, Jonathan Hartley, Thomas Wilcock, Thomas Carr, George Demaine, President; William Stamsby, Treasurer; Robert Ryder, Secretary; to whom all communications for the Chartists of Bradford must for the future be addressed at the Co-operative Store, Bridge-street. The meeting adjourned to Tuesday evening, June 22nd, at eight o'clock.

QUEENSHEAD.—A meeting of the Chartists of this neighbourhood met at Mr. Wright's, on Saturday night last, to take into consideration the designs of the Manchester Conference. Mr. James Crossland having been called to the chair, the following resolutions were carried unanimously:—"That in the opinion of this meeting the calling of the Manchester Conference was an act of usurpation, which we can neither sanction nor approve, as being, in our opinion, opposed to the principles of Democracy, and in violation of the rules of the National Charter Association."—"That this meeting deploring the evil effects of the antagonistic policy, hitherto pursued by the Chartist party, deems it prudent to abandon that policy and pursue a more conciliatory cause. Holding as we do this opinion we cannot but deprecate the conclusion which has been come to by the Conference which has lately met in Manchester; and we, therefore, enter our unqualified protest against the policy recommended by that body." The resolutions were moved and seconded by Messrs. Yates, Walmsley, Bates, and Sandford.

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE.—The members of the National Charter Association met in the Democratic Hall, Nunn-street, on Wednesday, June 9th, at eight o'clock in the evening. Mr. William Johnson in the chair. The protest which was entered by one of members against the resolutions past on the 26th May, condemnatory of the policy and proceedings of the late Manchester Conference was brought forward, and after a very animated discussion was rejected. The following persons were elected as council, to conduct the Association, through the ensuing quarter:—C. B. Knight, Corresponding Secretary; Philip Shotto, Financial Secretary; James Charlton, Treasurer; William Johnson and John Cockbourn.—C. B. Knight, Corresponding Secretary, 2, Lambton-terrace Gateshead-on-Tyne

WEST RIDING DELEGATE MEETING.

THE "SMASHERS" SMASHED.

A West Riding delegate meeting was held at Mitchell's Coffee-house, Bradford, on Sunday last. The following delegates were present:—Elland, Abraham Hanson; Pudsey, William Mitchel and Henry Wilcock; Leeds, William Brook and George Shaw; Gibbit-lane, near Halifax, John Lawson and William Maude; Keighley, James Smith; Wheatley, Charles Appleyard and Nathan Ashworth; Northowram, David Naylor; Labour and Health Locality, Halifax, Francis Mitchell and William Dennis; Queenshead, John Bates; Bradford, Union-street Locality, Robert Ryder and William Stainsby; Sowerby, James Mitchell; Huddersfield, Thomas Hirst and John Bradley; Cinder-hills, near Halifax, Robert Worrall and William Ramsden; Croft-street Locality, Bradford, Thomas Cameron and John Sunderland; Bingley, Robert Roper; Bradford Democratic Association, George Luscombe and George White; Lower Warley, David Lawson and John Wrigley; Midgeley, James Greenwood and James Sharp; Oxenden, Samuel Magson.

Mr. GEORGE WHITE moved—"That Mr. Brook, of Leeds, preside over the meeting."

Mr. COCKROFT said, before they proceeded to elect a chairman, they ought to scrutinise the credentials, for it was quite evident there were numbers there pretending to represent localities where previously no associations existed.

Mr. CAMERON objected.

Mr. RYDER said he thought that the delegates would be able to manage their own business without being dictated to by Mr. Cockroft as to who could sit and who could not. It appeared from what had fallen from that gentleman that he and his friends were the only true representatives of Chartism. He seconded Mr. White's motion.

Mr. COCKROFT again protested against a chairman being elected until they had decided as to who were qualified to sit.

Mr. CLISSETT having followed on the same side,

Mr. G. WHITE said he could not sit there and hear his right to sit at that meeting disputed by either Cockroft or any one else. What could they think of a man who came there to dictate who were to be allowed to sit, and who were not? He (Mr. White) represented the largest body of Democrats in Bradford. He could produce his book and show them the names, and show them too that they were not a newly jumped-up society, but had existed for some years. The factious conduct of Cockroft towards a man of Mr. Brook's character and standing in the movement was outrageous.

Mr. COCKROFT said he could not agree to allow men to come there and sit as delegates who had been elected, as he believed some of them had, by two or three of them assembling at a public house, and appointing two of their members to represent them at that meeting.

Mr. SMITH having spoken,

Mr. GEORGE WHITE asked Cockroft how he dared impugn his right to sit there as a Chartist. He was there to represent the largest organised body of Democrats in Bradford, or perhaps in the Riding. Cockroft had charged them with being newly sprung up. He threw a card on the table, and asked Cockroft could he produce a card as far back as that. If he could not, let him cease his bullying noise.

Mr. J. LAWSON moved—"That the delegates proceed to business."

Mr. NAYLOR wanted to know if the credentials were to be scrutinised who were to be the judges? Was Cockroft and the small knot of partisans on his side, to take upon themselves to determine whether they were to sit at that meeting? If they were, he would ask them if that was their democracy; because if it was it was a democracy from which he entirely dissented.

Mr. CLISSETT supported Mr. Cockroft.

Mr. SHAW was opposed to their proceedings. They ought not to spend their time in cavilling, but get to business at once.

Mr. NAYLOR said a West Riding meeting had been called, all localities had been invited to send a representative, and were they now to be told by Cockroft (who appeared to have taken upon himself the office of dictator) that before they could sit there they must ask his leave? If things had come to that pass, it was time to give up.

After another speech from Mr. Cockroft (!), and speeches from Messrs. Stanisby, Cameron, and Bates,

Mr. WHITE wished to know what Mr. Jones had been brought to that meeting for, if it was not to overawe the meeting, and turn its decisions in his own favour?

Mr. E. JONES said he was there as a reporter for the press (?) and denied that he (Mr. White) was a Chartist, or had been sent there by Chartists.

Mr. WHITE said he was not there to see the principles of Chartism and the business of that meeting cut up to please Mr. Jones and his party.

Mr. HIRST wanted to know whether there was any precedent for the course they were pursuing with regard to the delegates. He was in favour of every one sitting who had produced his credentials.

Mr. CLISSETT would like to know what all these delegates were there for, if it was not to put Mr. Jones's party down!

Mr. BROOK denied that he and his colleagues had come there for the purpose of putting any one down. If Mr. Jones's friends thought they would do him any good by their outrageous and bullying conduct, they would find themselves mistaken; for they had done him and themselves more harm than all the enemies they had could have done them. His constituents had not taken any part in their meetings lately, because they thought they could do better at Leeds. They had come there to day because they understood that arrangements were to be made to bring out Mr. Kydd at the West Riding election. They had borne the whole of the expense themselves at the last election, and they thought if the whole Riding were to join it would be much easier, and better done; and this was why they were there. Some of them talked about two or three persons who were to set themselves up as judges as to who were to sit there, and who were not. He could assure those who talked that way that the Leeds delegates had not come there to be bullied and insulted as they had been by certain parties in that room. Their conduct was perfectly disgraceful.

Mr. WHITE again moved, and Mr. D. LAWSON seconded—"That Mr. Brook preside." The motion was put, and carried by a large majority.

Mr. BROOK, in opening the business, said if the delegates would only go to work in a right spirit they might do good, but if they gave way to a factious spirit they would play the game of their enemies.

Mr. COCKROFT moved—"That a committee of three be appointed to examine the credentials."

Mr. SMITH seconded the motion.

As an amendment Mr. CAMERON moved—"That all those who have presented credentials be allowed to sit."

Mr. RYDER seconded the amendment, and asked why Cockroft and his friends were so alarmed at such a number of delegates being present?—they ought rather to rejoice.

After some words from Messrs. Bradley and Sunderland, the motion and amendment were put to the vote, when the amendment was carried; all the delegates were therefore allowed to sit.

Mr. COCKROFT rose in a great rage, and attempted to open up the question again.

This was the signal for a party of ruffians, whom he had brought from Halifax, to commence playing their part; and forthwith they created such a noise and confusion, that it was impossible to proceed with the business.

The CHAIRMAN called the gang to order, and protested that he objected to this bullying and dictatorial spirit, by which Cockroft sought to obtain his ends.

Mr. GREENWOOD said, that he and his colleagues did not fear the strictest scrutiny, but he thought all the persons whose names had been delivered in should be allowed to sit.

It was then resolved:—"That no delegate be allowed to speak more than once, except the mover of a motion in reply, and that each speaker be allowed to speak only five minutes at a time."

Mr. CAMERON moved that the minutes of the last meeting be confirmed.

Mr. WHITE said, before they could confirm the minutes they must be read.

The Secretary then read the minutes.

Mr. WHITE said, it appeared to him that the whole question turned upon the minutes. If they confirmed them, they at once set aside all that the Manchester Conference had done. The principal resolution stated that they were to pursue a conciliatory course, and they were not to elect an Executive until they had raised an ample fund to pay them. The Conference had voted an antagonistic policy, and had appointed an Executive without any funds being raised to pay them. Having thus violated the conditions on which the men of the West Riding had promised them their support, that Conference could have no claim to it. *(Here the noise and confusion of a band of "smashers," who had arrived from Halifax, rendered it impossible to proceed with the business, or hear anything that was said for some time!!!!!)*

Silence having in some measure been restored,

Mr. HIRST asked for the first resolution in the minutes to be read again, which was read as follows:—"That we agree to the resolution which has been come to respecting the Manchester Conference."

Mr. WHITE said, the resolution explained nothing. They would have to go back to a previous meeting, to find the decision that had been come to.

The previous resolution was then read, which authorised the Manchester Council to call a Conference as soon as a majority of the *organised* localities in Great Britain should give their sanction thereto.

Mr. WHITE said, that this resolution placed the Conference in a worse position than before. For it declared they were not to call a Conference until they had the sanction of a *majority* of the *organised* localities in their favour. He would ask if the eight men who met in Manchester called themselves a majority, or even if the letters which they had received added to them, formed anything like a majority? (Great uproar!!!!!)

Mr. CAMERON said, the resolution concerning the money and the policy were merely a recommendation, and was not considered to be binding on the Conference. He was in favour of supporting the resolutions which the Conference had come to, at all hazzards.

Mr. HIRST said, he did not agree with all that the Conference had done. Cockroft had talked of opposing the middle classes, even if they went for the Charter, and Jones had talked of "smashing" into their meetings. He could not agree to things of this kind.

Mr. HANSON said, that the power which called the Executive into existence was the only power which had a right to put them out of existence. The Manchester Conference was an usurpation, and had arrogated to itself the power which belonged to the people alone. He would, therefore, without stopping to consider the minutes move the following resolution:—"That this meeting cannot recognise the acts of the delegates who lately met in Manchester at a self-styled Conference, considering that the Manchester Council acted contrary to the principles of Democracy, in calling such a Convention; believing, as we do, that no party had a right to call a Conference but the Executive then acting for, and on behalf of, the National Charter Association."

Mr. WHITE seconded the resolution.

Mr. RYDER moved as a rider:—"That we acknowledge no Executive but the Executive of the National Charter Association." He contended that that Executive had done its duty as far as the means in its power enabled it to do. Mr. Holyoake had done his best to carry Chartism into quarters where it could not otherwise have gone, and Mr. Hunt, in the "Leader," had done us great service. He thought it ill-became anyone to talk of throwing them aside, and setting up a batch of unknown men.

Mr. RYDER said the true Executive had not been fairly dealt by. The Conference and its abettors complained that the old Executive had not been fairly elected; but how had this new fangled one been elected? Why, eight men had met in Manchester, and elected two out of the three, from their own body, without consulting the country at all. He denied the right of the Lancashire men to knock one set of men down to set up another, and a worse set.

Mr. CLISSETT again rose to object to the delegates, and asked the Secretary if he had written to the localities on former occasions the same as he had done now?

The Secretary replied in the affirmative.

Mr. CLISSETT then entered into a tirade of abuse against the old Executive.

Mr. STAINSBY said, the Executive was still in existence. He thought abuse of that body came with a very bad grace from men who had done all they could to injure and destroy the Executive.

(The uproar and confusion caused by the 'smashers' now became so great that it was impossible to tell what was going on.)

Mr. BATES said, it had been observed that he had no right to sit; he told them that Queenshead was as old a Chartist locality as any in the West Riding. They had never been entirely broken up: on the contrary, they had been collecting money to build a room of their own. He had heard Cockroft and some others complaining that they had not voted for the old Executive, and that therefore the Executive were not properly elected. Now, that was strange logic. The election had taken place, and he contended that if they had not voted the fault lay in themselves, and not in the Executive.

Mr. SMITH said, they acknowledged no Executive but the old one. They had never taken a part in those party squabbles, and never would do.

Mr. JONES demanded a hearing before the question was put.

Mr. WHITE objected to anyone speaking who was not a delegate. He asked what right Mr. Jones had to come there to interfere with their business? It was a piece of insufferable impudence; but they were not going to be cheated out of their senses by any of his lawyer-like clap-trap.

Mr. CLISSETT impugned the right of Mr. White to sit as a delegate, and spoke of the Democratic Association being established a few days before. He charged the delegates that they also had no right to sit, not representing organised bodies.

Mr. G. WHITE replied that the Bradford Democratic Association was a year in existence; that their first rule bound them to act in accordance to the views of the Chartist Executive; that Ernest Jones had written to him as Secretary of the body, to get a meeting for him, and they did so, and paid all expenses. It was rather strange that they were capable of paying their money to Chartist purposes, and then were to be told that they had no right to elect delegates to a Chartist delegate meeting. The other delegates to whom Mr. Clissett referred, had distinctly stated that they were elected at public meetings of their various localities, for the express purpose of re-organising the Chartist body, having been members of that body previously: that one of them, the delegate from Queenshead, had informed them that although they had not taken any part lately, on account of the division existing, still they had subscribed one hundred pounds towards building a Chartist Hall, all of which facts were passed over by Mr. Jones, whom he had been watching whilst taking notes for the 'People's Paper,' in which, it was clear, a one-sided fabrication would appear. His friend Hanson, of Elland, and the other delegates who set on each side of him, had watched Mr. Jones in his factious manœuvres, as whenever anything that suited his purpose, emanated from the factious clique who supported the doings of the Manchester sham Conference, his pencil was immediately at work, but when the fallacy of the statement was shown by other delegates, he took not a single note. He dared Jones to deny it, and stigmatised his conduct as factious and utterly repugnant to Democratic principles.

Mr. HANSON and others confirmed Mr. White's statement.

Mr. JONES rose in a great fury, and asserted his inviolability as a reporter for the Press, and stated that as such he would report *when he liked, as he liked, as much as he liked, and as little as he liked!!!*

Mr. WHITE said if that was the case he hoped he would not send his report forth to the world as the truth. Did Mr. Jones think that they did not know how to manage their own business without him coming all the way from London to teach them?

The 'Smashers,' finding that Jones was not likely to be allowed to speak, and that they were likely to lose the confirmation of the minutes, and that the vote of repudiation would be passed,

Mr. COCKROFT rose and moved—'That the meeting st

Co-operative Chronicle.

☞ We shall be glad to receive Reports of Progress from Managers or Secretaries of Co-operative Associations and Stores, in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales.

THE SOCIALIST UNION.

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT (ACTE DE SOCIETE).

The undersigned, Louis Blanc, Etienne Cabet, Pierre Leroux, yielding to the desire of many of their brethren in proscription, actuated by the hope of being useful, and thinking to accomplish a duty, have agreed to the following:—

ART. 1. They wish to form a society for the publication of a weekly journal, under the title of "Free Europe," a quarterly review, under the name of the "Socialist Union," and occasional pamphlets.

ART. 2. The purpose of the journal, the review, and the pamphlets in question will be—1. To encourage the peoples to brotherhood, and to record the social progress in Europe. 2. To defend France, and to publish interesting facts respecting her state. 3. To expound French Socialism. 4. To make Socialism known among the different peoples, and more particularly in England. 5. To assist the proscribed in finding work.

The society will publish a Socialist programme in concert with a council of co-editors.

ART. 3. Every article of the journal and of the review, will be published simultaneously in French, English, and German. If, however, at first the publication in German should entail too many difficulties and too great an expense, the journal and the review would appear in French and in English; but the German review would be added as soon as feasible.

ART 4. The three associates will manage and direct in common.

The Firm will be Louis Blanc, Etienne Cabet, and Pierre Leroux.

