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THE LAND! TO THE WORKING CLASSES.

My FRIENDS, I have frequently told you that the Land in its present state, compared to the state it may be brought to, was precisely what raw flax is to cambric every class in the kingdom from it; and, although every class in the kingdom were opposed to my Land Scheme—as I have frequently told them—their eyes would one day be opened, and they would see their folly. I told them that their knowledge would progress as population and poor rates increased. I was perfectly aware that it would require no short time, and that it would insure for me no small amount of antagonism, to enlighten the people upon a subject which was calculated to make them independent of tyrants, and to transform them from slaves to freemen.

It is a very general practice to reprobate any system propounded by the friend of the people, whereas, if the same system is propounded by a person who takes no interest in politics, it may be lauded; and, in order to prove to the reader that "The folly of to-day may be the wisdom of the morrow," and, that however a popular man may be reviled for promoting popular principles, I will call the attention of the reader to the following able and irrefutable letter, of the celebrated and intellectual HARRIET MARTINEAU, which appeared in the *Leader* newspaper of last week, and upon which the editor of that newspaper wrote a very able article.

My friends, in her letter you will find the repetition of what I have written and spoken thousands of times, and, as I have frequently told you, the arduous duty of clearing away rubbish and digging the foundation, devolves upon labourers, before the architect can erect a house. I have been one of HARRIET MARTINEAU's labourers, and I trust that she will turn out to be the architect to erect edifices for the poor upon their own land.

I do not know whether the perusal of her letter will give you any pleasure, while it gives me a vast amount of joy, and for this reason, because you may rely upon it, that parties who will not read my works will critically peruse the works of that celebrated authoress; and furthermore, because you may rely upon it, that I will carry out the Land scheme, until I see it become the national system whereby your order will cease to be slaves, and because I feel convinced, that ere long, I shall have the whole of the working class population of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland assisting me in contending for the principle.

Now reader, here is the letter of HARRIET MARTINEAU, and let me implore of you to peruse it with attention. Here it is.

SIR.—I observe in the *Leader* for August 10th a remark which induces me to write you this letter. After giving some extracts from an account which I furnished (by desire of an assistant poor law commissioner) of a small experiment in farming my little fields, you say you trust I shall see its connexion with several questions in political economy which require elucidation. This makes me suppose that you would like to have my profession of faith on one or two points which are more freely discussed in your paper than I see them elsewhere. Whatever I think on these subjects may be found avowed somewhere or other in my published writings; but though I have nothing new to tell in regard to my convictions, it may possibly be useful to speak them plainly and concisely, in answer to the sort of appeal which you have made to me.

In a work of mine, published in 1837, called "Society in America," there is a chapter entitled "Property." In that chapter (if I remember rightly, and I have not the book at hand) I declared my conviction that the institution of property was necessary, and therefore, venerable in its own time and place, is destined, like most, or all, institutions, to be superseded; that it was in so many directions wearing out; that it was clear that the time was come for it to be brought into question, and for experiments to be made by select companies of enlightened persons to displace with it, and to try the co-operative principle, after finding how unsatisfactory was the working of the competitive. In giving an account of such communities as I had visited in America, I declared the fact that, economically, they had all answered well; that the societies were rich; and that, though the members were not enlightened and happy, the failure was not attributable to their associative principle, but in every case to the imposition of dogmas, and the palpable violation of some of the most indisputable laws of nature. If such was my view thirteen years ago, when it was scarcely possible to avow such convictions without being sent to Coventry, I need hardly say how strongly I feel on the matter now, when every day has been opening the subject more and more widely, and associative institutions are springing up everywhere, and their members are studied in all their acts with almost as much interest as dread. My view of this change, and of the extension of the associative principle, may be found recorded at p. 567, vol. i. of my "History of the Thirty Years' Peace," *apropos* of London club-houses.

During all these years I have never shared the popular dream of "Socialism" (as it is called) as of a social earthquake, which was to overthrow everything most stable and most valuable. I have always felt that changes in the fundamental constitution of society can arise only out of the ripened will of society. This will is coming, and the light and warmth of conviction, the transition is sure to be made safe by the trial of the requisite number of experiments, by companies who are, or believe themselves ready to begin. The more such the better, provided only that the experiments are begun and carried on in an spirit of earnestness and patience, and by men who know what they are about. The matter is too serious for, not only levity, but for either intellectual or moral lassitude. All being deliberately, and conscientiously and dispassionately done, the more experiments of life in association the better.

I expect little at present from associations which have an agricultural basis. I mean from such associations as exclude the employing capitalist. The common shop, the common kitchen, the common supply of light, warmth, water, &c., may, no doubt be made to answer well everywhere. But when it comes to Tailors' Associations and the like, I do not see how, considering the state of society outside, they can at present succeed for all the purposes required of them. I do not see how the best workmen are to be retained. It is possible that continuity of employment may compensate to all but the best workmen for some reduction of receipts; but the very best, who can always command employment, are not to be expected, and ought not to be asked, to sacrifice so many shillings a week to their association with inferior workmen. It is a matter which will presently indicate itself. If we keep our minds open to learn, we shall certainly soon be taught; and the more instructive experiments the better.

My own strongest hope for the improvement of our social system lies in the directing of intelligence full upon the cultivation of the soil. We must have the intelligence first, and then we may argue for ever about large farms and small divisions, and be no better off, unless science and sense are brought to bear on the process of cultivation. I have seen the noble works of the late Lord Leicester bequeathed into existence, and the noble works of intelligence under the system of the old farming to be seen in England; and, on the other hand, I have seen the dreadful state of savagery in which labourers are living on other large properties where the game is more considered than the human inhabitants. I have seen in foreign countries, and in rare instances at home, how happy families may be living on small landed properties of their own, or under a wide landlord, provided they were educated enough to make the best use of their means; and again, no one need go further than the district in which I live to see that the possession of land is a source of happiness, or that it is a source of misery in the circumstances of a wretchedly poor tenant. Westmoreland and Cumberland have everything which, according to theory, ought to suffice to outward welfare. But they have (too many of them) fallen behind the intelligence of the time. Their

illage is slovenly—their old-fashioned ways are wasteful. Their sons go off to the towns, while the land cries out for more labour; the soil becomes exhausted; the owner becomes disheartened, and falls back in his affairs. His land is mortgaged; and too often he takes to drinking. After a struggle of a few years, more or less, the land falls to the mortgagee, the family being driven into new hands. If the new owners bring more intelligence to bear upon the land, no one can complain of the change; and people tell one another that they ought not to be sorry. Yet who can witness the spectacle and not be sorry?