The signature of the firm will belong to the three partners conjointly. In case of the absence of one or two of the three partners, the signature of the two partners present, or of the one present, will suffice.

ART. 5. The partners will engage regular co-editors for the editorship. They will accept articles that may be remitted to them by any person giving his name.

ART. 6. The place of meeting for the society is the office of the journal.

ART. 7. The capital of the Firm is fixed at 100,000f., or £4,000 sterling.

It is formed by all persons willing to facilitate the enterprise. For that purpose, 2,000 subscribers' warrants (*bulletins de souscription*) are created, of 50f., or £2 each. These tickets will be extracted from a stock-book, and will each bear the number of the order. They will be signed by the Firm, and attested by one of the trustees hereinafter mentioned.

ART. 8. The undertaking is for none concerned a speculation of self-interest, but a work of sympathy, of generosity, of devotedness, in behalf of which the associates invite the concurrence of all friends of progress.

The subscriptions, although they give a claim to the premium indicated in Article 13, below-mentioned, are considered as donations, and are, consequently not reimbursable except in the case provided by Article 10.

ART. 9. The list of subscribers will be published, omitting the names of such persons as may desire to remain anonymous.

ART. 10. The journal will not commence publication until subscriptions to the amount of £1,000 (25,000f.) shall have been paid up.

If the journal should not appear before the 1st of August of the present year, the subscriptions would be returned to the subscribers.

To that effect, the total amount of subscriptions will be deposited with a banker, in the name of the trustees, and will remain inactive till the publication of the journal, which will consequently take places before the 1st of August.

ART. 11. Independently of the capital of 4,000 (100,000f.) 500 foundation warrants (*bulletins de fondation*), of £1 sterling each, are created, constituting a sum of £500 sterling, to provide for advertisements, prospectuses, and all other preliminary expenses relating to the undertaking, which forms the object of the present association. The subscribers of this class will bear the title of FOUNDERS; the *bulletins* which will be delivered to them will bear the name of Founders' Warrants (*bulletins de fondation.*)

These *bulletins de fondation* will be, like the *bulletins de souscription*, drawn from a stock-book, *registre a souche*, and stamped with the signature of the Firm, and the *visa* of the trustees.

A correct statement will be published of the disposal of the last-named fund, which can in no case be reimbursable.

ART. 12. Every subscriber of either class will receive the journal gratis for one year.

ART. 13. All the operations of the society will be for cash.

ART. 14. All operations of the society will be entered regularly into a register, or registers, daily.

ART. 15. Statements of receipts and expenditure will be published in the journal every three months.

ART. 16. The association will exist till the 1st of May, 1854. It may be prolonged by the consent of three associates.

ART. 17. In case of the decease or retirement of one of the three partners, the society may be continued by the two others, who will have power to take a third.

ART. 18. In case of the decease of two of the partners, the undertaking may be continued by the survivor, who may take to their number two new associates.

ART. 19. At the expiration of the society, such sum as, after payment of all debts, may remain in hand, shall be devoted, under joint advice of the council of co-editors and the council of trustees, to an object of general charity or utility. The method of its disposal will be made public.

ART. 20. A special regulation will determine all matters respecting the journal, the review, and the council of co-editors.

ART. 21. The council of trustees is at present composed of Messrs. Edward Vansittart Neale and William Conyngham, who have accepted the office.

CO-OPERATIVE LEAGUE.—We understand that the next meeting of this body will take place on Tuesday, June 22nd, when a paper will be read on Education, as the only sure and safe means of introducing the new era, by J. E. Smith, Esq.

Trades' Intelligence.

☞ The Secretaries of Trades' Unions and other bodies associated to protect and advance the interests of Labour, will oblige by forwarding reports of Trades' Meetings, Strikes, and other information affecting the social position of the Working Classes.

BRADFORD WOOLCOMBERS.—At a preliminary meeting of Woolcombers, held at the Old House at Home, Croft-street, Bradford, on Saturday last,—Mr. J. Jackson chairman,—it was resolved, on the motion of Mr. J. Johnson, seconded by Mr. John Hill:—"That, in order to remedy the unsupportable grievances now endured by the woolcombers of this town, we constitute a Society of Woolcombers; and that five hundred cards of membership be printed and produced by Saturday evening next, to which time this meeting stands adjourned." Unanimous. Moved by Mr. John Size, seconded by Mr. William Johnson:—"That Mr. George White be requested to act as Secretary *pro tem.*" Carried unanimously. The meeting then adjourned to Saturday, June 19th, at half-past six in the evening, when all who feel interested are requested to attend.

JOHN JACKSON, Chairman.

BRADFORD WEAVERS.—The Power-loom Weavers of this town and district have been in a continual state of ferment for several weeks. Scarcely a day passes without new placards, detailing the weavers' grievances, appearing on the walls. They are generally written in a clever and argumentative style, and contain lengthy comments on the cupidity and duplicity of the big "loafers." The two-loom system seems to occupy the greatest amount of general attention, but there are daily strikes taking place against direct reductions.

Ireland.

THE CATHOLIC DEFENCE ASSOCIATION.

Being now on the eve of a general election, the "defenders" are beginning to commence their labours in downright earnest. A second monster address "to the Catholic electors of Ireland" has been issued. It professes to be an *exposé* of the principles and practice which should animate and guide Roman Catholic electors in the approaching struggle. It points out the issue between them and their opponents, and shows how the victory may be won if the people be only faithful to themselves. It adopts no party, and sets the ban alike on Protectionists and Free traders, Tories and Whigs; on all, in fact, who will not insist on the fulfilment of the Emancipation Act.

THE EXODUS.

The "Carlow Sentinel" thus speaks of the flight of the population from that district of the country. The main facts have been already mentioned in connexion with Bishop Haly's efforts to check the tide of emigration:—

While the Roman Catholic clergy are engaged in political agitation, pending the general election, in many parishes in the neighbouring counties their flocks are hurrying to the nearest seaport on their flight to America, to the British settlements, or to Australia. The emigration at present is exclusively confined to the labouring classes, the artisans, and the humbler class of farmers; but, nevertheless, a large amount of wealth is taken from the country.

DISTURBANCES IN NEW ROSS.

On Friday, the 11th, a troop of the 3rd Dragoon Guards marched suddenly from Kilkenny to New Ross, and a considerable body of the constabularly are under orders to proceed immediately to the same locality. These precautions, it seems, have been found necessary in consequence of the serious riots directed against Sir Thomas Redington and his friends. Sir Thomas, as the unpopular candidate, had to quit the town escorted by the police. On Saturday Sir Thomas again attempted to canvass the town, when, so great was the excitement, that the riot act was read, and the military called out. Fortunately no collision between them and the people took place.

A CHEAP DIGNITY.—The right hon. David Boyle, lately Lord Justice-General, and President of the Court of Session, to whom her Majesty offered the title of a baronet on his retiring from office, has respectfully begged liberty to decline the dignity.—*Glasgow Constitutionnel.*

IMPORTANT TO MINERS.

PROPOSAL TO INSTITUTE A SOCIETY FOR THE PREVENTION OF LOSS OF LIFE BY EXPLOSIONS AND OTHER ACCIDENTS IN COAL MINES.

Death with more than usual severity has lately been sweeping through the coal mines. Dreadful explosions have again burst upon the ear of society, mingled with the cries of despair and misery. It is impossible longer to resist the appeal for help. It is impossible to believe that science has no resource—knowledge no power—humanity no hope—to mitigate or prevent these evils! It cannot be that our humble, brave, and meritorious countrymen are to be left thus to perish! While noble institutions for every description of men exist in England, blessing the land and ministering to the physical evils of our race, the poor miner is left to his hopeless fate. It is, however, believed that his condition, his dangers, his misfortunes, and his death, have only to be fairly placed before the country, and its best sympathies and a helping hand will be freely accorded to him. Practical and scientific men deem it possible successfully to deal with these scourges of our countrymen. In London there is a concentration of the science of Europe, with the power and influence of the Kingdom, which if brought fairly together may suggest the means and appliances fitted for their dangerous state; while in the mine exists practical knowledge, that will offer to science the elements for experiments and calculation, and the applications of its principles. It is the combination of science and practical knowledge that is the hope for the future. To combine these more intimately, and concentrate their powers upon this great object of humanity, it is proposed to bring them together in a National Society.

Science, thus guided by practical knowledge, enabled M. Jars, the French Academician, to discover and explain the anomalies of natural ventilation: that in winter and summer the air became reversed; and in spring and summer, stagnant, producing explosive mixtures. Science, so guided, led first Humboldt, then Clanny, to seek a safety-lamp for mines; resulting in the splendid discovery of the Mine Gauze Lamp, by Sir Humphrey Davy. It led Professor Bischoff of Bonn to the detection of bi-carburetted hydrogen in some of the continental mines, which renders the Safety-lamp in them an instrument of danger. It led Gurney, Pereira, Hemming, Birkbeck, Turner, Murray, and others, to discover that in an explosive atmosphere, moving at five feet a second (not four miles an hour), this lamp would bring on an explosion in the mine. This quality of passing the flame, originally admitted by its scientific discoverer, has been since, aided by science, more fully developed, before a Committee of the Commons in 1835; by the Shields' Committee on Accidents in Mines; and by the Government Commission of Belgium. It is the combination of science and practical knowledge that has given to the mines their various means of ventilation—"the centrifugal fan, the ventilating pump, the elevated chimney, propelling waterfall, and the steam jet." It is this which has enabled miners to penetrate nearly 2,000 feet into the bowels of the earth, through quicksands and feeders of water, some of them nearly 6,000 gallons per minute, and to extract thence the mineral so important to the individual man and to the country. It is science which has descended there; offering to practical operations the "more perfect instruments of knowledge—to test the dangerous gases—to anticipate supplies by barometric pressures—to measure the air currents—to calculate their proportionate required quantities for safety—to guide fresh life into their poisoned laboratories—to check their fatal tendencies—to control to a certain extent, these elements of subterranean thunder—and to keep in existence the mines." It was "The Society of Sunderland" that brought down Sir Humphrey Davy to the mines, and developed the "Safety Lamp." It was "The Society of South Shields" that brought to light the "Clanny Lamp," and developed the principles of the "Gurney Steam Jet," now considered so important for the ventilation of mines. It was "The Belgic Commission" that gave to their mines the "Mueselir Lamp," far safer than the "Davy," and applied to them "steam ventilation." Science, working through these societies though limited in their power and operations, having effected so much, it cannot but be anticipated, that a National Society sustained by the influence, the science, and practical knowledge of the country, will be productive of the most beneficial results, if it does not complete this work of humanity. To demonstrate its necessity and advantage, some account may be required of the condition of the coal mines, and the sources of their fatality.

The occupation of the coal miner, so advantageous to society, is pursued amidst dangers and difficulties to which no other employment is exposed. He descends into the mine through shafts generally from 800 to 1,200 feet deep, and sometimes 1,500 and 1,800 as at Monkwearmouth, and traverses dark passages often two or three miles in extent to arrive at the scene of his labours. There generally in a space from five to six feet high, but not unfrequently in one of three or four, often amidst damp and always in a foul and vitiated atmosphere, by the glimmer of a small candle or more imperfect lamp, and frequently lying on his side for ten or twelve hours together, he extracts the mineral that above ground is diffusing light, heat, riches, and enjoyment; so situated he is frequently overtaken by sudden death, the "mine-storm" suddenly breaks forth and at once destroys him—he is burnt to death and shrivelled into a blackened mass—or, if caught in the passages he is propelled against their rugged sides and shattered to pieces; and sometimes his mangled body and limbs have been projected through the shaft high into the air, from this terrible piece of ordnance,* should he lie out of its immediate range, in some other working of the mine, in a few minutes "the after damp" (the carbonic acid and nitrogen gases,) spreading in all directions, cuts off his retreat and immediately poisons him by a few inspirations.

The following account of the effects observed "within the mine" on one of these explosions was recorded at the time of its occurrence †:—

"The deadly gas, the resulting product, became stronger and stronger, as we approached. We encountered in one place the bodies of five men, who had died from the effects of the gas, and had apparently died placidly, without one muscle of the face distorted. Then there were three men that had been destroyed by the explosion; clothes burnt and torn, the hair singed off, the skin and flesh torn away in several places with an expression as if the spirit had passed away in agony. Going with a single guide we encountered two men, one with a light, the other bearing something on his shoulders; it was a blackened mass, a poor dead burnt boy, he was taking out. A little further on we found waggons that had been loaded overturned bottom upwards, scattered in different directions; a horse lying dead directly in the passage, with his head turned over his shoulder, as if in falling he had made a last effort to escape; he was swollen in an extraordinary manner.

"At one point in another passage, we suddenly came amongst twelve or fifteen men, who, striving to reach the place where bodies or survivors might be found, had been driven back by the surcharged atmosphere of this vast common grave; their lamps were burning dim and sickly with a dying red light, glimmering as if through a fog. All were feeling the effects of the poison—one poor man especially was sick and ill, who had been brought out in a fainting condition, and after having given him something to assist his recovery, he seemed still much affected, he was again asked where he felt most oppressed, he answered, in a broken voice of suppressed agony, 'I am not well, sir—*I have two sons in there.*'"

And thus at that time perished fifty-two human beings; and these are the common features of every explosion—some of them even more dreadful. Men have been so shattered that their fragments have been obliged to be collected together, sometimes only found upon different days, as at the last Jarrow explosion, and conveyed away in blankets; and bodies have been so mangled that they have been taken to the wrong house and those that mourned over them and performed the funeral rites have been uncertain of their identity It is usual in such cases for fathers and children and brothers to be heaped in one general carnage. Sometimes the males of an entire family are thus cut off. In the explosion at Aberdare, a father, and two sons whom he was trying to save, thus perished together. A miner at the last Hebburn explosion last month, went in to save his brother and died with him. Just now at Coppull, four brothers out of two families, and two fathers and two sons fell at a blow.

If the first stroke of the explosion does not kill, the second which rapidly succeeds, or the third which sometimes follows, as at Aberdare, effects the fatal result; no life is left which it touches; or still more fatal "the after damp," rolling everywhere like a flood carries death to other parts of the workings. The light carburetted hydrogen, "the fire damp," which produces these explosions, and its result, "the after damp," abounds in firey mines to an almost incalculable amount. It is heard hissing and bubbling from every pore in the coal. A hole bored in "the face of the coal," and a tube inserted, the discharge from it will burn like a gas light. At Wallsend for many years from a goaf of five acres, upwards of fifty cubic feet of gas per minute has poured forth day and night and is burnt at the surface, illuminating the country around. "A blower" of gas at Jarrow Pit, blew off, by its compressed force, six tons from the solid coal; and seven millions cubic feet of the galleries and passages of the same mine, were filled with it to explosive point in three days. St. Hilda Pit, nearly seventy miles in gallery extent, was surcharged with it in a short time, and they were obliged to work with safety lamps at the pit mouth, to prevent setting in motion the dormant earthquake below. At one period more than twelve and a half millions cubic feet of this gas, in a "water blast," burst in sixty-eight hours from the passages of a single Mine, Percy Main. Ventilation to the extent of 60,000 cubic of air per minute would be required a render such quantities of gas inexplosive. Some mines have upwards of 200,000 cubic feet per minute, though many most dangerous mines are almost without any. "This is the great enemy to be dealt with." In addition however to this dread source of destruction, there are several others.

Many miners have been drowned by the sudden bursting in of waters; as at Llanelly the past week, where twenty-seven lives were so sacrificed. While many more have been crushed under tons of fallen roof or masses of coal, and the very likeness of man been destroyed; so fell upwards of 150 miners last year. Then again, some have been precipitated down the deep shafts, and have been dashed in pieces;* so died 108 in 1851. Between 600 and 700 miners every year thus perish; and during this year, for twenty-one weeks, the deaths have increased to the rate of upwards of 900 for the year. Within the last ten years not less than 6,000 British subjects have been thus destroyed; while permanent injuries, and loss of health from an atmosphere always surcharged with noxious gases, are common to the whole class. An old pitman is seldom to be found, he dies an early victim of sudden death, or with a wounded frame or broken health sinks to a premature grave.

Such is the life and death of a British Miner!

Impelled by the great number of recent appalling calamities, and believing the time propitious—from the impulse practical science has received by the events of the past year, men of scientific eminence, and practical men of high character, have instructed us to issue this proposal for the formation of a National Society.

At a preliminary meeting held at Westminster, on the 6th inst., it was proposed that the title should be—

"The Society for the Prevention of Loss of Life by Explosions, and other Accidents in Coal Mines."