Notwithstanding all that I have seen of the failure of farming, large and small, I am as much convinced as ever that in the land we possess the original means of external well-being for the whole of society. I am persuaded that, if science and intelligence were brought to bear on the cultivation of the soil in our own island, there would be found not one superfluous pair of hands—not one mouth that might not be easily fed. The great heat and present, of the question about the tenure of land lies in the other question—what tenure is most likely to promote the direction of science and sense towards the cultivation of the soil. The state of things among us, though improving, seems to me at present so bad, that I should be disposed to postpone every other consideration, and to devote all my agricultural science and method can be most radically and extensively improved. We see great landowners thinking of everything sooner than adjusting their rents, abolishing their game, and selecting their tenants by their personal qualifications for their business. We see the farmers half-educated, or less, sinking their capital in unprofitable methods or scandalous waste, and crying out for protection instead of demanding an adjustment of rents and of the condition of farming. And, if we look at such small portions of land as are held by humble owners, we see the exhausted field, the foul, coarse pasture, the dank, mischievous hedge, the filthy pig, the cow on the road, the heat and heat and heat and the flies, in short, all the blenches and miseries of mismanagement. Happily, we see also a Mechi and a Huxtable here and there rising up to teach us better things. With the spectacle before us of what they can do, and the knowledge that, at present, in the most cultivated districts of England, the labour employed is, on the average, only one man to one acre of land (exclusive of pasture and woodland, which employ scarcely any at all), we may, I think, conclude that a wide and cheerful prospect opens before us of subsistence and comfort for the people, if only we can secure the intelligence needed to induce the good from the material. The grand question is, how does one get to that state? I think it can be done, not much aided, by establishing a small proprietary, which we could have such a thing to-morrow.

I suppose the strongest argument on behalf of a small proprietary is, that that order of persons is found to be the most careful yet known on that important point of social duty, promoting numbers to the means of subsistence. With such, the laws of nature appear to operate to this end; and there is no use attempting to contravene such laws by either preaching or enactment. It seems to be natural to such to wait till comfort can attend the state of marriage and parentage, and to shrink from the children which they would not be able to support, which they could not themselves endure. I suppose, too, that the strongest objection to associative projects is, that prudence would be discouraged and selfishness of every kind invited and fostered. The difficulty in regard to numbers appears to me to be pressing under every system, and on every supposition which we are yet qualified to make. The most careful peasant proprietor cannot offer his children (at most to only one or two of them), a support out of his land when he is gone, and the rest, with their families, must draw their subsistence from some other source. What we have to hope is, that science and moral cultivation will keep pace with the material, and that the social system which best encourages growth and enlightenment of the understanding and the conscience is that which will best meet the difficulty which seems to pervade all. It may be fairly asked whether, in this relation, any system can be much more than that under which we are living; that under which the peasant, the artisan, the farmer, the manufacturer, or tradesman, cannot enter upon domestic life before five-and-fifty, because pauperised, and ignorant, and hopeless boys and girls are marrying by hundreds at eighteen. Under such a system where is the encouragement to the wise of this generation? And what is the prospect for the next?

Very small and humble as is my farming experiment, you may, perhaps, see that it has some importance in my eyes. It began in thoughts of household convenience, but it soon showed itself under a better aspect. It is proceeding well, and I could tell to you who wish it, of some enlargement, as well as of some success. It is an absolute creation of the subsistence of two persons. If I could tell what a revolution it has wrought in the lives of those two persons, many might be induced to put a hand to a similar experiment. There is no example to a neighbourhood which much needs it. At first I was asked by one and another, what on earth could find for the man, to do with the land? I told him how one man was hard worked with the care of three horses, a carriage, a large garden, a kitchen-garden, and eight or nine acres of land (pasture) besides; and again, how thirty acres with ten cows on them, would hardly employ one man, and so on. It seems not unreasonable to think that a few may be awakened to some sense of the value of land by telling what comes out of my little field.

If further information is desired, I shall be happy to furnish it; and if we fail at last, I shall, of course, report the fact.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.,
HARRIET MARTINEAU.
Bolton, near Skipton, August 16th, 1850.

And now reader, I shall not make a comment upon the above letter, and shall conclude by subscribing myself as

Your Faithful Friend,
And a strict adherer to the only principle that can elevate your order,
FEARGUS O'CONNOR.

"Now's the day, and now's the hour,
See the front of battle pour,
See approach Napoleon's power,
Napoleon—chains and slavery."

TO THE OLD GUARDS.

My DEAR OLD FRIENDS, I have often told you that you were never to believe a word that appeared in newspapers that were upheld, and made profit for the proprietors, by telling lies of your order, and receiving advertisements from those who were opposed to your order. How often have I told you, that if the veritable working classes assembled in hundreds of thousands, nay millions, to define and adopt the principles of veritable Democracy, not a line of their proceedings would be published in a single newspaper, while upon the contrary, if a few black slaves, free traders, protectionists, railway managers, or shopkeepers meet in a cockpit to discuss those principles, the adoption of which would destroy your order, their proceedings will occupy columns in the several newspapers.

French people are, that Democracy would soon become the basis of the English Government? The PRESIDENT has now returned to Paris, and in no short time you will see the result of his reception in the provinces. You will see France divided into Socialists, Communists, Republicans, Legitimists, Bonapartists, and God only knows what, and then your English rulers will discover, that they can no longer base their tyranny upon their alliance with the "Special Constable" of KENNINGTON COMMON.

Old Guards, I have often told you, that English tyranny is based upon popular division and foreign alliance. Russia, now the most powerful state in Europe, entertains a deadly hostility to England; and the Russian bear has set his wits to work to see how he could establish such an alliance with the "Special Constable" as would enable France and Russia to establish tyranny and despotism all over Europe. "SLASHING HARRY" has told you that England was bound in a recognition of RIGHT HUNDRED MILLIONS to keep the peace; and I tell you, that if people upon the face of the earth ever entertained greater hostility to another people than the French do to the English. They have not forgotten Waterloo, and they never will forget it. And it is because the power of the English Minister has ever been based upon the hope of foreign alliance, that I now write to you, in the hope of preparing you to meet the coming struggle. In France, they will meet it with the sword and the musket, and the thunder of the cannon. In England you can meet it with the thunder of the mind.

Old Guards, on Sunday next I will meet the men of Leicestershire at Mountsorrell, in company with your lately emancipated victim, ERNEST JONES; and on Monday, the following day, I will meet my constituents in the market-place of Nottingham, where, no doubt, they remember for several years we have had a good many struggles.

In conclusion, let me implore of ALL who now profess a love for liberty, and who are anxious to elevate the condition of the working classes, to unite firmly in the cause of freedom to destroy that antagonism which exists among their own order, and to present such a firm front to the united tyrants, as will bring them to their senses.

Old Guards—
"United you stand,
Divided you fall."

Your Faithful and Uncompromising Friend,
FEARGUS O'CONNOR.

ADDRESS FROM THE ALLOTTEES
AT O'CONNORVILLE.