"That the investigations of the Society should embrace the causes and means of prevention of Explosions—Deaths from Foul Air—Accidents in Shafts—Falls from the Roof—Accidents in the Workings—Inundations."

"That an early general meeting shall be called, to whom these propositions shall be submitted; the constitution of the Society formed, and its future proceedings arranged."

With this imperfectment of the conditions and dangers of the miners, and of a humane and important object for their better security, we respectfully commit this appeal to the consideration of the British public.

JAMES MATHER, } Hon. Secs., *pro. tem.*
HENRY CARNSEW, }

May 24th, 1852.

All communications to be addressed to the Honorary Secretaries, 4, Raymond-buildings, Gray's Inn, London.

* At Neath, in November, a girl fell down a shaft (160 yards deep); and her father, who was at the time in the pit, aided to collect her remains, and did not know that it was his own daughter.

SCIENTIFIC EXAMINATION OF THE DAVY LAMP.—On Friday an adjourned meeting of the Committee of the House of Commons, on "Explosions in Collieries," took place in the theatre of the Polytechnic institution, to investigate the facts in connexion with Sir Humphrey Davy's safety lamp for miners, and the application of the steam jet, as suggested by Mr. Goldsworthy Gurney, for the ventilation of mines. Dr. Bachhoffner conducted a series of very conclusive experiments on explosive gasses, &c., and his evidence was taken down by the short-hand writer of the House of Commons, and will be printed for the use of the house. Several scientific gentlemen present were examined by the committee, amongst whom were Mr. Robert Stephenson, M.P., Mr. Goldsworthy Gurney, Mr. Darlington, Mr. Wood Mr. G. Overton, the coroner on the late case of explosion at Aberdare; Mr. Dickinson, the government inspector of mines; Mr. J. H. Pepper, the professor of chemistry to the institution; and other gentlemen connected with mining operations. There were also present the Marquis of Chandos, Mr. Smith Child, M.P., Colonel Pennant, M.P., Colonel Mure, M.P, Mr. Booker, M.P., Sir H. Delabeche, Mr. E. Cayley, jun. On conclusion the thanks of the committee were given by the chairman to Dr. Bachhoffner, and to the directors of the institution, for the use of the theatre and apparatus, which had been put at their disposal for this purpose.

THE SAFETY LAMP.—Explosions in coal mines may be generally attributed to the abuse of the ordinary safety lamp. The miner is undoubtedly often tempted to move the protecting wire gauze covering for the sake of obtaining more light, and thus endangers the lives of all who may be employed in the mine. The disastrous effects of coal-pit accidents from the explosion of fire-damp have induced many to devote their attention to the improvement of the Davy lamp, particularly with a view to increase the light and diminish the tendency the gauze has to become red-hot from its proximity to the flame. M. Eloin, a Belgian engineer, has succeeded in combining all the advantages and in obviating the defects of the ordinary lamp, and Messrs. Thornton, of Birmingham, have constructed a lamp upon his plan at a very reasonable cost. In these improved safety lamps the flame is surrounded with a short thick glass, well protected, and the air is admitted through wire gauze below the flame, and under a cover or cap, on the principle of the solar lamp; a much better light is thus produced, and perfect combustion obtained. All danger from over-eating of the gauze, accumulation of soot and coal-dust, is removed; and the combustion chamber of glass being bound at top and bottom by a strong brass ring, any accident by the cracking of the glass from unequal expansion is prevented. The presence of fire-damp is detected quite as well as in the ordinary lamp, and there are other advantages which render this lamp superior in every respect to that in common use. Too much praise cannot be given to M. Eloin for the liberality with which he has thrown it open to the mining public without limiting its use by patent or other restriction.—*Times.*

ANOTHER FATAL COAL PIT ACCIDENT.

A most sad and melancholy accident occurred on Monday last at one of the coal-pits in Messrs. Dimmock and Co.'s, Bunker's-hill Colliery, Bilston. It appears that the men assembled as usual on the morning in question, and at six o'clock, the hour for beginning work, one "skip" full of men and boys had gone down, and the skip was in the act of descending the second time with another "bandfull," when an awful explosion of fire damp was heard by those still upon the bank and waiting to descend. Upon the engine being reversed, and the skip brought to the top, but one person was found to have retained his hold, the whole of his companions, to the number of eight or ten men and boys, having been thrown from the skip and precipitated to the bottom by the violence of the explosion below. The explosion was so violent that it was heard by the neighbouring pit companies, who at once hastened to assist the sufferers. As soon as the burnt sulphur, in which no one can breathe, had passed away, several men descended the shaft, and the whole of the sufferers, twenty-two in all, were brought to the top. One was found to be dead, and four others immediately expired upon being brought upon the bank, and the rest were all more or less injured, some to such an extent that it is thought impossible they can survive, Out of five horses which were in the pit at the time of the accident only one was brought up alive, and that was so badly injured that it was got to the stable with difficulty. From inquiries made upon the spot it appears the accident is attributed to the following unfortunate circumstance:—The man who has the care of the horses, as was his usual custom, descended the pit for the purpose of feeding them on the previous morning, which was Sunday, and, in leaving the pit, he accidentally left open an "air-door" through which he had to pass, and which is placed in one of the underground ways to prevent the current of air passing directly from the bottom of one shaft to the other, and to force it through the whole of the workings. By this door being left open the ventilation of the main body of the workings was prevented, and consequently the accumulation of the explosive gas went on from the Sunday morning till the time of the accident, the next morning; and as the first skipful of men were going in to work, unsuspicious of danger, the immense accumulation of highly explosive gas suddenly ignited from the unprotected candles carried by the men, and this communicating with two casks of blasting-powder, which unfortunately happened to be deposited in some part of the pit, these two bodies simultaneously exploded, surrounding the unhappy colliers in one sheet of fire, and causing the sacrifice of life above described.

LAW INTELLIGENCE.

MR. SALOMON IN HIS SEAT IN PARLIAMENT.

An attempt, on the part of an informer, to extract from Mr. Saloman the penalties to which he rendered himself liable by voting in the House of Commons, has been defeated by a verdict for the defendant. The case was tried on Monday and Tuesday in the Court of Exchequer. The alleged justification for a second action was, that the former was collusive. The tellers on the divisions attended on subpœna, but as they had not received the permission of the house to give evidence, the Court informed them they could decline doing so; and they did decline.

FATAL ACCIDENT ON THE SHREWSBURY AND CHESTER RAILWAY.—George Thompson, Esq., the extensive iron and coal master, met his death on Friday under most melancholy circumstances, upon his estate at Minera, near Wrexham. The unfortunate gentleman, who was in his 83rd year, was riding across the Minera branch of the Shrewsbury and Chester Railway, when a train came up, and the buffers of the engine struck the pony, who, with his rider, was thrown to a considerable distance. Deceased was so seriously injured, that he never recovered consciousness, but died in about six hours.

* Mr. Buddle relates the case of an explosion in Harraton, in which a boy having hold of his father's hand, who stood within a niche at the bottom of the pit, was blown up the shaft (100 yards deep), torn and mangled, while his father escaped unhurt.

† By one of the present Honorary Secretaries.

FIRES.

FIRE IN BISHOPSGATE-STREET.—Shortly before one o'clock on Monday morning the inhabitants of Bishopsgate and Finsbury were aroused by the cry of "Fire." In the course of a few minutes a body of flame shot forth, and ascended so high as to be perceived not merely in the city districts, but also on the Surrey side of the Thames. The light having been followed by the police they found that the outbreak had taken place in one of the ancient buildings in 2, Swan-yard, near the church, Bishopsgate-street. The owner of the property was a Mr. Lenzburgh, a wood and ivory turner, and when the discovery was made the residents were in their beds. Having been aroused they found the flames progressing so furiously that they had great difficulty in fighting their way out of the premises. The Royal Society's fire escape promptly attended, followed in rapid succession by the brigade engines from Jeffrey-square, White-cross-street, Watling-street, and Farringdon-street stations, and that of the West of England office from the Waterloo-road station. An excellent supply of water having been procured the engines were put into operation, and the fireman, under the direction of Mr. Fogo, the brigade foremen, worked in an admirable manner, and by two o'clock they succeeded in getting the fire extinguished, but not until great damage was done—the roof and upper floors being entirely consumed. Fortunately the sufferer was insured. The fire originated from a very simple cause—viz., placing a lighted candle too near the window, the curtain of which was drifted by the current of air against the candle.

GREAT FIRE NEAR ST. KATHARINE'S DOCKS.—Shortly after nine o'clock on Wednesday night a fire, from which its proximity to the London and St. Katharine's Docks created much excitement, burst forth from the extensive warehouse and stores of Messrs. Hubbuck and Son, ship chandlers and oil and colourmen, situate on the north side of Upper East Smithfield, immediately fronting the north-east angle of St. Katharine's Docks. The premises covered a large space of ground, four stories in height, and extending to a considerable depth, combining steam-mills for grinding colours, and capacious stores of every description. The warehouse was closed at the usual time in the evening, when the different departments seemed perfectly safe. The discovery of the fire was made by some persons whose attention was drawn to a great light in one of the upper floors. Giving an alarm, the policeman on the beat promptly followed out the regulations in case of fire of keeping the front doors closed and sending off messengers to the various brigade stations. This precaution, however, had but little effect, for before there was time for an engine to get to the spot, the two upper floors with their heavy inflammable stock were one general body of fire. Engines from all quarters of the metropolis speedily arrived, but before then the conflagration has assumed a terrible aspect. There were some thousands of tons of oil in tanks in various parts of the building, besides a very large stock of pitch, tar, rosin, turpentine, and other combustible materials. As may be imagined, these on becoming ignited produced an immense body of flame, which, rising to a considerable height above the surrounding buildidgs, lighted up the docks and the whole of the east end of London with awful brilliancy. At an early stage of the fire the authorities of St. Katharine's Docks, being apprehensive that the flames would be wafted over to their warehouses, had their floating engine brought up to the quay side near the wall facing the burning stores, and being got into play threw from the summit of the wall a considerable body of water on to the flaming premises. Such was the character of the contents, however, that the water had very little effect. The fire continued to rage with unabated vehemence, and notwithstanding the joint working of the whole of the brigade engines, with that of the West of England, the firemen were unable to master the destructive element until near twelve o'clock, by which time scarcely a vestige of the various floors of the warehouses remained. All were destroyed, the walls alone remaining. There were several buildings which adjoined Messrs. Hubbuck's property which have sustained much damage; but the details of the various damages had not up to the time of this being written been ascertained by the brigade officers. They, however, appeared to be extensive. Most of the engines were efficiently worked by the tars from the docks. The origin of the fire could not be learned. The total loss of property is heavy, but the firm are insured.

ALARMING FIRE.—A fire of a very alarming nature broke out about four o'clock on Tuesday morning in the premises belonging to Mr. Richard Lambert, a plumber and glazier, carrying on business in Union-mews, near Middlesex Hospital. The occupants having been aroused by the police, most of them made their escape in safety, but the fire had penetrated the premises of Mr. White, No. 21, Nassau-street, and also those occupied by Mr. Scotcher, pianoforte-maker, in the mews. The Royal Society's fire-escape from Portland-place was quickly on the spot, when the conductor found the smoke pouring from the windows. At that time two or three persons could be seen in the midst of the smoke. The conductor, having raised his machine, rushed to the second-floor window, while a policeman went to the third-floor. The latter brought down an infant, and was followed by its mother (Caroline Forman,) and the conductor of the escape brought down, with considerable difficulty, another woman named Ford. Had it not been for the timely arrival of the escape, there is little doubt but they would have been suffocated. The engines of the parish and London Brigade, under the direction of Mr. Staples, were soon on the spot, and, having been set to work the fire was eventually extinguished, but not until considerable damage was done to the premises of Mr. Lambert, Mr. Scotcher, and Mr. White. The origin of the fire is not known.

THE BETTING DENS.

At the Mansion-house on Monday, Sir P. Laurie said he had received a great number of communications respecting betting-houses, to which the active interposition of the magistrates of the metropolis was so urgently called. He would read one as an illustration of the essence of the whole series. It was as follows:—

266, Regent-street, June 10, 1852.

Sir Peter Laurie,—I am glad to see from the newspapers that you have taken that frightful evil, the betting houses, in hand.

Unless something is done speedily for our protection, all those who, like myself, employ young men in their business (who of necessity, must be intrusted with large sums of money) will be inheritably ruined by the robberies to which these young men must have recourse to pay their losses at those dens of in amy. As a proof that I have cause to be seriously alarmed I enclose a betting book, with its paraphernalia of tickets, &c, (one of which you will perceive is for £72 12s. 6d., that I took from the box, of my apprentice, who acknowledged it to be his), and I now find that one of my errand boys, fourteen years of age, is also addicted to the same vice, and of course is also on the high road to ruin.

I am, Sir, yours most respectfully,

JOHN SIMPSON.

The tickets enclosed particularised the horses betted upon and the money staked, and held out the strongest inducements to those who have any way of getting money together for the purpose of making their fortunes. Among the cards appeared some inviting candidates for independence on the following terms:—

Should you be successful I leave it to your own liberality.

Commissions executed to any amount. Money laid out with the best men. Charge, ten per cent. on the winnings; free, if the horse does not win. If you wish to back a horse from Mr. Chifney's list no per centage is charged.

'Tip' for all races run any week, 2s. 6d.

Subscription List.—One guinea for all information upon steeplechases and flat races up to Epsom Oaks, 1852.

In all the tickets it was stated that the debts were payable the day after the race.

Sir P. Laurie.—Numbers of the most respectable tradesmen have written to me letters, stating the alarm which they feel at the progress of this terrible evil, and I have only to tell them that I shall be most happy to apply all the power I possess as a magistrate to suppress it; but without the assistance of the public in aiding the expo- effectual. The robberies which have been committed by young men to meet betting engagements are beyond all credibility, and of course the distress of the families to which the delinquents belonged is proportioned to the depredations.

ROMAN CATHOLIC PROCESSIONS.

(From the "London Gazette," Tuesday, June 15.)

A PROCLAMATION.

VICTORIA R.—Whereas by the act of parliament, passed in the tenth year of the reign of his late Majesty King George the Fourth, for the relief of his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects, it is enacted that no Roman Catholic ecclesiastic nor any member of any of the religious orders, communities, or societies, of the Church of Rome, bound by monastic or religious vows, should exercise any of the rites or ceremonies of the Roman Catholic religion, or wear the habits of his order, save within the usual places of worship of the Roman Catholic religion, or in private houses; and whereas it has been represented to us, that Roman Catholic ecclesiastics, wearing the habits of their orders, have exercised the rites and ceremonies of the Roman Catholic religion in highways and places of public resort, with many persons in ceremonial dresses, bearing banners and objects, or symbols of their worship, in procession, to the great scandal and annoyance of large numbers of our people, and to the manifest danger of the public peace. And whereas it has been represented to us that such violation of the law has been committed near places of public worship during the time of divine service, and in such a manner as to disturb the congregations assembled therein; we have therefore thought it our bounden duty, by and with the advice of our privy council, to issue this our royal proclamation, solemnly warning all those whom it may concern, that, whilst we are resolved to protect our Roman Catholic subjects in the undisturbed enjoyment of their legal rights and religious freedom, we are determined to prevent and repress the commission of all such offences as aforesaid, whereby the offenders may draw upon themselves the punishments attending the violation of the laws, and the peace and security of our dominions may be endangered.

Given at our court at Buckingham Palace, this 15th day of June, in the year of our Lord, 1852, and in the fifteenth year of our reign.—God save the Queen.

CRIMES AND OFFENCES.

CONFESSION OF ARSON.—A few weeks ago a fire took place at Tom's Coffee House in High Holborn, supposed at the time to have been the result of accident. On Saturday morning last, about four o'clock a girl named Mary Ann Morris, confessed to the policeman that she had set fire to the premises, commencing with her mistress's dress, her intention being to destroy the whole house and every person in it, upon which he took her into custody; and on asking her why she had acted in such a wicked manner she remained silent. On being brought before the magistrate at Bow-street, the landlord of the Coffee House attended, and stated that she had been employed as servant of all work for about three months, and had on two different occasions given him notice of her intention to leave, alleging as a reason that she was suspected by the housekeeper of having committed such an outrage, of which, to his knowledge, there were no just grounds, his impression being at the time that the origin of the fire was purely accidental. The prisoner persisted that she was guilty, and was remanded.