TO FEARGUS O'CONNOR, ESQ., M.P.
RESPECTED SIR,
It is with mingled feelings of pity and indignation that we have heard of the conduct of some of the allottees on the other estates, who not content with refusing to pay their rent, have lately vilified the character, and impugned the motives of one whose constant endeavour for years has been to elevate the condition of the working classes, socially, morally, and politically. We beg to assure you, that the allottees at O'Connerville have no sympathy with such conduct, but are aware of the difficulties which the government have thrown in the way of the legislation of the Land Plan, as well as the opposition you have had to encounter from the people's enemies; and, therefore, we feel that our course is plain, and that, instead of thwarting your efforts, we should render you all the assistance in our power. We most cheerfully acknowledge you as our landlord, in trust for our brother shareholders; and, while thanking you for the leniency already shown us, beg to repeat our intention of paying the rent now due as soon as ever our circumstances will permit. Honoured sir, we are not afraid to put our rent to you, for the majority of the residents of this estate, who are well as well as good, are united to the cause of the working classes, and we will not withdraw it to please either the lordly aristocrat, the purse-proud capitalist, the grasping middleman, the pettifogging lawyer, or the grasping tradesman, who are the enemies of the poor, and who have been led astray by interested parties. But, while thus gratefully acknowledging your obligations to you for past favours, we would take the opportunity of informing you of our wishes for the future. In the winding up of the Land Company common justice says, "That those who have devoted their lives to the improvement of the property of their shareholders should not be the fruits of their exertions." There appear but two ways of preventing that—either by a money compensation, or the granting of leases to the occupants. We beg to inform you, that such is our confidence in the ultimate success of the Plan that we are unanimous in stating that we would prefer leaving the estate to the hands of an equitable trust, to any pecuniary compensation, however large. We therefore, trust, that you will insert a clause in the bill to effect that object. When speaking of an equitable rent we would remind you, that in consequence of this being the first experiment, the expenditure was necessarily greater than in subsequent years. When you take into consideration the depreciation in the price of our produce, we think you will allow that three per cent. on the outlay will be as much rent as we can pay, and at the same time would do justice to our unlocated brethren. Finally, sir, should the estates be sold, we trust that you will purchase this estate, and retain it as well as we, as an equitable trust, after calling this estate by your own name, in honour of the principles you advocate, for it to fall into the hands of our enemies. Hoping you will comply with our wishes, and live long as our landlord, in the enjoyment of health and happiness.

We remain, Dear Sir,
With sentiments of gratitude and respect,
Your faithful and devoted friends,
Henry Ratcliffe, G. W. Wheeler, Joseph Wheeler, Samuel Newman, William Kempsey, Thomas Merrick, Martin Griffiths, sen., Martin Griffiths, jun., Samuel Cole, Michael Fitzsimmons, John Labrousse, James Patrick, Robert Smith, John Sturgeon, John Bradford, Philip Ford, George Newsome, William House, Thomas Bailey, John Gilson, Richard Avison, George Peacock, S. Blakelough, Thomas Mead, J. Heaton, William Dimmock, William Gamble, William Roare, J. R. Betts, Joseph White, Edward Barber, James Linden, Robert Smith, secretary.

In reply to the above, I beg to thank the first located members of the Company for their integrity, and I only wish that the occupants upon the other estates had acted as honestly. With regard to leases, I beg to inform my friends that every man who pays up his rent upon any of the estates shall receive his lease according to the rules of the society; and when that is done—whether the estates are sold or not—the occupants will be tenants to the purchaser, who cannot out them. And I also beg to inform all who have received Aid Money, and have given promissory notes for payment of the amount—and for which amount two parties have become security—I beg to inform those parties that the several notes, amounting to between seven and eight hundred pounds, have been handed over to Mr. Roberts, with my instruction to proceed instantaneously for the recovery of the same, and I beg to inform them that the legal expenses will not be insignificant.

FEARGUS O'CONNOR.

Chartist Intelligence.

MR. BEZER'S TOUR IN THE NORTH.—On Monday evening, August 19th, Mr. Bezer lectured in the New Hall, Northampton, on "Political persecution and its consequences." At the conclusion of the lecture, several Democratic songs were sung, and three cheers were given for all the Democratic journals. On Tuesday, Mr. Bezer lectured at Leicester, and delivered a second lecture in the Market-place at night. Upwards of a thousand persons were present, and several new members were afterwards enrolled. On Thursday, Mr. Bezer lectured at Loughborough; and on Sunday at Sherwood Forest, Nottingham, when, notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather, several hundred persons were present. Mr. Bezer delivered a second lecture in the evening at an indoor meeting; lectured at Sutton-in-Ashfield the following day; and on Tuesday at Arnold.

NORWICH.—Some of the leading Democrats met on Saturday evening last at the Light Horseman, Stump Cross, and with the assistance of two friends from Yarmouth, succeeded in forming a branch of the Association. Mr. S. Goat was called to the chair, and explained the object of the meeting, which was, that some plan should be devised to effect a union of all shades of reformers. A resolution was passed to admit all persons as members, who recognised the People's Charter as a necessary instrument wherewith to work their redemption. Several members were enrolled, and subscriptions paid, and after some excellent speeches the meeting adjourned to Saturday night.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE met at the Charter office, 14, Southampton-street, Strand, on Wednesday evening, August 23rd. Present: Messrs. G. W. M. Reynolds, E. Miles, J. Grassby, E. Stailwood, W. Davies, J. Milne, and J. Arnott. Mr. Reynolds in the chair. Mr. Wilkin, from Somerset, attended, and handed in cash for the Association; Mr. Grassby also handed in cash from Westminster. The sub-committee reported that the Westminster meeting had proved entirely successful. The Secretary reported from the sub-committee for raising the various democratic and social reform bodies, that they had resolved:—"That to effect a real union, a fusion of all democratic and social unions must be effected, and that the societies must become one and indivisible." Several propositions as to the basis of the union were submitted, such as—"All men of all nations are brethren"; "The earth is the common property of all the people"; "The People's Charter"; "The labourer should enjoy the full fruits of his industry"; "The spirit of which was assented to by the Executive." It was understood, that whatever proposition was assented to by the conference, would be submitted to the several societies in their various localities, for their reception or rejection. It was suggested that the following would be an excellent name for the proposed united localities:—"The National Democratic Association of Chartists and Social Reformers." The Secretary submitted an address to the country on the necessity and possibility of returning some sixty members to parliament at the next General Election, which was referred back to the sub-committee (Messrs. Reynolds and Arnott) for revision, and the Executive adjourned until Wednesday next.

THE DELEGATE COUNCIL.—A full meeting of delegates assembled at the Chartist Hall, 26, Golden-lane, Barbican, on Sunday afternoon, August 25th. Mr. Stailwood in the chair. The minutes having been confirmed, the visit of our country friends was considered. Mr. G. J. Lookhart, the delegate having been heard, resolved, on the motion of Messrs. W. Fletcher and A. Brisk,—"That the delegates met in this place at half past two for three precisely, on Sunday afternoon next, September the 1st, to receive Messrs. Hamilton and Lookhart, and that a public meeting be held in the hall at half past seven o'clock in the evening of the same day, for the purpose of furnishing to Messrs. Hamilton and Lookhart, and to the delegates, a full and complete account of the proceedings of their democratic brethren of the metropolis." The *fortnightly tract*—Each delegate having reported on this subject, and a sale of a sufficient number having been guaranteed, on the motion of Messrs. W. A. Fletcher and Wilkin, it was resolved,—"That the first tract be issued on the eighth day of September." A sub-committee of three be appointed to manage the same." The election then took place, and ultimately fell on Messrs. W. A. Fletcher, G. J. Brisk and Alcock. On the motion of Messrs. Brisk and Jeffrey, it was resolved:—"That the Executive be requested to grant the use of its room one night in the week for the use of the sub-committee, and to the delegates, Messrs. Vickers and Johnston." That all communications for the 'Tract,' such as notices of forthcoming Chartist meetings, whether local or public meetings be forwarded to Mr. W. A. Fletcher, at 16, Little Portland-street, Regent-street, on or before Wednesday, September the 4th. Public notice of the meeting was given, and it was resolved that he had sent out invitations to speakers for the 8th of September, and that Messrs. Harney and others had promised to attend. On the motion of Messrs. Brisk and W. A. Fletcher, it was resolved unanimously:—"That henceforth none but bona fide members of the National Chartist Association shall be admitted as members of the council." A vote of thanks was then given to Mr. Hamilton, and the council adjourned until Sunday afternoon, September 1st.

BARNSTON.—At a dinner given in honour of Mr. Ernest Jones on Wednesday, August 21st, and which gentleman attended, the following sentiments were received with the greatest enthusiasm:—"That the only source of all political power" "Ernest Jones Esq., the noble advocate of the people, and may he live to triumph over all his enemies, and ultimately, assisted by other advocates of the people's rights, succeed in establishing those principles for which he has struggled and suffered." The union of the Democratic of Great Britain and the United States of America, and the united energies of both peoples, Mr. Jones made an able and argumentative speech; he strongly recommended union as the surest mode to obtain the People's Charter, and was loudly and justly applauded throughout. A numerous and respectable body of friends assembled on the occasion. Mr. Jones delivered an address on the occasion of the meeting, and was warmly received.

SOLO LOCALITY, TEMPERANCE HALL, LITTLE DEAN STREET.—On Saturday week, Mr. Walter Cooper delivered an interesting lecture, at a delighted audience, on the life and writings of Sir Walter Scott. Mr. Cooper delivered an address on the life, character and writings of Thomas Paine, refuting the slanders and falsehoods so injuriously heaped on the memory of that Public Instructor, and showed the beneficial tendency of political principles put forward by the author of "Common sense," and the moralising, humanising, devotional tendency of his address. "To the philanthropists," and pointed out the purposes, to which those principles should be directed, namely, to ameliorate the social condition of the people. Mr. Stailwood stood down loudly applauded. A vote of thanks was given to the lecturer, and the meeting terminated.

HORROR.—On Sunday a meeting of the Old Guards was held in Clayton-lane, at the house of Mr. James C. Jones, for the purpose of raising the People's Charter, to renew the agitation for the People's Charter. Mr. Jones was elected treasurer for the locality; six shillings were paid for the locality; four shillings and three pence collected for the locality fund. Resolutions were unanimously adopted, to avail ourselves of every opportunity to enforce the six points of the Charter on the attention of the people. A vote of confidence in the knowledge of Mr. O'Connell's services was carried, and the meeting was adjourned to the 1st of September.

IMPROVEMENTS AT KENNINGTON.—It is intended to form a new and direct road from Brompton to Notting-hill and Bayswater, by pulling down the old houses in High-street, opposite the Queen's Road.

WESTMINSTER AND PIMLICO.

A public meeting, to consider the best means of obtaining the political and social rights of the whole people, was held in the Temperance Hall, Broadway, on Monday evening, August 20th. The hall was crowded, and the meeting was most successful. Mr. D. W. Roberts was called to the chair, read a letter from Mr. Reynolds, apologising for absence on the ground of his wife's severe indisposition. He trusted the people would attend meetings like this instead of the gay palaces, and when the night was thus looking after their own affairs, he would be ready to exclaim:—"The day of tyranny is done, and gone the reign of wrong."

The chairman delivered a well-merited castigation to the Whigs for their backsliding in the cause of reform, and eulogised the patriotism and virtues of John Russell, which was hailed with the loudest applause.

Mr. D. W. Roberts moved the following resolution:—"That the land being the property of the whole people, it is necessary that universal representation, in accordance with the principles of the People's Charter, should prevail; in order to secure to every people the full benefit of such rights." Mr. Russell described the present state of labour and currency, and exchange, and showed the bearing the Legislature had on these things; but as well might the lamb expect justice from the wolf, as for the people to look for right and equity from the Government as at present constituted. (Cheers.) They must first get the Charter, which was a machine to effect the social right mentioned in the resolution, and of which he was an advocate. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. JOHN FUSSELL rose, rapturously applauded, to second the resolution, and said, in seconding that he was desirous of proving to the people, as an unflinching advocate of the rights of the people, now he had come out of prison, as his whole life had evinced him to be before he went into the Westminster Bastille. (Immense cheering.) The land was, most undoubtedly, the property of the whole people, but he thought they could only be released of it by means of the People's Charter. The land, heretofore, had been made to bear all the burdens of the people, but now it had passed into the hands of a few aristocrats. (Cheers.) In discussing questions of such importance it was necessary that they should understand their position. When, let him ask, why had he been deprived of his rights? Why so many victims had been made? Had it not been by their own divisions? doubtless caused by a few crafty statesmen. (Cheers.) They wished to accomplish their object peacefully; their object was, love, not sympathy for the poor, not persecution of the rich. He repeated, they wished to gain their great object, not by lawless action, but by the Charter, through the means of the People's Charter. (Loud cheers.) He invoked them to establish a locality of the National Chartist Association, and thus, while they exhibited their desire for peace, show their determination to have liberty. (Loud cheers.) He then, in a few minutes, read the two millions per annum was absorbed in the shape of taxes, which went to support spies, to swear away the liberty, or, perchance, the lives of good men, like O'Connell, Lacy, and a host of others; and to defame them, by falsely swearing that he had been a private assassin, which he emphatically denied. (Loud cheers.) He then read there were certain persons who affirmed that a trade was made of sedition; but this he denied; and, when it was remembered, that from the year 1830, up to the present period, the whole Chartist agitation had not cost £20,000, that was to say, not the amount of one general election, he would be seen how fallacious was such a charge, and yet, during that time, they had valiantly supported three general movements, and not a single leader of theirs had turned traitor. (Loud cheers.) The government had admitted that the Chartists were not a faction, but a party. Aye, and to the rescue of the people, they were determined to have liberty. (Loud cheers.) They demanded the Charter when out of prison, and when within the prison walls, and when released from prison, they were more than Chartists; aye, every ready to uphold the red banner. (Immense applause.) He trusted that every patriotic measure would meet with their support, and that they would direct the government, by their actions, that they were not only determined to determine to possess liberty. (Great cheering.)

Mr. HARNBY, who rose loudly applauded, said, surely the chairman, when so announced by him, must have forgotten how warmly his lordship was greeted in the neighbourhood of a certain bad house in that vicinity—(laughter)—when he (Lord Lacy) had been taken up in defence of English liberty, some short time since. (Laughter.) He would also remember how the people were cried down, when they assembled to greet their representatives as they passed to and from the Convention and Assembly; yet, that same press could call on them to meet and cheer Lord Palmerston, when on his way to the house, because, as they had it, he was a man of high position, and a defender of English liberty, some short time since. (Laughter.) He would also remember how the people were cried down, when they assembled to greet their representatives as they passed to and from the Convention and Assembly; yet, that same press could call on them to meet and cheer Lord Palmerston, when on his way to the house, because, as they had it, he was a man of high position, and a defender of English liberty, some short time since. (Laughter.)