SPOILING THE GENTILES.—A few days ago the police took into custody Nathaniel Wolf Jacobson, general dealer, No. 315z, Oxford-street, and No. 16, Tottenham Court-road, and Thomas Lawrence, beer-shop keeper, Royal Oak, Chenies-street, on various charges of having large quantities of property the produce of burglaries and robberies, and a quantity of gold and silver base coin, on their premises. On Saturday last the police succeeded in apprehending Jacobson in Tottenham Court-road, with a valuable bronze vase in his possession, the produce of a recent robbery at the villa, in Regent's-park, of a gentleman named Redpath. Following up the investigation, the police proceeded to search the two shops of the prisoner Jacobson, and from the shops they collected a considerable quantity of property, consisting of about 500 yards of silks and damasks, watches, &c., which were traced to be part of the proceeds of five different burglaries and robberies. On the evening when Jacobson was apprehended the police went to the Royal Oak and took Lawrence into custody. In the house were found several gold and silver watches, in a stable a piece of bed-tick, and beneath one of the stairs a large quantity of spurious gold and silver coin. Other articles of property were found at the shop in Oxford-street, as a case of pistols, value ten guineas, had been stolen from Mr. Rinnard, Duke-street, Adelphi, in November last. The prisoners, after an examination before Mr. Hardwick, at Marlborough-street, were remanded.

THE DETECTIVE DREAMER.—On the 2nd of this month Mr. West, of the firm of Patridge and West, Leicester, missed £100 from a box in his bedroom; by no means a pleasant discovery. He gave information to the police, wishing first, however, to try his own hand at their profession. Not succeeding, he again invoked their aid, and Mr. Charters, on Monday, deputed Police-sergeant Frank Smith to assist him. Smith went at once to Mr. West's lodgings in Colton-street, examined the money-box, and informed himself of the condition in which it was when the robbery was first found out. It appeared that the property consisted of £45 in bank-notes, and fifty-five sovereigns; that it was carefully placed in a nut-measure, covered with a handkerchief, another nut-measure placed over it, and the box was locked. The thief had taken out the money, replaced the handkerchief and measures, and locked the box, leaving no outward appearance of any one having interfered with it. This was sufficient to convince Smith that no stranger had perpetrated the theft, and, after well searching, he informed the landlady of his conviction. She seemed astounded, but declared her entire ignorance of the transaction. Frank then—and he is never at a loss for an expedient—gravely repeated to her that the money had been taken by a person who knew well where it was, who had seen it before the day on which it was stolen, and who had plenty of time to put things straight after it was stolen. She said, "You, perhaps, think I took it?" He replied that he did think so, and told her that he had a dream on the previous night which convinced him that he was right. He also said that he dreamt the money was brought back, and placed in a fish-basket in the back yard, and told her, that unless it was brought back in two days, he had the means at his disposal by which he could make out clearly who was the thief. The landlady seemed taken aback still more by this speech, but she merely said, "Well, if it is brought back it won't be by me." Smith then took his departure, assuring her that he would find out the thief and the money, and well assured himself that his new patent dream would have the desired effect, although the money could be found nowwhere about the house. On Tuesday afternoon, as Mr. West was removing some fish-baskets out of the yard, he found his money—the gold wrapped up in the notes—all safe in the very basket where Frank Smith told the landlady he had dreamt he saw it! Smith talks of taking out a patent for his discovery of the efficacy of a dream invented at the right moment and in the proper place

ACCIDENTS AND CASUALTIES.

FATAL ACCIDENT ON THE AYLESBURY RAILWAY.—On Friday afternoon an accident, which has unhappily been attended with the loss of one life, occurred on the Aylesbury branch of the London and North Western Railway, within a mile and a quarter of the junction of the branch with the main line at Cheddington. The train was the ordinary passenger train, which leaves Aylesbury at a quarter before two in the afternoon for Cheddington to meet the up-train to London. It may be stated that only a single line of rails has been laid down, and that the length of the branch line between Aylesbury and Cheddington is about seven miles. The train consisted of four carriages, with a break, engine, and tender, and proceeded at a steady pace averaging between twenty-two and twenty-four miles per hour, till it arrived within a mile and a quarter of the junction, when the engine suddenly ran off the line, tearing up some yards of the rails, and, after running about 100 yards, passed through a quick-set hedge, and fell on its side in the adjoining field. The coupling between the engine and tender broke, the tender ran on about a dozen yards further, and with the break and the two foremost carriages, which were second class, ran off the line on the opposite side of the rails. The guard, George Allen, who was thrown with great violence from the train by the shock, was taken up insensible, and carried to a public-house on the line, called the Aylesbury Arms, about half a mile from where the accident took place. Some brandy was administered to him, and he revived a little, but expired before they got to the house. It was found that he had sustained a com

DIVORCE CASES.

HOUSE OF LORDS, MONDAY, JUNE 14.

BENNETT'S DIVORCE.—This house assembled at half-past two o'clock to hear further evidence in support of the second reading of "Bennett's Divorce" Bill.

The Peers present were the Lord Chancellor, Lord Brougham, Lord Effingham, Lord Monteagle, and Lord Strangford.

As some time has elapsed since the former hearing, it will be necessary, in order to the reader's understanding the case, to recapitulate the outline of the matter:—The petitioner, Mr. William Anthony Barlton Bennett, sought, by the means of this bill, to be divorced from his wife, Marianne Colmore Bennett, to whom he was married on the 15th of April, 1835. Mrs. Bennett's name was Cregoe. The marriage was solemnised, according to the rites of the church of England, at the parish church of Charlton Kings, in the county of Gloucester. Two sons formed the issue of that marriage, aged respectively eighteen and fifteen. The parties lived together after the marriage, first residing in the metropolis, and afterwards in different parts of the continent. Mr. and Mrs. Bennett resided together until 1844, occupying temporary residences, and in the autumn of that year the petitioner made arrangements to go to Scotland on a shooting excursion, and it was arranged that Mrs. Bennett, instead of taking any permanent residence, should pay a visit to a friend who lived at Hitchen, in the county of Hertford. On her way to Hitchen Mrs. Bennett paid a visit to a Mrs. Farmer, at Nonsuch-park, in the county of Surrey. It was with the utmost astonishment that the petitioner subsequently heard of Mrs. Bennett's unexpected departure. The discovery having taken place, an intimate friend, Colonel Errington, was consulted by the petitioner. At the period Mr. Bennett set out for Scotland, he, together with his wife, was residing at Worthing in the county of Sussex; thence Mrs. Bennett was to go to Nonsuch-park, and thence to proceed to Hitchen on a visit to a relative, and she was to have remained at the last mentioned place until the return of the petitioner from his shooting excursion. Accompanied by her second child, Mrs. Bennett proceeded to Nonsuch-park, which spot she quitted suddenly in the month of August, 1844, taking with her the child, carefully concealing her intended place of destination. The fact of her departure having been communicated to the petitioner, he at once commenced a vigorous search with the view of discovering his wife. The petitioner was assisted in this inquiry by Colonel Errington and the police. Circumstances arose in the course of the inquiry which caused the petitioner to suspect that his wife had gone to the Continent; but considerable time was consumed in the search which he had set on foot before he could obtain the least trace as to whither she had proceeded. At length, however, after the most diligent and persevering inquiries, a clue was gained as to the course Mrs. Bennett had taken, and, accordingly, Mr. Bennett first traced her to Lyons, and thence, by way of Marseilles and Genoa, into Italy. Mrs. Bennett had assumed the name of Barnard. From Italy the petitioner followed her to Spain, and on her arrival in that country he discovered that she had adopted the name of Freemantle. During the month of December he found that his wife was living at Valencia. In consequence of this discovery he had an interview with her, and urged her to return home, but in that request he was not successful. At the time of her marriage a settlement of the interest of £5,000 to her own separate use was made, therefore Mrs. Bennett was not without pecuniary means of her own. During the progress of the petitioner's inquiry at Valentia he ascertained that Mr. John Hastings Touchett, with whom he and his wife had been acquainted while in England, was sojourning at the French Hotel at Valencia, under the assumed name of Shirley, and it was this gentleman who was charged with the commission of adultery with Mrs. Bennett. At the time of the discovery of Mrs. Bennett at Valencia she was not residing in the same house as that occupied by Mr. Touchett. The petitioner, having been supplied with the information that his wife was acting under the advice of Mr. Touchett, asssaulted that gentleman; in consequence he fell into the hands of the local authorities. It having been ascertained, however, that Mr. Touchett was travelling under an assumed name, he was ordered to leave the country. While the petitioner was staying at Valencia for the purpose of learning the course of his wife's conduct during her residence at that place he had been unable to obtain any information of facts sufficiently strong to warrant any accusation against her of adulterous intercourse with Mr. Touchett. The petitioner renewed his intreaties that his wife would return home, but this she strenuously, as before, declined to do. He then asked her to give up the child, but that she refused to do until he consented to execute a deed of separation, and even then he had been obliged to threaten to invoke the aid of the authorities before she would give up the child. Having gained possession of the child, the petitioner returned to England, and the deed of separation was executed on the 15th of May, 1846. Mrs. Bennett after this quitted Valencia and proceeded to Paris, where, and at other parts of France, she continued to reside; and although the petitioner entertained a suspicion that an adulterous intercourse subsisted between his wife and Mr. Touchett, he had not been able to obtain any positive information upon the subject until the month of August in the last year. Having heard from his son that his mother was going to return to England, it occurred to his mind that Mr. Touchett, whom he had noticed at the Reigate station, might be waiting to receive her as she came up from Folkestone, on her route from Boulogne; so, when he arrived at the next station he got out of the down train, and returned to Reigate by the next up train. On arriving at Reigate, he ascertained that the gentleman he had described had received a lady who had alighted from the preceding up train, and that they had gone on together to Horsham. The petitioner followed, and he discovered that they had engaged apartments at the King's Head, though not as for man and wife. The petitioner placed a watch upon them, and in the course of that night Mr. Touchett was observed to quit his own bedroom and enter that of Mrs. Bennett, where he remained the whole of the night. Here, then, it was that an adulterous intercourse was committed, and from that period to the present time the petitioner had not had any communication whatever with his wife. On the 29th of August the petitioner brought an action against Mr. Touchett in the Court of Queen's Bench. The defendant allowed judgment to go by default, and the damages were assessed at £500. The damages had been paid, and the necessary proceedings were instituted in the Ecclesiastical Court, where a sentence of divorce *a mensâ et thoro* was pronounced on the 20th of February last.

Further evidence was heard, and the consideration thereof adjourned *sine die*.

BATLEY'S DIVORCE.—As some months have elapsed since this matter was before the house, for the purpose of calling the attention of the public to the facts of the case we give a sketch of the details as an abstract of the opening statement of the learned counsel on the previous occasion. Their Lordships would find that the young man, at the time a minor, had, on the 9th of October, 1848, contracted a marriage with a woman who at that period had passed as Miss Helen Susannah Newton. The name of the petitioner was Richard Batley, the younger. The ceremony was performed in the district church of St. John's, in the Waterloo-road, and at the time of the marriage the petitioner was only in his 20th year, and did not complete that age until the succeeding month. The marriage had taken place without either the consent or knowledge of Mr. Batley, the father. Prior to their union the woman had represented herself as the daughter of a Captain Newton, holding a commission in the army, living at No. 6, Clarence-place, Tunbridge Wells, and subsequently to the celebration the son communicated the fact of the marriage to his supposed father-in-law by letter. That letter, however, was returned through the Dead Letter-office, indorsed "No such person known." Upon this he spoke to his own father upon the subject, who, naturally being anxious to ascertain the respectability of his new daughter-in-law, accompanied by a friend, went down to Tunbridge Wells, where they discovered that no such person as Captain Newton was known. Upon the return of Mr. Batley to London he communicated the result of his inquiries to his son, and the consequence of their subsequent consultation was the separation of the latter frm his wife on the 16th of October—just one week after the marriage. Some time after the separation circumstances arose which created a suspicion in the mind of the petitioner as to the propriety of the life his wife was leading, and therefore, on the 6th of June, 1849, he set a watch upon the house No. 40, Brook-street, Newington, to which house he had already traced her from Astley's in the company of a man. Having made an arrangement with two friends, named Martinelli and Barnes, on the 6th of June, to watch in the street, the petitioner engaged a room in the house. After waiting some hours, the wife, accompanied by a man, was seen to enter the house; and having presently called in his two friends, they proceeded to the door of the room into which it was known Mrs. Batley and her companion had gone. They knocked at the door of the room, when a voice from within (Mrs. Batley's) asked who was there. To this the reply was, "Tom." The same voice said, "Who is Tom?" Upon this the petitioner and his friends forced the door open and entered the room. They found Mrs. Batley in bed with a man, who was in the act of rising as they entered. Mrs. Batley crept under the bedclothes to hide herself. Both parties were undressed. Of course considerable confusion ensued upon this intrusion, and in consequence of that confusion the paramour escaped without either his name or place of abode having been obtained from him. He was therefore unprepared to place before their lordships any evidence as to who that person was, and for the same reason it was that the petitioner had been unable to bring an action at common law against the party, in compliance with the rules of their lordships' house. He felt bound at that stage of the statement to inform their lordships that some time after the separation the petitioner had been summoned before a magistrate, who made an order that he should make a weekly allowance to his wife of 7s. The fact of the adultery having thus been established, a suit was instituted in the Ecclesiastical Court six days after the discovery of adultery (on the 6th of June, 1849) had been made, and the final decree was pronounced for the divorce on the 6th of December, 1850. He could not say that there had been any distinct opposition to the suit; but there had been some interrogatories by certain persons who had interfered on her behalf. It was worthy of remark, in reference to the nature of the relief the petitioner sought from the hands of their lordships, that, upon the service of the copy of the order of that house and the copy of the bill upon Mrs. Batley, she was found to be living with, and passing by the name of a man named Edmonds; and it was found that, although she was at this particular time going under the name of the man she was living with, yet she admitted at the time of the service upon her that she was Mrs. Batley.—Several witnesses testified to the free and easy life of Mrs. Batley. At one place she was in the habit of sitting at the window of her apartment beckoning men in from the streets.—John Summers, of 37, Brunswick-street, Hackney, proved that Mrs. Batley was living in his house as the wife of a man of the name of Edmonds, who was an omnibus driver.—Further consideration of the matter was adjourned *sine die*.

Central Criminal Court.

This court commenced its sittings on Monday before the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, the Right Hon. the Recorder, &c.

CHARGE OF PERJURY.—Dr. Jabez Burns, a Baptist minister, surrendered to take his trial upon an indictment charging him with wilful and corrupt perjury.—Mr. Parry said the defendant, who was the minister of Enon Chapel, Marylebone, was in that capacity the successor of the Rev. Thomas Gwennap, who being possessed of property, charged his estate with an annual payment of £95 for purposes connected with the maintenance of the defendant's ministry, and various charities, appointing Dr. Burns and a Mr. Mekin trustees. By the law of mortmain, such a deed of gift, to be valid, should be executed twelve months before the death of the donor; the gift, also, should be absolute, and pass immediately to the party in whose favour it was made. When after the death of the donor his relatives became for the first time aware of the existence of such a deed, they applied to the Court of Chancery to set it aside, on the ground of fraud, as an evasion on the law of mortmain, it being contended that neither party intended the gift to pass at once, but it being understood between them that it was not to come into force until after the donor's death. The result of this appeal to the Court of Chancery was that the defendant was called upon to answer certain interrogatories, and among others, one to ascertain whether any agreement was really made between him and the deceased that the provisions of the deed should not be enforced until after Mr. Gwennap's death. To this interrogatory the defendant answered by declaring that no such agreement was ever made, and it was upon this statement the present indictment for perjury was founded.—This was the case represented for the prosecution.—An officer of the court of Chancery, produced the evidence of the defendant in that court, in which he denied the existence of any secret collusive agreement between himself and the donor.—Mr. East, a deacon of defendant's chapel, read a document which he and defendant signed at the house and in the presence of the late Mr. Gwennap, a memorandum in the text of which the defendant and witness admit that the deed conveying moneys to the defendant and witness for certain purposes has been devised to meet the legal difficulties arising out of the Mortmain Act, and that they perfectly understand that it is not to have effect during the donor's life.—Mr. Ballantine, for the defence, contended that no evidence had been given to show that when the deed was signed there was any agreement that it should not be enforced until after the death of the donor, and any arrangement made after signature might fairly be ascribed to the proper feeling of the trustees.—A great number of highly respectable witnesses were called to speak to the defendant's character.—The Recorder summed up the case with great clearness and impartiality, and the jury, after deliberating a short time in the box, expressed a wish to retire.—They returned in about a quarter of an hour and gave a verdict of Not Guilty.—Mr. Metcalf applied for the expenses of the prosecution.—The Recorder would require time to consider the application. The defendant had not been committed by a magistrate.

On Tuesday a Mr. Bishop was tried at the Old Bailey for a libel on Dr. Burns. The prosecution arose out of the affair reported above. A nominal verdict was taken, and the Recorder declared that Dr. Burns left the court without the slightest stain on his character.

A DANGEROUS LOVER.—Stephen Tibbett, 67, was indicted for feloniously cutting and wounding Edith Robinson, with intent to do her grievous bodily harm.—The prosecutrix, a good looking middle-aged woman, deposed that she was a widow, and resided at No. 61, Noble-street, St. Luke's. About nine months ago, the prisoner applied to her to know if she had any apartments to let, and she told him she had. And he then asked her if she was not a widow. She replied that she was, and wished to know why he made the inquiry; and he said, "Because I am single, and you are a widow, and perhaps we may make up a match." (A laugh.) In consequence of what the prisoner said on this occasion, she refused to let him come into her house as a lodger; but one night, shortly afterwards, he forced his way in, and conducted himself in such a manner that she was obliged to have him turned out of the house, and after this he annoyed her so much that she was obliged to tell the people in the house not to allow him to come in. On the evening of the 22nd of May she was standing at her door, when the prisoner came up to her, and exclaimed, "Now, Mrs. Robinson, you have been my ruin; —— you, I'll do for you;" and at the same moment he struck her a violent blow on the head with a hammer. She struggled with him, and wrenched the hammer from his hand, and she then heard him say he was sorry he had not completed it.—The jury found the prisoner Guilty of the offence of unlawfully wounding, and he was sentenced to be imprisoned and kept to hard labour for six months.

TRIAL FOR MURDER.—Guiseppe Remorino, an Italian, aged 20, described as a sailor, and Emanuel Antola, another Italian, aged 22, also described as a sailor, were indicted for the wilful murder of Thomas Murley. It appeared from the opening statement of the learned counsel for the prosecution, that some few weeks ago, on a Sunday night, the 30th of May, the two prisoners and the deceased were at the Three Crowns public-house, in East Smithfield, when a row ensued. The prisoners were soon afterwards seen in the street, and another disturbance taking place, the police came up and drove them away. It was late at night, but, nevertheless, after the police had disappeared Tenison returned to the court and joined the prisoners again. They renewed the previous quarrel, and Connelly once more interfered to get him away, but the prisoner Antola, who had armed himself with a poker, felled him to the ground, as he was in the act of taking Tenison with both arms round the waist. The deceased, Murley, who witnessed the terrible assault, rushed upon Antola, to prevent his repeating the blow, and while he was restraining him the other prisoner, Remorino, advanced to the spot, when Antola handed him a huge clasp-knife, which Remorino opened and deliberately stabbed the deceased in the lower part of the abdomen. The prisoner then decamped, while the deceased fell senseless to the ground. He was, however, taken up by some of his companions, and as he was found to be dreadfully bleeding from the wound which the knife had inflicted he was conveyed to the London Hospital, where he lingered for a few hours in great agony and then died. It would seem that all the parties were drunk at the time of the occurrence, and in the early part of the night the deceased and one of the prisoners had a stand-up fight about some drink which had been given to a prostitute, and in the course of the encounter the prisoner received a severe punishment and black eye.—The Learned Judge summed up, when the jury, after deliberating for a short time, retired and returned into a verdict of Manslaughter against both prisoners.—The Court then sentenced them to two years' imprisonment with hard labour.

LAST HONOURS TO GARIBALDI'S MOTHER.

(Translated from the "Gazetta del Popolo.")

Nice is indeed a noble city, a city of generous inhabitants, and an Italian in spite of the influence of two formidable associations, one controlling education and religion, and the other appealing to interest. And she has shown herself noble, generous and Italian to-day, when, in the least splendid quarter of the city, in a small and poor house, died a woman of the common people, at an advanced age, a woman without wealth, without the lustre of high birth, without the splendour of position in society, without the claims of a wandering genius, although richly endowed with what is far more valuable, the highest rectitude of judgment, the noblest feelings and the most ardent love for her country, Italy. That poor woman, though unknown to the children of fortune, was the mother of Guiseppe Garibaldi, and the worthy mother of so great a son.

Only fourteen hours elapsed between the moment when she breathed her last and that in which she was taken to her last abode. And no sooner did the news of her death reach any one, than, in the general interest which prevailed, that it was spread in every direction; and crowds pressed to the humble house, not only citizens, but all the exiles, banished from their country by political circumstances, have found Nice an asylum and a hospital. At no epoch has Nice ever before seen so great and imposing a funeral display—one that would compare with the obsequies of that modest plebeian woman. The pall was borne by four exiles, of four different nations, but united by the same principles—an Italian, a Frenchman, a Russian, and a Polander. They were followed by a group of ladies, four of them Venetians, then the daughter-in-law and grandchild of the ex-president, Daniel Manin, and the wife of a most eminent artist, Modena. The last was born on the other side of the Alps, but Italy loves to call her hers now, for what she did at Palma and Rome.

There were also the wife of the distinguished veteran Pasetti, a gentle Roman, and several others. Behind them came a throng of Italians from all the provinces of Italy, all of which have worthy representatives, and some illustrious ones; and many of those who have been expelled from France, and who are undeceived, but not changed; with other men from other countries, all soldiers of the same flag, bound together in one love and the same faith, and, excited by the single desire to show respect, in the remains of a poor aged woman, to the dear and sacred name of Garibaldi.

A solemn procession was surrounded and followed by the best, and, I say with pleasure, the largest part of the population of Nice, all mournful; and, I repeat with pride, what funeral of a great man, in this city, ever equalled that of this poor woman? Where was the Italian idea ever expressed with such affecting sympathy? And who would dare to deny it, while seeing so many people extend in the open country and wind up the path of the steep hill, there standing to pray for the repose from her labours, who had educated such a son of Italy, and weeping and meditating on an uncertain future, which God, in his mercy, may make speedy and happy.

We add nothing to these words. We think of the grief of the great exile, while we make this mournful announcement. These are things which have no words. It will belong to foreigners to comfort the afflicted heart of the Defender of Rome! To this account 'L'Eco d'Italia' adds:—

"They write from Nice as follows:—'The Advocate B. Bunice, Councillor of the municipality, G. Doldevi, of the National Guard, and A. Zanetti, a Venetian exile, have opened a subscription, to which all the Niceans and emigrants have contributed, to erect a monument on the tomb of Rosa Garibaldi, who knew how, in her poverty, to give to Italy, so faithful a defender, and illustrious a citizen as Guiseppe Garibaldi.'"

Imperial Parliament.

MONDAY, JUNE 14.

HOUSE OF LORDS.—The CHANCELLOR took his seat on the wool sack at five o'clock.

Lord MALMESBURY announced that government intended to withdraw the Extradition of Offenders Bill.

On the motion for committing the Corrupt Practices at Elections Bill,

The Earl of DERBY moved two amendments. The first requiring the assent of the House of Lords to the issuing of any commission of inquiry, was carried by 78 to 34 votes. Another against the provision which classes bribery and treating together was carried by 68 to 35 votes.

Some other bills were advanced a stage, and the house adjourned at a quarter past twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—At the morning sitting,

The SECRETARY-AT-WAR read a letter of explanation from General Thomas in reference to the charge of military coercion in the late Enniskillen election, wherein he admitted canvassing in favour of Mr. Whiteside, but denied the alleged intimidation. He (the gallant Secretary) considered General Thomas had acted with imprudence, but that he had not been guilty of military intimidation.

The remaining supply votes were then passed, including the grant for the pay and equipment of the new militia force.

The Labuan vote gave rise to some discussion on the subject of a dispute between Sir J. Brooke and the Eastern Aschipelago Company.

Secretary Sir J. PAKINGTON intimated that legal proceedings were pending on the subject.

Mr. O'CONNOR.—At the evening sitting a petition was presented from a sister of Mr. O'Connor's, praying for his liberation from the custody of the Sergeant, that he might be placed in a lunatic asylum.

On the motion of Mr. Secretary WALPOLE, a committee was appointed to inquire into the sanity of the honourable member.

Mr. Secretary WALPOLE laid on the table the minutes of council altering the management clauses of the National Educational Grant. The right honourable gentleman, in answer to Mr. C. Lewis, announced that the Corporation of London had submitted a plan to the Home-office, which had been approved, to take Copenhagen Fields as the site for the new Smithfield Market.

Mr. HENLEY intimated a probability of the introduction of a bill next year to prevent the evasion of the Joint-Stock act.

THE OUTRAGE UPON MR. MATHER—LORD JOHN RUSSELL'S REVIEW OF THE SESSION.—Lord J. RUSSELL, on the report of the resolutions of supply, called attention to the case of Mr. Mather. He detailed the circumstances of the outrage, and, after referring to the vacillating conduct of Lord Malmesbury, who in writing to France described the outrage as a wanton and unprovoked assault, and in his despatch to Vienna called it a mere accidental circumstance, commented on the injury to the national character which must result from making questions involving the national honour matters of mere pecuniary consideration. He entered his protest against a course of conduct which he felt must degrade the government of England in the eyes of Europe, but, adopting Lord Derby's language in reference to the late government and the affairs of Greece, he would say, in the language of that noble lord:—"Surely it becomes the British legislature to step forward and to say that the Foreign-office in England is not England—that the high-minded generous English feeling of this great people is opposed to measures such as have been taken by the government of the country—that we separate our actions from theirs, our feelings from theirs, our views of political matters, our views of justice and good faith, from theirs." So, sir, continued Lord John Russell, do I beg leave to separate my feelings of honour, of justice, and good faith, from the conduct that her Majesty's government have pursued in the case of Mr. Mather. (Loud cheers.) I beg leave to enter my protest against conduct which seems to me to degrade the government in the eyes of the world, which will not degrade this country because it takes a far better and far higher view than the government, of what is due to its character, and this I trust will be recollected before the government interfere again to obtain redress for a British subject. I trust they will consider that in the present state of continental Europe this is almost the only country where there can be any free expressions of opinion, where a free press and free discussions in the legislature can be freely allowed. Because, though there are the forms of constitutional government in several countries of Europe, these forms are in some countries so perverted, and in other instances, where they are not perverted and where there is some real liberty, yet those countries themselves are so small and so dependent on their greater neighbours that no bold and open expression of opinion can be tolerated. In such territories as these no such pamphlets as that which, to his immortal honour, came last year from the right hon. gentleman, the member for the university of Oxford—(cheers)—could, I believe, be made public at the present time in any other country in Europe. If this is the case, it behoves us more especially to keep our character untainted and our honour untouched: it behoves us, if we are to come forward asking for redress to ask it mildly, to ask it with temper, but at the same time to insist upon that which we believe to be our due. (Hear, hear.) It would be an inestimable loss, not only to this country but to the world, if our character as a great and independent nation should in any degree be lessened. (Cheers.) I trust, therefore, before the noble lord at the head of the Foreign-office writes any such despatches as these again, he will consider how great is the charge entrusted to him, and that he will not lightly endanger those great interests and this high character by such heedless expressions. (Loud cheers.) Turning to the conduct of the government at home, Lord John Russell adverted to the studious concealment of their policy, the contradictory views expressed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the House of Commons and the Prime Minister at the Mansion-house, by the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and the Solicitor-General, who appealed to their constituents on Protection principles, and those of their number who put forward the "big loaf." He reminded the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the landlord party who talked of compensation, that the Corn Laws were not imposed for the good of the landed interest, but for the national advantage, and when the national advantage was shown to be the other way, there was no ground for continuing them or granting compensation. He complained that ministers had occasioned unnecessary differences by raising expectations of interference with the existing systems of national education in England and Ireland—with the Maynooth endowment, and other subjects. By having no settled opinion, but promising to re-open every question, they were offering a premium to agitation, but it would be for the country to decide whether they could place confidence in a government which had no principles of its own.

Lord STANLEY defended the conduct of Lord Malmesbury in the Mather case, and explained that the word "accidental" in that noble lord's despatch was meant to imply that the attack had nothing in it of a national character, though undoubtedly it was most unprovoked and brutal in its nature. He entered largely into precedents, to show that the claim for redress could only be made against the Tuscan government, and not against Austria. If the demand had been made upon Austria, it would have been a recognition of the Austrian occupation of Tuscany, which England had never yet done, and gone far to increase the power of despotic governments in Europe. He denied there was anything of principle in the question of compensation—it was a mere matter of personal injury involving no national insult, and so considered Mr. Mather's first demand of £5,000 was unreasonable, and the reason Mr. Scarlett's acts had been disavowed was not because he had taken a smaller sum, but because he had disclaimed the principle of the responsibility of Tuscany.

Mr. OSBORNE said he lamented the course which had been adopted by the noble lord the member for the City of London, because if ever a case was entitled to be considered upon its own merits, without including the general imbecility and incapacity of the government, it was the present one. ("Hear," and a laugh.) The case of Mr. Mather, and the conduct of the noble lord who, to the great misfortune of the country, was installed in the Foreign Office, was a question of itself sufficient to engage the attention of the house, and had, in his opinion, been diluted by going into the general transparent shuffling of the government. (Hear, hear.) He blamed the noble lord at the head of the government for not at once calling the Austrian government to account, instead of thus huckstering away the character of the country. (Cheers.) Mr. Scarlett asked whether pecuniary compensation would be taken. Lord Malmesbury in a most extraordinary reply said to Mr. Mather, "Do you wish me to go to war?" and in the true spirit of a pedler asked, "What will you take for your injury?" Mr. Mather replied that he did not wish to make it a personal case, that the national honour was concerned, and for that reason he mentioned £5,000. What was Lord Malmesbury's conduct then? Did he say the demand was exorbitant? No such thing. He bowed Mr. Mather out without giving him the least idea that he thought his demand exorbitant. Let them follow up this case. He then, behind Mr. Mather's back, writes a letter to Mr. Scarlett, saying, "This is an exorbitant demand, make it £1,000." £1,000 was the price at which Lord Malmesbury thought an Englishman might be cut down in the streets of Florence, and in this despatch, couched in most remarkable language, and in which the grammar was on a par with the feeling, he said that the price demanded was exorbitant, adding, "But you will see what can be got." (Laughter.) Let the house picture to itself the noble lord below him writing such a despatch, and in such language, telling his minister to judge, "what may be got." (Cheers.) What security was there for the lives and honour of British subjects abroad when such ministers as Lord Malmesbury were at the Foreign-office? The great boast of this country, the "civis Romanus sum," was only a pretence while the government allowed men to be so degraded. To this day no contrition had been expressed on the part of the Austrian officers. So far from that, they commended the conduct of Lieutenant Forsthuber, and he was cried up as the hero of the army and the man who cut down the Englishman who was valued at £500. He was also informed by some people from Florence that that officer was the hero of the hour, and that the health of Lord Malmesbury and Lieutenant Forsthuber were constantly given together at the Austrian messes. ("Hear, hear," and laughter.) Scarlett might be a very amiable man, but he was not fit for his business; and he (Mr. Osborne) would suggest to the Chancellor of the Exchequer that he should send him to some quieter place where there were no Austrian troops; and if there was any half-pay list for the Foreign-office, to put Lord Malmesbury upon it. This was an act and a treatment of a British subject such as had never been surpassed. He (Mr. Osborne) was sorry that the question had been mixed up with any other question, whether that of Protection or any other. It was a question great enough to interest the house itself, and he regretted that by the forms of the house he was prevented moving a direct vote of censure on Lord Malmesbury—(loud cheers, and cries of "Move")—for he had disgraced them, and lowered them in the eyes of the whole continent of Europe. (Cheers.)

The Marquis of GRANBY referred to a number of statistics to prove the depression of the agricultural and the shipping interest under Free Trade. He also endeavoured to show, by deducting the decrease of production from the increase of imports, that the consumption of wheat had fallen off by 400,000 quarters a year. If Protection were not restored, the peculiar burdens pressing upon agriculture must be lessened.