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these "Manchester men" by their acts; look at their votes on the Factory Bill, and on the Bakers' Bill—these would show what this class would do for labour; yet should he (Mr. Harney) glory in seeing this party in power, because one three months in office would make them the most unpopular class ever sat on the Treasury benches, and then would he, never support any measure that would leave a parish class outside the constitution, but have measures that, like our Charter, would embrace all. (Much applause.) The Chartists had prophesied during the cry for free trade, cheap bread, &c., that wages would fall; and was the prophecy being fulfilled in the case of the typographers, and the Eastern Counties Railway men? Why, the firm of Fagg and Co., would save out of the reduced wages of their ninety-six men no less than £300 to £1,200 per annum. Again, the shareholders of the Eastern Counties Railway had immense power to bring against the men, their wages, and to make them work for nothing. The men from other railways did not come to contend voluntarily; no, they were compelled; and told if they did not go, they must starve, as they would not keep them on their rails. (Hear, hear.) A greater state of tyranny than this could not exist. He looked on those strikes as being quite justifiable, and he did not think they would be successful, but he trusted that should not be charged with throwing cold water on them, as he cordially supported them, but, in all sincerity, he must say, he saw no hopes, save in a mastery of the state. (Loud cheers.)

The resolution was then put, and carried unanimously. Mr. M'SWANEY moved the second resolution as follows:—"That in the opinion of this meeting a locality of the National Chartist Association should be immediately formed for the district of Westminster and Pimlico."

Mr. LYNCH (one of the deputation from the Irish Democratic Association) seconded the motion, and said that he had opened a locality of the National Chartist Association in Golden-lane, and should be happy to have others in the metropolis, and elsewhere. The Irishman would aid the Northern Star, and other English newspapers in establishing the principles of democracy.

Mr. WALTON, who objected to the writings of Robespierre, wished to know how far a person was bound to go if he joined the National Chartist Association?

Mr. STALLWOOD said, any one joining the Association was only pledged to the six points of the People's Charter and the rules that guided its operations, as every one of its members was bound to do. But said every man was allowed the full latitude of speech, and that all persons must have an object in wishing the People's Charter to become the law of the land. He was free to confess his was the social amelioration of the condition of the people, and he was in favour of "Social Rights." Much of the Robespierism was in the minds of the people, and he was in favour of the principles of the People's Charter. As regards the principles adopted in the first resolution—the nationalisation of land—it was the creed of all Christians, of all philosophers, and wise and just men, and might be prominently set forth in the first chapter of Genesis.

The resolution was adopted by acclamation. Several members moved for a vote of thanks to the Association, and Mr. Walford was appointed to enrol names for the district at the Temperance Hall.

A vote of thanks was given to the Chairman, who acknowledged the compliment, and the meeting then dissolved.

LATEST INTELLIGENCE.

DISTURBANCES IN HUNGARY.

The Journal des Debats publishes the following letter from Vienna, of the 23rd inst.:—"On the 15th, the 16th day of the Emperor, deplorable excesses took place at Pesth, Hungary. In the morning the manner of conduct of the Emperor's army, which could give the police a motive for interference. In the evening, at the theatre, things assumed a different appearance. While the first version of the Austrian national hymn were being sung by the actors, a group of spectators by the centre of the pit, and composed of persons apparently belonging to the respectable class, began to protest by cries, whistling, and threats. Their vociferations were addressed to the highest persons of the State. To put an end to the scene of tumult, the intervention of the armed force was called for, and from twenty to twenty-five persons were arrested. Their social position, and the moment chosen by them to promote disturbance, were an aggravation of their fault, and there was, moreover, on their part, a complete want of political tact, if not of gratitude, in hazing a shameful demonstration against the Emperor immediately after the numerous pardons granted by him to the Chartists. The authorities of Pesth, instead of understanding their duty in delivering up these guilty men to justice allowed themselves to be led away either by the effect of indignation, or by misunderstood zeal, to use means which nothing can excuse in a civilised country, and to inflict summary punishment without any form of trial. The most guilty of the persons were immediately incorporated as private soldiers in a regiment, and the others had the bastinado applied to them at the rate of thirty strokes each. Affairs do not go on so well in Croatia as could have been wished. National demonstrations are the Ban Jellachich does not exert himself sufficiently to repress them."

PARIS, FRIDAY.—THIRTY-SEVEN persons were arrested on the Boulevard for uttering seditionary cries the night of the President's return to Paris.

Five persons have been arrested at Sombernon (Cote d'Or), and conducted to Dijon on a charge of high treason. Amongst them are a *hauteur* and a judge's registrar.

A resolution for assembling the Council-General in the event of a successful insurrectional movement in Paris was carried by a majority of sixteen votes.

THE TYPE-FOUNDERS STRIKE.—At Warminster-street Police Court, on Thursday, the 24th inst., John Francis Richardson, journeyman type-founder, was brought before Mr. Hamill, charged, the former with having obstructed the thoroughfare by causing a crowd to assemble in front of the premises of Messrs Henry Caslon and Son, extensive letter-founders in Chiswell-street, St. Paul's, and the latter with disorderly conduct and inciting a crowd to assemble in front of Richardson's premises. The case was committed to the custody of the police. Mr. Waking attended to conduct the prosecution, and Mr. Child for the defence. Evidence was given that Sutherland was walking, with a large placard at his back, and shouting out, "French invasion!" before the premises of Caslon and Co., and that after the case was committed to the custody of the police, Richardson incited the crowd, and attempted to rescue him. Mr. Hamill ordered both prisoners to find two substantial bail for their peaceable behaviour for the next three months; in addition to which he imposed a penalty of forty shillings upon the prisoner Richardson for obstructing the thoroughfare, and for inciting a crowd to assemble in front of Richardson's premises. The penalty was immediately paid, and the required sureties having been soon afterwards produced, both prisoners were released from custody.

RIOTING BETWEEN THE MILITARY AND SEAMEN AT PORTSMOUTH.—READING OF THE RIOT ACT.—Every night during the present week, great numbers have taken place between the soldiers of the 60th regiment in Portsmouth garrison, and the men of the Fox Frigate. On Thursday evening the rioting had become so alarming that Mr. Jones, a magistrate, found it necessary to read the Riot Act, and to call in the aid of the military power. In consequence, the Lieutenant-Governor, Lord Fitzclarence, hastened to the scene of the disturbance. Queen's-street, where he had a large number of soldiers under the direction of the police. Some 150 or 200 sailors had collected together, armed with heavy bludgeons, and searched the different public and beer-houses for the men of the 60th regiment, but as they had been prevented from coming into Portsmouth very few were found. Some were, however, discovered, and placed strong parties of men, who were to be taken to the hospital, where he is not expected to survive. On the previous evening, the 60th regiment had got possession of the town, attacking every sailor they met, and beating them most cruelly. A large number of windows of public-houses were broken by the soldiers, and many of the houses were demolished by their respective enemies.</

Foreign intelligence.

FRANCE.

The case of the Socialist paper published in Paris, under the auspices of M. Ledru-Rollin, Mazzini, Louis Blanc, and the other political exiles now in London, under the title of 'Le Proscrit, Journal de la République Universelle,' came before the Court of Assizes of the Seine last week. The prosecution was against M. Bruniel-Nadal, the editor of the paper; M. Briere, the printer; and M. Ledru-Rollin, (per contumace,) the author of the article incriminated. They were charged with an attack on the respect due to the laws; with an attack on the rights and authority of the National Assembly; with exciting the hatred and contempt of the government of the Republic; and with encouraging civil war. After a long trial they were all found guilty. M. Bruniel-Nadal was sentenced to six months' imprisonment, and a fine of 1,000 francs; M. Briere, to fifteen days' imprisonment, and a fine of 500 francs; and M. Ledru-Rollin (in his absence) to a year's imprisonment, and a fine of 3,000 francs.

The reception of Louis Napoleon in Alsace has been such as must have clearly demonstrated to his mind, however reluctant to accept such a conviction, that not the least portion of that sympathy once so largely felt in this German province of France for the prisoner of Ham, remains, among the industrious population, for the would-be Emperor. The seriousness of the disturbance at Besançon is admitted to day by all correspondences. But still greater mortifications awaited the President on his progress through the department of the Haut-Rhin. From Belfort to Colmar his journey seems to have been more like a procession than a triumph. The hostile demonstrations that the fated progress of the head of the state. So gloomy was the outlook, and so dispirited was the Prince, that he was fain to admit the personal protection of Gen. de Castellane after he had left the military jurisdiction of that officer, and accepted his escort as far as Mulhausen, although the general stated, in a telegraphic despatch, that he should not accompany Louis Napoleon beyond Besançon. In fact, Castellane being universally held up as a scourge and bane to the democrats, it was hoped that the terror of his name alone might do much in quelling the hostile manifestations of socialists. News of the unfortunate explosion at Besançon had preceded the President into the next department of the Haut-Rhin; and when the prince arrived at Belfort, on the 19th, he found it expedient to shorten his stay as much as possible in that town, where the socialists were evidently prepared to mar, as much as possible, the official welcome by noisy expressions of their attachment to the republic. At Mulhausen, the mayor and authorities were in the utmost apprehension of an outbreak, and respectfully expressed these fears to the President's party.

Mulhausen contains a large working population, chiefly employed in calico printing. The authorities and the employers did their best to secure a good reception for him but totally failed. On his way he visited Thonn, where there was a very strong socialist demonstration. 5,000 workmen assembled to join in this. Among other cries were heard 'Vive le Suffrage universel!' 'Vive la République!' The other part of the population were calm, silent, and indifferent. The corps of pompiers and the artillery of the national guard were remarkably vehement in their clamorous protests against the policy of the President's government. The review in the spacious meadows outside Mulhausen was accompanied by similar democratic manifestations. As Colmar the President was not received better than at Mulhausen, although the severity of the authorities redoubled in proportion to the alienation and coldness of the people, the mayor and his colleagues coming out to meet the party two or three miles from the city. Delegates from the several guilds were each honoured with a few words from the President. But in the city his reception was so bad as to occasion the most alarming reports to be circulated here. It was said that attempts had been made upon his life, and so forth. Little credit was attached to these, as will have been perceived by the slight effect which they had on the Bourse, because everybody knows here that nothing can be further removed from the plans of the socialists than to offer personal violence to Louis Napoleon. The unpopularity of his government does not yet take the form of that bitter personal hatred which incites to criminal attempts. They judge, with how much correctness is easily inferred from his career, that he is a man without political character, and the tool of parties, with no tie of sympathy or interest; the most hostile expressions used against him in the democratic prints are rather of contempt than anger. However the lieutenant-colonel, the mayor, and the greater part of the officers of the national guard resigned, in order to mark their disapprobation of the President's policy.

Along the roads throughout Alsace, bands were organized to give the President a *charivari* as he passed. The greater part of these were youths armed with whistles. The moderates attribute these concerns to the presence of M. Flocon, member of the provisional government, at Colmar, who gave the *mot d'ordre* to the socialists of the department. At Mulhausen, a brawny fellow, armed with a cudgel, was arrested on the charge of deterring the well disposed from crying 'Vive le Président!' At Strasburg, where he arrived on the 21st, the authorities received him in all due form. The streets through which he passed were crowded to excess; every window was occupied by elegantly dressed ladies. The National Guard assembled in great numbers, and received the President with frequent cries of 'Vive la République!' mixed with those of 'Vive le Président!' The President gave evident signs of emotion; probably the souvenir came across his memory of the last time he passed through the same streets as an exile, whereas now he pranced gayly forward as *chef de l'état*.

A member of the Chamber of Commerce, M. Brechmann (one of the persons that figured lately in the republican press at Metz), took occasion, like M. Noiset, of Rixin, to call the attention of the President to the condition of those who had been condemned to imprisonment, thus making an appeal to his clemency. The President replied, that 'none better than he knew the pain of being a prisoner, but that it was necessary that order should be re-established before he could think of recommending their being set at liberty.'

At the banquet in the evening, his speech was directed against the Socialists, whose demonstrations against him in Besançon, and other places, were smarting in his memory. After dinner, the rooms of the prefecture were crowded with ladies in ball dresses. But the event which created most sensation was a little surprise, which certainly does honour to the waggery of the Strasburgers: A tremendous display of fireworks had been got up on the rampart of the Porte des Juifs opposite to the prefecture and theatre. The President's aunt, the Grand Duchess Stephanie, fired the train with her own fair hand: but imagine the disappointment and chagrin of the President's party, when they saw opposite to them, in immense blazing characters, 'Vive la République.' Orders had been given that it should be 'Vive le Président,' but General Thouvern, who commanded the artillery of the National Guard, the body which had the getting up of this flaming compliment, made the small, and not altogether, perhaps, unintentional blunder of putting 'République' in the place of 'Président.' Just as Nelson turned his blind eye to the admiral's signal for retreat, so did General Thouvern turn a deaf ear to the request of M. Mocquart, the President's Potemkin. When questioned upon the matter he replied that 'Vive la République!' was the device in most consonance with the feelings of the citizens of Strasburg. Many of the Strasburg ladies, however, seemed to enjoy the sight excessively.

On the following day a round of reception commenced, at which 350 officers of the old empire, the mayors, deputy-mayors, and other authorities were present. The crowd outside received every retiring deputation with shouts of 'Vive la République!' The leading incident of the second day at Strasburg, was the grand review of the troops and the National Guard. The National Guard was very numerous, and cried 'Vive la République!' while the troops set up the rival shouts of 'Vive le Président!' The Polycon, where the review took place, is a vast space between the Rhine and the gate of Austerlitz. An immense crowd of people bordered the whole way from the city, and raised the shout of 'Vive la République.' At the moment of his arrival at the Polycon a young medical student advanced and cried 'A bas le Président!' He was immediately arrested.

It would appear that a grave circumstance occurred at Lyons, which was passed over, or at all events only slightly alluded to, by the correspond-

ence from that city. The 'Lyons Gazette' of the 18th says: 'Yesterday stated that the President had gone up to the Croix Rousse, but we were at that time ignorant of the deplorable details of that visit. We now communicate to our readers what we have received from persons worthy of credit. On his arrival at the barrier of the Croix Rousse the President was received by the cure of the place, who made him a complimentary speech. The mayor, in his turn prepared to read a speech, when all of a sudden the crowd, breaking through the barrier, which was too weak, separated him from the President. At this moment one might see compact masses, which, extending from the extremity of the great street of the Croix Rousse to the middle of the place, belled out the cry of 'Vive la République!'—A cry mixed with seditious clamours, which we shall abstain from repeating. There was a moment of alarm; but the police and the cavalry of the escort having released the President, he was enabled to continue his way towards the house of M. Aubertier, which is fortunately quite close to the barrier. On his arrival there the President presented the cross of honour to M. Aubertier, and we feel that we are the echo of the whole city in saying that it unanimously applauded the distinction conferred on that excellent man. But during the short visit of the President the cries, the bellying, the clattering of rage redoubled in the streets. The President, who was to have visited several *salons*, several schools, and the Marie of the Croix Rousse, disgusted, no doubt, with such a reception, did not proceed further. He immediately returned to Lyons, where the banquet of the chamber of commerce awaited him.'