Lord PALMERSTON said that this case, from the beginning to the end, was not a comedy, but a tragedy, of "all in the wrong." The late government and the present government had both taken a wrong view. The government ought to have demanded the punishment of the Austrian officer, and if he had acted in accordance with the regulations of his service then an apology was due from the Austrian government, and the national honour being satisfied, then the question of compensation to the individual would have arisen. He considered Mr. Scarlett was wrong in accepting less than the minimum fixed by his instructions, and that that minimum (£500) was far too little. The proper course was to have demanded, and insisted upon, redress from the Tuscan government; and if Tuscany called in a foreign garrison to make her responsible for the acts of that garrison; at the same time he was not sure that greater advantage might not have been obtained in the way of example, by making Austria responsible for the misdeads of her own soldiers. However, it was considered best to treat with the Tuscan government, and to accept of a money reparation the British government should have said, "We will take the money, and whatever you may say about non-responsibility, we will make you remember that you are responsible; we will compel you to give adequate compensation, and we do not care a pin for your saying that you are not responsible." (Hear, hear.) We should say you are responsible, and we will make you responsible. (Hear.) There might be some value in reading this lesson to Tuscany, but the lesson would be far greater in an European sense if we said to Austaia, if you take advantage of your superior force and occupy Tuscany with your garrison we will hold you responsible for the conduct of that garrison, and if you misbehave we will not look to the weaker government, on which you have imposed your garrison for satisfaction. (Hear, hear.) I desire, sir, to see the independence of Tuscany, and those papers called attention to the unfortunate state of a large portion of the Italian peninsula. (Hear, hear.) The Italian people were endowed with great and eminent qualities; they possessed great intellectual ability, and when the opportunity was afforded they produced men who, as statesmen and warriors, were as full of capacity as those of any part of Europe. (Hear, hear.) I apprehend it is because they have not had this opportunity of late years that Italy did not produce such eminent men. It is lamentable to see the state of Tuscany, of the Roman States, and of Naples. (Hear, hear.) In these states the greatest misgovernment prevails, and when Austria is reproached for the condition of Italy, she draws a comparison between that part of Italy which is under her control and the condition of the people in those states which I have mentioned; but like the gentleman from the sister island, who ordered his bootmaker to make him two pairs of boots, one pair to be larger than the other, and then complained that instead the man had made him one pair smaller than the other—(laughter)—the Austrian government ought not to say that the part of Italy under her control was better off than the other parts, but that the other parts of Italy were worse off than that which she governed. (Hear, hear.) I believe there never was such an example of such a system of misgovernment, of illegality, of violence, and abuse of power, as that which now prevailed in Naples and the Roman States. (Hear, hear.) It is a disgrace to modern Europe. (Cheers.) In Tuscany things are not so bad, but people were exposed there to acts of licentious violence from a foreign garrison, for which there was no redress, and a state of things existed and was submitted to which, if it happened in this country, would rouse the indignation of every man in the country. France occupied Rome and Austria occupied Tuscany, and the legations, and one would not leave till the other had left. They were told that this state of things would end in May, but May was anticipated by December. May has now passed. I therefore entreat her Majesty's government to exert their influence on this subject and in favour of an interesting and intelligent people. It is said that disturbances would take place if these foreign troops were withdrawn, but I ask the house to recollect what took place in 1831 and 1832, when the sovereigns of Italy were advised to make concessions to the people of the five great powers—France, England, Russia, Prussia, and Austria. If those concessions were yielded, I do not believe the present state of things could exist; and I think that her Majesty's government may attempt something of the kind now. If they took it up in the spirit in which I am sure they are disposed to do, great good would follow from their interference. (Cheers.)

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER defended the course taken by Lord Malmesbury in the Mather case. I hear, observed Mr. Disraeli, great delicacy expressed about a man taking money where an outrage of this kind has been committed. Why, it is the only mode recognised in this country by which a reparation can be made. Why, gentlemen, in this country, on subjects in which their most delicate honour is concerned, appear before courts, and accept pecuniary damages. ("Hear, hear," and laughter.) Does anybody suppose, when damages are tendered under such circumstances, that they are offered as a reparation for the wrong complained of? They are offered because that is the mode by which, according to the custom of this country, a certain punishment can be inflicted upon the person who has done the injury, and at the same time a certain reparation offered to the person who is injured. The noble lord has called our attention to the state of Italy. But the noble lord spoke in a tone as though the government were responsible for this. The state of Italy is no worse than we found it. The noble lord has been making these speeches on Italy for a considerable time; and very just are his observations, and very ingenious his policy; but the state of Italy has not been improved hitherto either by the councils or the conduct of the noble lord. (Hear, hear.) The noble lord has not only made speeches on the state of Italy; he has even sent some of his friends on a mission into that country. (Hear, hear.) But when we see that after all the efforts of a man of the vast ability and experience of the noble lord the state of Italy is rather aggravated than not, her Majesty's government are sensible that they must proceed with very great deliberation. (Hear, hear.) That the time may come when the fairest part of Europe may not be possessed by the hostile garrisons of foreign countries is a result which every man must desire who has the least sympathy for freedom, or who feels grateful for what Italians have done for modern civilisation. (Loud cheers.) I do not think it is necessary to say more upon the subject that is before the house. Turning to home policy, Mr. Disraeli denied having ever held the opinion that the corn laws were imposed to keep up rents; but he contended that laws which imposed burdens on land which other interests were not liable to were unjustifiable. Speaking to Lord John's condemnation of ministers in using education and religion for party purposes, twitted him with his own conduct on the appropriation clause; and in reference to a charge of taking the education vote before producing the minute which interferred with the management clauses, said that except in one previous case such minutes had never been produced until long after the voting of the grant. He denied that the party now in power recommended a recurrence to the laws existing before 1846, regretting as they did the changes then made both in regard to corn and sugar—and, however favourable he might be to a fixed duty on corn, he was not prepared to make an unpopular tax, which was not a principle after all, but a measure—the basis of the ministerial policy. The object of the government was to do justice to those classes who were unjustly treated by the policy of 1846, and that without disturbing the existing settlement.

Lord D. STUART charged the Foreign-office with having pandered to Austria at the expense of this country and Mr. Mather.

The discussion was terminated by the motion for reporting the supply votes being affirmed.

At two o'clock in the morning an attempt was made to bring on the adjourned debate on the Maynooth grant, which was met by a determined stand by the Irish members, and, after several divisions, a further adjournment took place.

The house adjourned at three o'clock.

TUESDAY, JUNE 15.

HOUSE OF LORDS.—The Earl of DERBY moved the second reading of the Militia Bill, and after reminding the house that the increase in the estimates attendant on some such measure had been alluded to in the speech from the Throne, that the necessity of the measure itself had been distinctly mentioned in the debate on the address, and that there was an universal concurrence on both sides of the house that with a view to our protection from a possible foreign aggression the defences of the country required to be placed on a footing of greater efficiency, proceeded to say:—That on the first occasion on which he addressed the house as a minister of the Crown, he expressed the belief which he then entertained, and which subsequent circumstances had tended still further to increase and strengthen, in the personal pacific disposition of the present ruler of the French Republic. If they were to ask him whether, from any anticipation of hostility proceeding from the Prince President, he asked for additional measures of defence, he should answer that inquiry with a most distinct and absolute negative. If they went on to ask him whether he considered that the state of France and of the continent of Europe was so firmly established and free from liability of interruption as to render it possible for them to rely on that which might take place from other causes than the actual disposition of the rulers of France, he should answer such a question with much more qualification than he should a question with regard to the personal predilection to the France President. He could not shut his eyes to the fact that frequent changes had taken place of late years in the government of France, and to the fact that in that country many unquiet spirits were now kept down by the stern rule of discipline, and were impatient of the control to which they were subjected, among whom would be found many who were not at all friendly to this country. (Hear, hear.) If they asked him further whether, in that state of things, and looking to the great naval and military resources of France—to her nearness to this country, and the large amount of force which in a short period she could, if so disposed, throw on our shores—looking at all these circumstances, if they asked him whether he thought they ought to be content with our present scanty provision against the possibility of invasion, he should answer that by saying that it would be the height of folly and madness if we were so content, with the probability of any contingency, however remote and unlikely, which should, for the first time for centuries, inflict on this country the possibility of a hostile descent on our coasts. (Hear, hear.) Under all the circumstances, the duty of the government was plainly to consider, not whether a measure of this kind was popular or unpopular, but how an efficient force could best be raised, or at any rate a force which could be made efficient in the shortest possible space of time. The noble earl then entered in detail into the circumstances which had induced the government to prefer the resuscitation of the militia to an augmentation of the regular army, and concluded by expressing his hope that the house would give its sanction to a measure which, though differing in some of its details from that originally proposed, had yet, as far as its principle was concerned, obtained a very general concurrence.

The Marquis of LANSDOWNE agreed with Lord Derby in thinking that the country ought not to be left in its present insecure condition, but while he abstained from opposing the measure he could not refrain from expressing the doubt which he felt at its efficacy. If the emergency occurred against which it was intended to provide, it would be feared, be found that we were engaged in an unequal conflict with undisciplined against disciplined troops. For this and other reasons he confessed that the most efficient remedy for the difficulty would have been an increase in the standing army, and he trusted, should this imperfect measure pass, it would not be the only means adopted for placing the country in a proper position of security.

The Duke of WELLINGTON said he was the last man to hesitate as to the relative merits of well disciplined and half-disciplined troops. The things were not to be compared at all. You could have confidence that the disciplined troops would perform what they were ordered to do, while with undisciplined troops the chances were that they would do the very reverse of what was expected from them. But on this occasion the state of the country must be considered, which though at peace with all the world, had never, so far as its army was concerned, maintained a proper peace establishment. Let us, then, while we were at peace, make a beginning and return to the militia, our old constitutional peace establishment. Though this militia might be undisciplined at first, it would in time become what its predecessors had been, the finest troops in the world. The noble marquis says very truly that these 50,000, or 80,000, or 120,000 men will not be fit for active service in six months, or twelve months—not in eighteen months, I say. (Hear, hear.) But, my lords, they will be fit for some service. They will set us at liberty, and enable us to employ in the field others who are fit for service. (Cheers.) And being so employed, they will themselves become fit for service. (Hear, hear.) I have been in the habit of seeing, in the course of the late war, some regiments of the English militia-men. They were in as high a state of discipline and as fit for service as any men. (Hear, hear.) I never, in my life saw finer troops. (Hear.) It was impossible to see troops in finer order, higher discipline, or more fit for service, than the whole body of the British militia were, from the beginning of the present century up to 1810. They were as fine corps as ever were seen; and I do not doubt that this body of 50,000, or 80,000, whatever it may be, will be so in the course of time. (Hear, hear.) But everything has its beginning, and this is the commencement. (Cheers, and "hear".) I say, much as I admire disciplined troops, and more particularly

tories he had not received that support and assistance from those employed in them which was expected and which he ought to have received. He (Mr. Walpole) had since appointed a sub inspector to watch over these places where the infringement of the act had occurred, but until the effect of his interference was known he submitted that it would be better for the house to take no further notice of the subject, but to leave it to the authorities to see that the law was carried out. (Hear.)

Mr. Bouverie wished to know if the house was to understand that the master manufacturers had resisted the inspector in the execution of his duty?

Mr. Walpole believed, from the information he had received, that instructions had been given by the owners of the factories to prevent the inspector making his inspection as it was his duty to do.

Roman Catholic Processions.—Mr. Keogh questioned the Home Secretary in reference to the proclamation published in Tuesday's 'Gazette' against Roman Catholic processions, and asked whether it was intended to give the same effect to the dormant clauses of the act of George IV. in Ireland as in England, by publishing a similar publication in the 'Dublin Gazette,' and whether Roman Catholic ecclesiastics in Ireland were now to be prosecuted for doing that which they had been permitted to do without interference ever since 1829?

Mr. Secretary Walpole replied that a friendly warning having been already given to a Roman Catholic bishop in Ireland that he was acting illegally in joining in such processions, and as the offence had not since been repeated, no special proclamation would be issued as regarded that country, unless the law, which he denied had laid dormant, should be again violated. With regard to England, the interference of the Government had become necessary, in consequence of information received by them that religious processions, which had not been permitted for 300 years, were about to take place, and that in one instance such a procession of Roman Catholic ecclesiastics, with banners, crucifixes, and other Romish emblems, had taken place, to the scandal of the Protestant inhabitants, and to the danger of the public peace.

The County Courts Bill went through committee.

The second reading of the Bishopric of Christ Church (New Zealand) Bill, the debate on which had been postponed since the 4th inst. at the instance of Mr. Anstey, was carried, after some discussion, and on a division.

Sir D. L. Evans's Parish Vestries Bill was opposed by the Attorney-General and other members of the government, and on a division was thrown out, by 86 votes against 26.

Mr. Feargus O'Connor.—Mr. Walpole brought up the report of the Select Committee appointed to inquire into the allegations in the petition of Miss O'Connor, sister of Mr. F. O'Connor. The report stated these allegations were true; that it appeared, by the evidence of Mr. Lawrence and Dr. Tweedy, that they had visited and examined Mr. O'Connor, and had each certified that he was a proper person to be confined. The petitioner had requested Dr. Tuke to receive her brother into his asylum at Chiswick, and he had agreed to do so. She stated that she was the nearest relative to Mr. O'Connor in England, and had signed the requisite order for enabling Mr. O'Connor to be placed in that asylum. The committee had required an undertaking that Mr. O'Connor should not be removed from Dr. Tuke's asylum without the authority of the house, and they had given such undertaking. Under the circumstances the committee recommended that Mr. O'Connor should be discharged from the custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms, and be given into the care of Dr. Tuke. (Hear, hear.)

The report was received.

Mr. Walpole.—I beg leave to move that Mr. O'Connor be discharged from the custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms without payment of the fees.

Mr. Hume hoped no time would be lost in making arrangements for Mr. O'Connor to leave the house.

Mr. Walpole said that arrangements had already been made for that purpose.

Mr. Goulburn asked whether the agreement as to Mr. O'Connor not being removed without the authority of the house, applied merely to the present session or to a future parliament?

Mr. Walpole said the agreement was a verbal one, and only applied to this parliament.

The motion was then agreed to.

The motion for referring the Corrupt Practices at Elections (No. 2) Bill to a committee was opposed by the Attorney-General, and at a minute before six a division was called, which resulted in the loss of the bill, by 65 votes to 16.

The house then adjourned.

THURSDAY, June 17.

HOUSE OF LORDS.—The Lord Chancellor took his seat on the Woolsack at five o'clock.

Mr. Mather's Case.—Lord Beaumont gave notice that he should, on Monday next, call the attention of the house to the correspondence which had been lately laid on the table, relative to the recent assault on Mr. Mather, at Florence.

Lord Wodehouse moved the second reading of the Ecclesiastical Courts (Criminal) Jurisdiction Bill, which was opposed by the Bishop of Salisbury, and the Bishop of London, and supported by Lord Campbell.

Then house then divided, when there appeared—

For the second reading	45
Against it	80—35

The bill was consequently rejected.

The Enfranchisement of Copyholds Bill.—This bill passed through committee.

The Suiters in Chancery Relief Bill was read a second time.

The Militia Bill also passed through committee, and the house adjourned after despatching some other business.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—The Speaker took the chair at twelve o'clock.

Metropolis Water Supply Bill.—Lord John Manners, in moving the committal of this bill, intimated that the bill as it now stood was the bill introduced by his predecessor in office, as amended by a Committee, and the government did not hold itself responsible for all its provisions, but it acknowledged the principle of government control, and with these principles government perfectly concurred.

Mr. Mowatt opposed the bill, and threatened to divide the house; but no division took place.

Lord Ebrington also opposed the bill.

Mr. T. Duncombe said it used to be said that it was the old companies who were the stumbling blocks in the way of reform in this particular, but now it appeared that there were sprung up sanitary associations, who were greater nuisances still. (Laughter.) They had heard of certain persons in Tooley-street declaring themselves to be the people of England, and now they had sanitary associations assuming to themselves the health of the people of England. (Hear.) The noble lord who had just sat down complained that the water taken from the Thames had a feculent odour. Was anything else to be expected when the noble lord, when Commissioner of Sewers, had, as was proved from calculations, poured into it 2,000,000 cubic feet of sewage matter, equal to an area of thirty-six acres, and six feet in depth? (Great laughter.) Yet the noble lord and those acting with him were now delaying measures which were to remove those great evils. (Hear, hear.) The government deserved great praise for their conduct with regard to the sanitary measures now before the house, and he was sure that the public would not grudge the house two or three weeks more existence if they set fairly and honestly to work on these bills.

After some further discussion, the house went into committee on the bill, and after disposing of one clause adjourned.