The 'Courrier de Lyons' confirms this account, and adds that some of the men went close up to the President, and called 'Vive la République démocratique et sociale!' 'A bas les Aristes!' 'Vive les Rouges!' and other cries of the same nature. At Nancy an incident occurred which excited a good deal of attention. A tremendous row occurred at the hall given in that city. An officer of the National Guard, advancing towards Louis Napoleon, requested him to shake hands. The President, it seems, was not in a humor to let such a freedom pass, and, declining the favour solicited, replied: 'I am not in the habit of giving my hand to every one.' Hereupon the officer set up a shout of 'Vive la République!' in which all present at that way of thinking joined. But the party of the President, having the advantage in point of force, vehemently demanded that the officer should be turned out, a measure which was set about without the least ceremony, for the officer advanced with forthwith with a colored by one of the President's suite, and, after a violent tussle between the contending parties, thrust out of the festive meeting, while the *entourage* of the President raised the victorious shout of 'Vive Napoleon!' At this untoward accident seemed to dash the spirits of the ladies, the President told them to be not at all alarmed at such a trifle, but to continue their dancing gayly. Nevertheless, a great portion of the company disappeared, and loud cries of 'Vive la République!' were heard outside in the street.

In the evening he went to the theatre, but the cries of 'Vive la République' were also numerous. The police took several into custody for crying 'Vive la République.' The equanimity of the President was considerably disturbed at Metz. In the evening a numerous deputation of officers of the National Guard came to the hotel where he was lodged, and asked to see the President of the Republic. As soon as Louis Napoleon appeared, after a short address by their spokesman, the whole party set up a shout of 'Vive la République!' The President replied: 'Messieurs, if this is a manifestation which you come to make here, it is an improper (*inconvenant*) one. If in these cries I am to see counsel, I seize this occasion to tell you that I accept none from any person.' After which he retired into the interior of his apartments, while the deputation was shown down stairs with as little ceremony as they deserved.

At Pont-a-Mousson the President passed the National Guards in review, during which the cry of 'Vive la République' was almost incessant. One company even thundered out the 'Marseillaise,' the captain giving the example. This scene only ceased when the *chef de bataillon* interfered, and on the Minister of Commerce remonstrating with the offending officer on the gross impropriety of allowing his men to sing when under arms. At the end of the review the cry of 'Vive la République' was replaced by that of 'A bas les rats!' Pont-a-Mousson is a country of vine gardens.

The funeral of M. de Balzac, the corners of the pall were held by M. Victor Hugo, M. Alexandre Dumas, M. Sainte-Beuve, and M. Baroche, the Minister of the Interior, who, without receiving an invitation, came to pay a last compliment to the literary merit of the deceased. Victor Hugo was enthusiastically cheered by the body of *ouvriers* present, made an eloquent speech over the remains of his departed friend. After the ceremony a great number of workmen, who had been anxious to be present at the funeral of the great writer, and show that the people recognised their share of the national loss, followed M. Victor Hugo, and at the close of the cemetery suddenly raised the living writer with the warmest acclamations. The great poet was immediately surrounded and applauded by the whole crowd, who cried, 'Vive le d'ender of the liberty of the press,' 'Vive the defender of the people,' and 'Honour to Victor Hugo.' As M. Hugo entered his carriage the people pressed forward to the door, each anxious to seize the hand of the orator, who in turn was deeply affected. The cries of 'Vive la République' were warmly and unanimously repeated.

Sixty Belgian workmen have been sent out of Paris by M. Carlier, escorted by gendarmes, to gain the Belgian frontier. There is no country where Frenchmen enjoy so much liberty as in Belgium.

M. Auguste Dupont, formerly member of the Constituent Assembly, has been shot through the head in a duel, at Périgueux, with Dr. Chavoix, member of the Legislative Assembly. The dispute between them is said to have thus originated. M. Chavoix is a member of the Mountain; M. Dupont was a member of the Constituent Assembly, who had trimmed round to conservatism, and become the editor of a paper, 'L'Echo de Vesone,' in the department of the Dordogne, which is represented by M. Chavoix. It seems that the bailiff of M. Chavoix acting upon general orders, had ejected during the absence of his employer a tenant from his small holding for a debt of fourteen francs. The moderate members of the department, which is distinguished for bitter party feeling, did not fail to use this instance of unfeeling rigour on the part of the socialist landlord as a weapon against the socialists generally; and against the representatives which they had returned for the Dordogne in particular. In the controversy which ensued, the pen of M. Dupont and the columns of the 'Echo de Vesone,' became the chief medium for the public expression of conservative feeling on this subject. A subscription was opened for paying the cultivator's debt, with the expenses of ejection. The list was soon covered with names; appended to many of which were severe reflections upon the cruelty of M. Chavoix, who was possessed of considerable wealth. Upon his arrival in the Perigord, M. Chavoix addressed a letter to the 'Echo de Vesone,' in which he stated that his agent had acted in this instance without a special order, and only in virtue of general instructions. Some sharp expressions against the editor accompanied this explanation. M. Dupont printed the letter at length, and replied to the personalities in a corresponding tone of bitterness. On the 20th M. Chavoix deputed a couple of friends to procure an apology for the offensive expressions in the editor's commentary. Two friends were appointed by M. Dupont, who refused, on the part of their principal, to retract anything until M. Chavoix had withdrawn the word 'contempt' in his letter. All attempts at an arrangement having failed, the two adversaries met the same evening, at a mile from Périgueux, to decide their quarrel by arms. The weapons chosen were pistols. They fought at twenty-five paces. M. Chavoix was the throw for the choice of position, and M. Dupont for the first fire. Dupont fired and missed. Chavoix, declaring that he could not see clearly, waited till the smoke of his adversary's discharge passed, and fired at an interval of some seconds. His ball struck the forehead of Dupont, who fell stark dead upon the plain without uttering a cry or groan. His body was brought about midnight to his house in Périgueux, and the next day followed by a long train of partisans on the road to Fuyferran, where the interment took place.

On the 20th the Duke of Bordeaux, the Legitimist pretender, gave a dinner of a hundred covers at Wiesbaden, to which sixty workmen arrived from Paris by train de plaisir were invited. Some of the latter party brought their wives, among whom one dressed up in a Vendean costume, and attracted much attention.

The following resolutions have been come to at Wiesbaden by the Count de Chambord and twenty-

eight Legitimist deputies who were present. To abandon the policy of conciliation; to oppose the prolongation of the powers of the President of the Republic; to consider M. Berryer as the directing chief of the party; and to blame and disavow the acrimony displayed by the 'Gazette de France.'

Several members of the National Assembly, and two generals, old friends of the Orleans family, left Paris for Brussels, on a visit to the Prince de Joinville, who has arrived in that city, and taken up his residence at the Hotel de Saxe. It is supposed that the object of these visits is to dissuade the Prince from coming forward as another claimant for the power of misruling France.

Louis Philippe, previous to his death presented to the state the Stander collection of pictures, the possession of which was confirmed to him by a recent award of the Conseil d'Etat.

The Neapolitan Ambassador and his suit have produced some excitement in Paris by their gorgeous costumes, pearls, and diamonds, but seem greatly dissatisfied that Republican France has paid them so little attention, compared with that which they received in Monarchical England.