In the evening the house resumed at six o'clock, when

Lord Naas presented a petition from the Legislative Assembly of New South Wales, complaining of the illiberal constitution recently granted to that colony. The petitioners claimed to have entire control over all revenues of the colony, prayed for redress of the grievance complained of, and, while professing loyalty to her Majesty, warned Ministers against the continuance of the system at present in force.

The reading of the petition having created considerable sensation,

Sir W. Molesworth moved that it be printed with the minutes of the house.

Mr. Disraeli objected, and said the petition contained expressions disrespectful to her Majesty, whom the petitioners alluded to as the mere trustee of her own dominions. He suggested that the formal reception of the petition should be postponed for further consideration.

Several hon. members addressed the house, stating that if there were any disrespectful passages in the petition, they should have been considered before it had been brought up by a member of the government.

Lord Naas said he would be the last person to bring forward anything disrespectful to her Majesty, and he must say he could not see anything wrong in the petition.

After some further discussion the petition was ordered to lie upon the table.

The house then again went into committee on the Metropolis Water Bill.

Lord Seymour approved the general scheme of the bill! He attributed the failure of the act of 1850, first to the inability of the Board of Health to raise the necessary funds, and secondly, to technical difficulties.

The bill was then read a second time.

The house then went into committee upon the Metropolitan Sewers Bill, the clauses of which were agreed to.

The Consolidated Fund Bill, the Militia Ballots Suspension Bill, and Militia Pay Bill, were each read a second time.

The New Zealand Bill was read a third time and passed.

On the third reading of the County Elections Polls Bill a division took place, when the motion was negatived by 49 against 39, so that the bill is lost.

Other bills were advanced a stage, and the remaining business having been disposed of the house adjourned at a quarter past two.

[The following appeared in our Second Edition of last week:—]

FRIDAY, June 11.

HOUSE OF LORDS.—Lord Lyndhurst called the attention of the house to the case of the Baron de Bode, and having commented at great length and in eloquent terms on the hardship of the case, asked for a committee of inquiry, with a view, if the report of that committee should be favourable, of appealing on behalf of the claimant to her Majesty for redress.

The Earl of Derby thought it was the duty of the house, after the able statement of Lord Lyndhurst, not to refuse the inquiry. He was also of opinion that no lapse of time ought to be permitted to prejudice the case of the claimant should the committee report favourably on its merits.

After some observations from Lords Grey, Monteagle, and Truro, the motion was agreed to.

Surrender of Criminals Bill.—A discussion took place on the Surrender of Criminals Convention with France Bill, which stood for committal.

Lord Campbell contended that reasonable proof should be given of the commission of the offence with which the party demanded stood charged. If they gave to the French government the right to demand every French citizen, this country would no longer be an asylum.

Lord Brougham also thought a *prima facie* case of guilt should be made out to justify the extradition.

The Earl of Aberdeen held that if the French government would comply with the terms of the Convention, and furnish proof that the party demanded had committed an act which, under the law of this country would be criminal, he would be given up. There was no necessity therefore for this bill.

The Earl of Derby reminded the noble earl that he had himself, in 1846, admitted the insufficiency of the existing convention in regard to France.

The bill then went through committee, and the School Sites Act Extension Bill having passed the same stage, their lordships adjourned at a quarter past ten.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—At the morning sitting, on the motion of the Secretary of War, a select committee was nominated to prepare the militia estimates, with power to send for persons, &c., to sit and proceed forthwith.

Social Condition of the Working Classes.—On the order for going into Committee of Supply,

Mr. Slaney moved a resolution that a department standing committee, or unpaid commission, be appointed to consider, suggest, and report, from time to time, preventive and remedial measures to benefit the social condition of the working classes. Notwithstanding the vast increase of wealth in this country the humbler class of working men had not improved in their condition. He believed that to arise from causes that were in a great measure remedial, but which had hitherto been neglected. The working classes were ranged into two great divisions; first, those connected with husbandry; and, secondly, those connected with towns and manufactures. The condition of the pastoral classes was most depressed and degraded owing in a great measure to a want of attention on the part of the state. The hon. gentleman referred to reports of committees of the House of Commons and of commissions from the year 1817 to 1834 in confirmation of his statements; and argued that if there had been a governmental department whose duty it had been to look into the state of the working classes, no such calamities as those reports set forth would have occurred. The mortality that affected the higher classes, taken at a per centage, was in the ratio of two per cent., while in towns, among the neglected portion of the people, it was at the rate of four and four-and-a-half, and in some cases five per cent. Could this be the case if there had existed a department whose duty it would have been to overlook the condition of the people? Since the report of the Children's Employment Commission, in 1843, something, it was true, had been done to ameliorate the condition of the working classes. (Cries of "Divide, divide!") The handloom weavers, to the number of 600,000, were in a state of the greatest distress, and to these were to be added the railway labourers, whose numbers also amounted to 600,000. (Renewed cries of "Divide.") And what was the cause of the depression of these classes of our fellowmen? It was owing to the great changes in the social and commercial condition of the world, without any corresponding change being made as regarded the labouring population of the country. The first thing necessary to be done was to provide for the education of the people. It might be said that the Government had already looked to that subject; but, with what effect? Before the Educational Committee of 1838 it was shown that provisions for the education of the people was required for one-eight, and yet, on the average, provision was only made for the education of one-eighteenth or one-twentieth of the population. Since that period two governments had endeavoured to bring in measures for extending education; but both schemes exhibited a lamentable deficiency. The average of the life of the three classes into which society was divided was this:—The average of life of the first class was thirty seven years; of the middle class, twenty-seven years; and of the humble classes, twenty years. This disparity arose in a great degree from the neglect shown by the higher classes to the condition of the lower. As a matter of economy, this subject ought to engage the attention of Parliament. The poor-rates were considerably increased by the non-employment of the people, while crime advanced in a very rapid progression. The increased consumption of spirits was another evidence of the unsatisfactory condition of the people. It was in vain that they resorted to goals and penitentiaries in order to reclaim men. It was beginning at the wrong end. They should educate the young, and teach the working man to improve his own condition. But to all this there were impediments arising from laws and customs which a consultative board would entirely remedy. He was aware that some looked at this question as a matter of cost only. Well, as a matter of cost, what was it that crime alone cost the country? Not less than £11,000,000 sterling per annum. The poor rates was £5,400,000 for England and Wales; hospitals, dispensaries, and alms, the necessity of which arose in great measure from neglect of the poor, amounted to £5,400,000. The direct cost of the police, gaols &c., amounted to £1,500,000. But to this was to be added the loss which society sustained from the illness of men whose labour was of necessity abstracted from society. That he estimated at £2,000,000; so that the whole amount of deduction to be made from the productive powers of labour on account of these various evils was not less than £27,500,000 a year. But this was only for England and Wales; if they added to it half as much more for Ireland and Scotland, which would be £13,750,000, it would make a total of £41,250,000, to which might be added £10,000,000 for consumption of spirits by those neglected persons; thus making a grand total of £51,000,000 expended annually on account of neglect, poverty, and crime in this country. He believed that one-half of this sum might be saved to the country by improving the condition of the people. There were three things which it was essential to accomplish; first, the instruction of the children; second, the protection of the health of both parents and children; and, thirdly, fair play and equal encouragement to their industry. A committee or commission, free from the bias of party, might be nominated by the government of the day, and would constitute a council which might be made a centre for the suggestions of benevolent men on whatever tended to the improvement of the working classes. The cost would not exceed £2,000, and, if that paltry sum were grudged, half of it might be found to try the experiment. The causes of existing evils would be dealt with, instead of the effects being removed, as at present; those "coming events" which "cast their shadows before" might, by measure of anticipation, have their pressure mitigated.

Lord R. Grosvenor, in seconding the motion, expressed his regret that any impatience should have been manifested in the early part of his hon. friend's address, because it tended to encourage an idea, prevalent not only among the working classes, but among a higher class, that the House of Commons was not altogether disposed to entertain their grievances. The house would regret to learn that this was the final and farewell address of the hon. member for Shrewsbury. He thought the hon. member for Shrewsbury had fully made out his case, and hoped to hear from the lips of his right hon. friend the Secretary for the Home Department some sentiments which would give encouragement as to the future.

Mr. Walpole said every one must acknowledge the zeal and benevolence which that hon. member had always manifested towards the working classes, and if he (Mr. Walpole) thought the motion would at all contribute to the improvement of their social condition, on the part of the government he would not resist it; but he feared it would be not only useless, but detrimental to those classes. The motion had two objects—to obtain information, and to suggest specific remedies. As to the first, he doubted whether more or better information than had been already collected by parliamentary committees could be acquired by a standing committee, or unpaid commission, consisting of two or three members, who would perhaps take up particular opinions. With regard to the other object, he thought that individuals ought not to be encouraged to look to the government or parliament alone for aid, instead of relying upon their own exertions; and there was a chance that the adoption of this motion would encouraged such an idea. With these views, he was sorry to say that, if the motion was pressed to a division, he must give a negative vote.

The motion was supported by Captiain Scobell, Mr. S. Carter, and Mr. Packe, and opposed by Mr. P. Howard.

Mr. Slaney declined to call for a division; the motion was therefore negatived, and the house went into Committee of Supply upon the remaining estimates, the discussion of which took up the rest of the sitting.

At the evening sitting, the house went into committe on the Improvement of the Jurisdiction Equity Bill, and some amendments having been agreed to, the bill was reported.

The Master in Chancery Abolition Bill went through a similar stage.

The other orders were disposed of, and the house adjourned until Monday.

THE BURMESE WAR.

ARRIVAL OF THE OVERLAND MAIL.

MARSEILLES, June 11.

The mail has just arrived. The dates are Calcutta, May 3; Bombay, May 12.

The enemy made an effort to retake Martaban by surprise, but was driven back with an immense loss.

Nothing was known relative to the future movement of the expedition, nor of the enemy's proceedings in the neighbourhood of Rangoon. An advance of the British troops upon Prome was, however, regarded as very improbible.

It was reported that a revolution had occurred at Ava, but the report requires confirmation.

Provisions were scarce, and of bad quality.

INDIA.

We hear that disorders were prevailing in the dominions of the Nizam and Aoud.

Sir Colin Campbell set out again on the 5th, with a force directed to St. Arriver.

FRANCE.

LOUIS NAPOLEON AND THE ENGLISH PRESS.

PARIS, Friday, June 11.

The correspondents of the London papers who have been threatened with expulsion by the French government had an interview with the British Ambassador yesterday. Lord Cowley said until he received instructions from his government he should limit his proceedings to endeavouring, in an extra-official capacity, to ascertain the real intention of the French government on the subject. For this purpose, he would demand an interview with the minister of police and with the minister of foreign affairs. He would immediately communicate the results of his inquiries to the correspondents.

BELGIUM.—The ultramontane party have gained about five votes in the Belgian chamber, by the election for its partial renewal, just concluded. The number of deputies to be elected were fifty four. The Liberals have succeeded in carrying the election of thirty-three of their candidates, and the remaining twenty-one are of the clerical party.

Fatal Colliery Accident.—On Saturday last, a melancholy and fatal accident occurred at the New Gawber Colliery, belonging to Messrs. Sturges and Co., near Barnsley, to an individual named James Rolling, the injuries from which were so serious, as to cause his death. He was working along with his brother, on the day in question, when a mass of coal, estimated at about a ton and a half in weight, which they were undermining, suddenly fell, and before deceased had time to get out of the way, he was buried by the falling mass. When extricated, which was as soon as possible, he presented a most dreadful spectacle, and appeared to be suffering severely from internal injuries, his chest and other parts of his body being completely crushed in, while blood was oozing profusely from his mouth and nostrils. His brother, with the assistance of several other persons, brought him out of the pit, and placed him in a conveyance to take him home. The poor fellow cried out in the most pitiable manner, and appeared to suffer the most excruciating agony, until he arrived at Crow Well Hill, a distance of about 150 yards from his own dwelling, when he breathed his last in the cart, surrounded by several relations and friends. His death, under such circumstances, produced a most profound sensation in the neighbourhood, and the scene which ensued—the despair and grief of his wife and six children, whom he has left behind, may be more easily imagined than described. On Monday, an inquest was held on view of the body, before T. Taylor, Esq., deputy coroner, at the house of Mr. John Wilkinson, the Red Lion Inn, Sheffield-road, when a verdict of accidental death was returned.

Police Intelligence.

EXTENSIVE ROBBERY.

At the Marlborough-street Police Office John Reeman, a private in the Coldstream Guards, and Mary Ann Bacon, servant at the Grapes public-house, Porter-street, were brought before Mr. Hardwick for further examination, charged with having stolen a cashbox, containing £120 in notes and gold, from the house of Robert Townsend, landlord of the Grapes public-house.—Mr. Townsend said the female prisoner was his servant. On the 7th of June, about ten o'clock, after the prisoner had brought up his breakfast and had gone to a cupboard several times where a cashbox was placed, she suddenly left the house, saying she wanted to take a gown to her sister's to be washed. Prosecutor noticed before she left the house that she wrapped up something in the gown. The prisoner had not left the house more than five minutes before the cashbox was missed. Prosecutor instantly suspected the prisoner, and procured the aid of the police to trace her out. After an absence of about two hours the prisoner returned, and it would be proved that the dress she took out with her was brought back in the same state. When the prisoner returned witness was not at home, and when he reached home he found the prisoner already in custody. The police succeeded in tracing her to a public-house near the barracks, where the soldier, who was her sweetheart, was lodged with his regiment. The box had not yet been found. It contained two £10 notes, several £5 notes, £35 in gold, and a quantity of silver, amounting together to £120.—Police constable Horsey said, when he took the female prisoner into custody she said she knew nothing about the cashbox.—Mr. Townsend said, the prisoner knew the cashbox was in the cupboard; she must have seen it in the cupboard when she was removing the breakfast things.—Inspector Monsklin said, if the prisoner were remanded he could bring proof that instead of going to her sister's to get her gown washed, as she said, had gone to a public-house near the barracks, sent for the prisoner, and had given the cashbox to him.—Remanded.

KEEPING THE COLD OUT.

At the Southwark Police Court, George Mosely, a young man of respectable appearance, was charged under the following circumstances.—A policeman of the M division stated that on the previous night, while on duty near the water side, he found the defendant lying on the pavement in a state of insensibility, arising, as he supposed, from the effects of liquor. His clothes were also drenched with wet, and a stretcher having been procured, he was carried on to the station-house, when, owing to the condition of the defendant, a surgeon was called to his aid to expel the contents of his stomach by means of the stomach pump. The policeman went on to describe that, upon subsequent inquiry as to the cause of defendant's condition, he ascertained that he had been one of a party on board a wherry, and that on landing near Dockhead, he, for a wager with his companion, swallowed a pint of the strongest gin, and that soon afterwards, on his way home, he fell down in the street, where he was found as described by the policeman deserted by his friends, and in all probability his life would have fallen a sacrifice to his folly if he had not been observed and taken to the station-house.—The defendant, who seemed to have suffered from the effects of what he had taken, said that he had no recollection of the wager, but that he fell out of the boat into the river, and that with the view of preventing his taking cold owing to his wet clothes, he drank off a quantity of spirits.—Mr. A'Beckett said that it ought to be a lesson for him not to indulge in liquour to such an excess, as death might have ensued from the quantity he had taken. The magistrate then inflicted a nominal fine on the defendant for being drunk.

"CADGING" IN JOKE.

At the same Court, Horace Walworth, another well-dressed young man, was placed at the bar charged with the following strange conduct:—A policeman stated that on the previous evening during a heavy shower of rain the defendant stood on Newington-causeway with his hat off, begging alms of the passengers, and imploring them to give him something towards paying for his night's lodging, adding that he was without the means of paying for a bed. The policeman, perceiving by his dress and appearance that he was not what is termed a "regular cadger," went up, desired him to put on his hat and go about his business, or he would lock him up. He, however, upon finding the defendant was evidently the worse for liquor, and that he insisted upon remaining where he was, forthwith took him to the station-house, and it was there ascertained that so far from his being without the means of paying for his bed, as he assurred the passengers was the case, there was found in his pocket £1 10s. 6d.—Mr. a'Beckett said that as he had so much money about him, he must pay the usual fine for drunkenness.

INDECENT ASSAULT.

At the Marylebone Police-court, Ensign Henry Goodwin, of the Royal Bombay Engineers, was charged with indecently assaulting George Perkins, a youth residing with his father at No. 6, Princes-street, Maida-hill, Paddington.—The age of the prisoner was stated to be twenty, and that of the prosecutor nineteen.—General M'Leod and another gentleman, to and by whom the prisoner was well known, were present during the examination.—Mr. Brougham, after listening attentively to the evidence adduced, remarked that the case was one of a most painful nature. It had been stated by the sergeant that the prosecutor was respectably connected, and he had certainly made his statement in so plain and straightforward a way as to lead to no other inference than that he had spoken the truth. The prisoner was, it was clear, from the presence of his friend General M'Leod and another gentleman with him in the court, highly respected; but he (the magistrate) felt that it was his bounden duty to send the case before a jury.—The prisoner was remanded.

THE GAMBLING "HELLS."

At Marlborough-street, fifteen persons were charged with being found in a gaming-house, 119, Jermyn-street.—Superintendent Otway, C division, said, having received proper authority from the Police Commissioners, he proceeded with Inspectors Lester and Black to 119, Jermyn-street, a house known as a common gambling-house. He found the door closed and he rang the bell. The door opened, and he proceeded along a carpetted passage towards a door with a small aperture covered with glass in the centre. He knocked at the door, and a person looked through the aperture. Having been refused admittance, he instructed the constables to batter in the door. When it began to give way, the door was opened, and they proceeded up-stairs, where they found the defendants, but no cards or implements of gaming.—Mr. Bingham: The defendants must all be discharged as there is no case against them.

GETTING OUT TO THE "DIGGINGS."

At the Clerkenwell Police Court, Joseph Thomas, errand boy to Mr. Edward Fisher, 39, Eagle-street, Red Lion-square, was charged with stealing £5 10s. in gold, and £4 10s. in silver, money belonging to his master, besides other property.—The prisoner absconded with the property stated, and was traced and apprehended on Monday and handed over to an officer.—The prisoner excused himself, representing that the prosecutor had ill-used him, and he bolted with the cash, &c., to emigrate to South Australia. (A laugh.)—Mr. Tyrwhitt informed him that he would be sent now at the expense of the government for committing a felony.—He was fully committed to Newgate for trial.

A SAVAGE.

At the Lambeth Police Office yesterday, Thomas Cowing, a savage looking little monster, was finally examined on a charge of committing a most brutal assault upon the person of a harmless looking man named John Cordy. It appeared that on the night of Tuesday week the prisoner asked the wife of the prosecutor, who kept an oyster stall in the street, for twopenny worth of oysters on credit, and because he was refused he made a savage attack on the complainant, knocked him down, kicked him several times on the head and on a delicate part of his person with savage ferocity, and inflicted such injuries that the poor man was in a highly dangerous state for several days.—It was intimated to the magistrate that more than one police constable had been disabled by the prisoner's brutality in kicking them; that for this offence he had been tried and convicted, and had also been frequently convicted summarily for brutal assaults.—Mr. Elliott, on the present occasion, convicted him in a penalty of £5, or, in default, two months' imprisonment.

FATAL RESULT OF CARELESS DRIVING.

At the Worship-street Police Station yesterday, Daniel Regan was charged with the manslaughter of Elizabeth Mellow.—Richard Mellow, the grandson of the deceased, stated that while standing at the door of their house, between six and seven on the evening of the 1st instant, he saw a heavy cart, drawn by two horses, coming down the street at a trot, and within a yard of the kerb. The prisoner, who was driver, was standing up in the front part of the cart, with a whip in his hand, but no reins were attached to the horses, that he saw. The deceased was endeavouring to cross the road at this moment, and had scarcely got off the kerb, when, seeing the danger she was in, witness called loudly to the prisoner to stop, which he endeavoured to do by shouting to the horses; but this seemed only to quicken their pace, and the next instant the deceased was hurled to the ground by the fore horse, and the wheel went over her body. Upon raising her up she breathed, but that was all; she was senseless and speechless, with blood streaming from her mouth; and upon carrying her into the shop of a neighbouring surgeon, he directed her immediate removal to the London Hospital, and she was lifted into a cab for that purpose, but before reaching the institution she had expired from the injuries she had sustained.—Mr. Henry Harris, one of the house-surgeons of the hospital, deposed, that upon the deceased being brought there dead he examined her body, to ascertain the cause of her death, and found on the left arm a very severe laceration and a fracture of the ulna; four of the upper ribs on the left side were broken, and upon feeling the left collar bone he found that that was fractured likewise. He next made a *post mortem* examination of the body, and upon so doing found that, in addition to the injuries he had just described, both the pelvis and left temple were also fractured, the latter very severely. These fractures were amply sufficient to cause death; indeed, that of the temple alone was sufficient; and the passing of a heavy cart-wheel over her person as described would no doubt occasion all the injuries and fractures he had stated.—The prisoner, who seemed very depressed, expressed sincere regret for the occurrence, which he described as purely accidenial; but Mr. Hammill regarded it in a different light, and, the depositions having been taken by Mr. Hurlstone, the second clerk, the prisoner was committed to Newgate for trial.

The Fire at Messrs. Clowes.—It appears that the damage done to these premises amounts to nearly £50,000—the insurance money being only £25,000.

SINGULAR CASE OF POISONING.

Wigan, Monday, June 14.—Considerable excitement has been created in this town in consequence of its being rumoured that a man named John Nicholls and his family had been poisoned by eating cakes which he had picked up in the street, and, on inquiry, we learn that the report is only too well founded.

Nicholls, who died yesterday morning, was thirty-seven years of age, and was a collier. He lived in Clayton-street, Wallgate, in this town, and worked in the Arley mine, at the Ince-hall Coal and Cannel Works, in the adjoining township of Ince. About eighteen years ago he married a woman named Elizabeth Lawrenson, now called Bet Brush, but they subsequently separated, and about ten years since he married a widow named Ann Conelly. His first wife being still alive, he was apprehended about eight months afterwards on the charge of bigamy, and, at the ensuing Liverpool Assizes, was sentenced to six months' imprisonment. After his discharge he again went to live with Mrs. Connelly, and they have ever since lived together as man and wife. By her he had three children; one of them died soon afterwards, and the others—Sarah, aged six years, and Ann, aged eight years—we shall further allude to.

On Saturday morning last Nicholls went to his work about half-past four o'clock, and returned home about five o'clock in the evening. His (so-called) wife and family were getting tea, and he, smiling, said, "See Nancy (it being the name by which he always called his second wife), I found two very nice cakes this morning," at the same time pulling out of his pocket two cakes wrapped in a piece of clean white calico. One of the cakes appeared to be made of flour and treacle, and the top was covered over with comfits of different colours; the other was white, and nearly resembled an Eccles cake in appearance. He gave her the cakes to examine, and she replied that they were very nice ones, and then laid them on the table. He took up the brown one and broke off a piece, and, putting it into his mouth, asked her if she would have a bit. She said she would rather have a piece of the white one, and he accordingly gave her a piece of the cake, which she ate. He then gave a piece to each of his children beforementioned—Sarah and Ann. A daughter of Mrs. Connolly, by her former husband, named Mary, who is perhaps about nineteen years of age, lived with her mother and Nicholls, and, being in the house at the time, she also ate a piece of the cake. After the cakes had been divided, the woman and her daughter Mary went out to make a purchase at a linen-draper's shop, leaving Nicholls getting his tea.

In about half-an-hour afterwards they returned, and as they entered Clayton-street, Nicholls came staggering towards them, looking quite wild. This caused the mother to exclaim, "Oh dear, Mary, does he not look as if he were drunk?" When they came up to him, he told them he was poisoned by eating the cakes, and so were Sarah and Ann, and a child named Broxen. Mary went home to look after the children, and her mother took Nicholls to the surgery of Mr. Fisher, in King-street. When they got opposite a millinery shop in King street, kept by a Mr. Riley, Nicholls told her that that was the spot where he picked up the cakes, and he added, that when the cakes began to make him ill, it struck him that it was Bet (his first wife) who had done it. Mr. Fisher at once discovered symptoms of arsenic, and sent the women home with some medicine for the children. He then gave Nicholls a strong antidote, and sent him home in charge of two men, himself following as quickly as possible. Mr. Fisher found the girls Sarah and Ann were both vomiting, as was also a boy named Isaac Broxen, about four years and a half old, the son of a stonemason living in the neighbourhood. He therefore administered antidotes to each of them. We believe the boy received a piece of cake from one of the family, and at once ate it; hence the sickness. A neighbouring woman, named Morris, also saw her child, a girl between two and three years old, eating a bit of cake which one of Nicholl's children had given it, and she took a portion of it, which she ate. She soon began to vomit, and not long after the child was also seized with sickness, and Mr. Wright, surgeon, Wallgate, was called in to attend them. They both recovered the same night.

Meanwhile Nicholls, his two little girls, and the boy Broxen grew worse, and about ten o'clock Mrs. Connolly (the second wife) began to vomit. Two or three hours later Mary, the woman's eldest daughter, also became sick. Until midnight, however, it was expected that all would ultimately recover; but, about two or three o'clock on Sunday morning, Nicholls became very much worse, and he died about half-past four. Broxen died in the course of the same day. At a late hour last evening the woman was fast recovering, having ceased to vomit at two o'clock in the morning, and the youngest girl, Sarah, was comparatively well; but Mary and Ann were still sick, and very weak, though likely to recover.

Shortly before his death Nicholls several times repeated his conviction that "Bet had done it," His (second) wife says he made the following statement to her while lying ill:—He was going to his work as usual (about twenty minutes to five on Saturday morning) along King-street, when he found the cakes, which were wrapped in a piece of clean white calico, and lying on the footpath. At the time there were only two other persons in the street; one, a man, who was about thirty yards before him on the same side, and the other a woman, on the opposite side of the street, about half-way between him and the man. The woman had a shawl over her head, and he thought she must have just dropped the parcel, as the man could not well have missed noticing it. He believed the woman was "Bet." She looked over her shoulder twice. It struck him that it was very queer for a woman to be out so early in the morning. He followed her about 150 yards, and then she turned off another way, and he continued on his way to work, thinking no more about it.

In consequence of this statement, Mr. Simm, superintendent of the borough police force, apprehended Elizabeth Nicholls, *alias* Elizabeth Lawrenson, *alias* Bet Brush, yesterday (Sunday) forenoon, at her house, Mitchinson's-yard, Scholes, and subsequently he apprehended a man named Thomas Hughes, with whom she has been cohabiting for the last eighteen months, on suspicion of being an accessory. It is believed that Hughes is the man who walked along King-street in advance of Nicholls. On searching the woman's house, Mr. Simm found two plain cakes of the ordinary description, which she said she baked on Friday for her own use. Another circumstance worth mentioning is, that on Wednesday or Thursday last, a woman went to the shop of Mr. Barwise, druggist, Scholes, and wanted some arsenic, which Mr. Barwise very properly refused to sell her. He believes the female prisoner to be the woman, but cannot positively identify her.

GARDENING CALENDAR.

KITCHEN GARDEN.

Take advantage of showery weather to finish the planting of such crops as yet remain to be done. Prick out from the seed beds the young plants of broccolles, kales, cauliflowers, &c., to get stocky by the time they are wanted. Make a sowing of Endive, both curled and the Batavian; these useful vegetables ought to be grown in every one's garden, for cooking purposes; thin out, when the ground becomes sufficiently dry, carrots, parsnips, beets, onions, &c., allowing them to attain their full growth, with the exception of any requiring to be drawn as wanted. Autumn onions planted for early use, showing flower-buds, should be topped to make them bulb. Take every opportunity of destroying slugs, &c., by dusting the vegetable quarters with quicklime on damp mornings, and, in addition, lay down heaps of spare vegetables as traps for them.

HARDY FRUIT GARDEN.

We must again repeat our previous directions respecting following up the blight, which really appears this year more numerous than we ever remember. Besides the havoc the fly is making with wall-fruit trees, we have seen some or hards infested with the maggot to an extent sufficient to destroy the whole crop and leaves together. The only remedy is to make fires of any rubbish at hand, to the windward of the trees, and keep up as constant a body of smoke as your means permit through the trees.

FLORISTS' FLOWERS.

Tulips.—We do not imagine that the late heavy drenching rains will be of much good to tulip bulbs—we much fear that they will get (if we may so express it) overgorged with moisture. From memoranda and observation, during a series of years, we have found that after excessive wet, either in spring or immediately succeeding the blooming season, the next year we have been deficient in perfectly feathered flowers. We are again experimenting by having one bed exposed to all weathers, whilst the other has had no moisture for three months, neither will it till the bulbs are safely harvested, and stowed away in their proper places in the cabinet.—Carnations and Picotees.—These must be carefully watched as the flower-stems elongate, taking care that the ligatures are eased if they bind too hard on the stalk, and tying others up that may require it.—Pinks and Ranunculuses will also require constant attention. Aphis, or green-fly, is often a serious pest to the former. These must be brushed away with a camel-hair brush. Dahlias, of course, are all planted out, or should be. Stake immediately, and the sooner they attached thereto the better.—*Gardeners' Chronicle.*

Bad Butter.—In a part of Warwickshire, where the pastures are of the richest quality, it happens every year that about the middle of May the cream becomes bitter, and the butter rancid and uneatable. This unfortunately lasts till the middle of June, when the butter and cream return to their usual excellence. The plants in these pastures are not known to be injurious, and the dairy utensils are in perfect order. Can any clever dairy correspondent solve this problem?—*R.*

Wasps.—The annual sport of the youths of Belper has again come to a close. This is the third year in which J. Strutt, Esq., of Bridge-hill, Belper, has given a penny for every wasp that could be brought to his steward during a limited time. Early in April, on account of the remarkable dry weather, the wasps came freely out of their lurking places. The 29th of May was the day appointed for them to be taken in and paid for, when it was found that more than 12,000 wasps had been caught. This makes great havoc among the destructive little pests. A wasp is a great rarity in Belper, and if all the proprietors of large establishments were to act on the same principle, a wasp would soon become as great a rarity in our gardens as a fox is on the hills of Derbyshire.

A Robin in Difficulties.—While Mr. Newall, granite-hewer in Dalbattie, was lately plying his vocation at Craigmair Quarry, his attention was arrested by cries strongly indicative of distress proceeding from one or other of the feathered denizens of the wood. On throwing from him his tools and hurrying to the spot whence the sounds proceeded, he discovered a robin apparently in a state of the greatest agitation, whose movements immediately certified him of the true cause of the alarm. An adder twenty inches long, and one inch in circumference, had managed to drag itself up the face of the quarry, and was at that moment in the very act of protruding his ugly head over the edge of a nest built among the stumps of the cut down brushwood, and containing poor mother robin's unfledged offspring—her maternal instinct prompting her to the only defence of which she was capable. She was engaged when Mr. Newall first got his eye upon her in alternately coming down the one moment upon the spoilator, darting her beak into his forehead, and anon rising on the other to the height of a yard or so above the scene of danger. It was the act of a moment for Mr. Newall to dislodge the aggressor. But in doing so two of the little birds were thrown out of their nest, where, however, they were speedily and carefully replaced. While Mr. Newall was killing the adder, the joy of the parent bird was so excessive, that she actually perched on the left arm of her benefactor, and watched with an unmistakeable and intense delight every blow inflicted by his right on her merciless and disappointed enemy; and when that enemy lay dead, she alighted upon and pecked the lifeless trunk with all her vigour; and revenge thus taken, entered her nest, and having ascertained that all was safe, swiftly repaired to a neighbouring branch, and piped, as she best could, what was no doubt meant for a song of gratitude. When at work since Mr. Newall has been evidently recognised by the tiny biped.—*Dumfries Courier.*

CULTIVATION OF PLANTS—ARTIFICIAL WATERING.

Water is one of the most important elements in the food of plants. Market gardeners deluge their strawberries with moisture while the fruit is swelling; this increases the size of the fruit, but detracts from its flavour.—When succulent fruit is ripened, the supply of water should be diminished,—this happens in nature all over the world. Fruits are impaired by growing on wet soil—the plum and grape often burst in wet seasons. Melons require a great supply of moisture, but every plant has its own peculiar wants, and it does not do to make some plants grow in a wet soil, for instead of flowers and leaves, they only produce a superabundance of leaves and ill-formed shoots.—It is an excellent plan to drain gardens and orchards. Glazed flower-pots are unfit for most plants, they prevent evaporation, and are not so good as the common unglazed ones. Painted wooden boxes for flowers are, for the same reason, to be avoided. It is injurious to water plants artificially in the hot sunshine. They should be watered early in the morning, or,