The political prisoners under sentence of transportation for life, and who are now confined at Doullens, are, it is said, to be removed to the citadel of Belle-Isle-en-Mer, that place having been fixed on by a decree of the President of the Republic as the place of confinement for prisoners under that sentence.

A socialist named Gerber has been arrested at Strasbourg on a charge of having conspired against the life of the President of the Republic. Two arrests have taken place at Nancy, connected with the same alleged plot.

A socialist named Robert, nicknamed 'Bonnet Rouge,' was sentenced by the Court of Assize of the Oise, on the 26th inst., to imprisonment for thirteen months, for having insulted the President of the Republic on his passage through Pontoise on the 10th of June last.

WHAT NEXT?—M. Carlier, the Prefect of Police, to whom the inhabitants of Paris are so much indebted for the perfect tranquillity which prevails, has succeeded in putting an end to a serious strike amongst the cotton printers of Puteaux and St. Denis, and has seized 40,000 francs, the fund by which the operatives were to be supported whilst out of work.

ITALY.

The correspondent of the 'Daily News' says:—My forebodings were correct as to the significance to be attached to the virtual concession made to Austria, in the exiling from Turin Bianchi Giovine, the talented editor of the 'Opinione' newspaper. It turns out to be too true that Austria is secretly threatening the government of this country with an intervention, an occupation similar to that of Tuscany, if Piedmont does not satisfy the requirements of the reactionary governments of Austria and France, backed by Russia, in putting down the constitutional liberties its people enjoy, either by openly abolishing the statutes or constitution granted by Charles Albert, and sworn to by his son the reigning monarch (as at Naples), or by rendering it a dead letter by violating its most essential guarantees in practice, by prosecutions of the press, and arbitrary acts against the liberties of the subject (as in France). It is now averred as well as evident that Austrian diplomacy has fomented the quarrel between Piedmont and the Papal government in respect to the Siccardi law against the immunities and privileges of the clergy, and that the late conduct of the refractory prince, Archibishop Franzoni, on the occasion of the minister Santa Rosa's death, was not only in accordance with the views of Austria, and the bigoted Jesuitical party now paramount in France (that of Montalembert and Thiers), but was the result of a preconcerted understanding and agreement between them.

ROME.—The 'Constitutionnel' states that several persons have been arrested for a supposed conspiracy to assassinate the Pope, on Assumption day, by throwing crystal balls filled with explosive substances into his carriage, when on his way to church to pronounce the benediction. The discovery of the plot prevented all danger. There was some agitation on the following Sunday, as it was supposed that there had been a plot against the Austrian Ambassador, on the anniversary of the birth of the Emperor. A strong armed force was placed near his Palace to protect it, and in the evening some arrests were made.

LOMBARDY.—An irruption of the Mella occurred on the 14th inst., in the province of Brescia. It has devastated the fields, destroyed houses, and caused much loss of life. The diligences for Milan, after having encountered great danger in the road from Bourg to St. Jean, near Brescia, were obliged to make a detour to arrive at their destination, which they only did after having been forty-eight hours on the road, owing to the vast extent of country flooded.

TWO SICILIES.—A letter from Naples of the 14th inst. says, 'You have read the account of the Italian flag which have been hoisted in several places of Sicily, but you are doubtless not aware that political demonstrations have been made at Cozenza, Potenza, and other places in Calabria. In the first of these towns about fifty young men assembled, crying 'Long live the constitution and the King.' Others soon joined them, and thus formed an imposing mass. The troops then were ordered out, and made several arrests, but the most singular part of the affair is, that Muzante, informed of the affair, ordered the prisoners to be set at liberty, saying that the cry of 'Long live the constitution' was not an offence. Shall we see Muzante superseded, like Haynau, for too much clemency?

SPAIN.—Madrid politicians are now busy electioneering, and many meetings, and what Cobbett calls 'lots of jaw,' are daily taking place. The moderate party appears to be unanimous and well organised; their liberal opponents appear more disposed to destroy one another than to do essential harm to the enemy. The committee for the general elections has published an address to the constituencies calling on them to support the liberal cause. Although the government has organised the registry in such a manner that there is little chance for the election of men of liberal principles, yet no opportunity should be lost of a struggle. This address is signed by Becerra, La Serna, and other progressives.

There have been several meetings of electors belonging to extreme parties, in which violent attacks have been made upon the moderate liberals. It seems probable that these men will rather vote for the friends of government than for their old chiefs. It is probable that but for the firm hand of Narvaez, the same disorder would be shown among the moderados, but the severity shown to all backsliders from the government shows the hate of rivals smothered. Were it not so we should see moderados candidates opposed by others of the same opinions, and many a scandal brought to light in the heat of an election. The cabinet has decided upon employing four steam frigates of 500 horse power each in the packet service between the island of Cuba and the mother country. A great fall of snow has taken place in the Pyrenees. This circumstance, by rendering the mountain defiles almost impassable, will render the existence of bands of robbers more precarious than ever.

The Cornelia papers mention a fact that shows in what a state of ignorance and brutality the Galician labourers are still plunged. The aeronaut, Madame Sanges, who had made an ascension in her balloon, descended near the village of Betangos. Here the peasants, with a stupid old fanatic priest at their head, brutally assaulted the poor woman, alleging she was the devil, and had not been defended by some more civilised than the rest, she would probably have been killed. The governor of Cornelia has rendered the village pecuniary responsible for the damage done to the balloon, and has sent the culprits to prison.

SAXONY.—By an order of the Ministry for Public Instruction, twenty-one professors of the Leipzig University are directed to be suspended from their functions as deans or members of the Senate, whereby they lose their votes for the election of a member to the first Chamber. This measure is the result of the recalcitrancy of these twenty-one professors, who not only refused in the first instance to obey the injunction for proceeding to the election, but declared the letter of convocation to be illegal and unconstitutional.

This is part of the system of terrorism pursued towards every one that exhibits the least inclination towards liberalism.

HESSE CASSEL.—A decree of the Minister of the Interior, dated the 15th inst., summons the newly-elected Chamber to meet on the 22nd inst. No so far as it is possible to judge the democratic, or at all events the opposition party, will have a large majority, so that M. Hessepaul will find himself in the same predicament as before the dissolution.

The government has failed on all sides to bring its adherents into the chamber. The sovereign issued an electioneering bill, in which he accused the committee of his parliament with falsehood, and further, thought it not beneath him to travel through the land to influence the electors. The clergy were set to work, for as elsewhere, so in Hesse, absolutism naturally seeks to aid in hypocrisy and J-suism.

The Elector, thanks to his enormous civil list, has been able to make a shift hitherto, but now his chest is empty, and he may not touch the taxes. The new chamber will most certainly refuse to grant new taxes while the present ministry is retained. What will the elector do? The question would be very easy did it run—what should he do? He ought, according to the constitution to which he has sworn, to dismiss the hated ministers, and form his council of men to whom the chamber would be willing to grant money. Should he attempt the open subversion of the constitution he cannot, so we are assured from Hesse, count on the assistance of his troops, and still less so upon those of Prussia. But M. Hassenpaul is not without hopes of support. He has brought his government to the aid of the Bund; now in turn he seeks help from the plenum. Bavarian troops, so we learn, are to march into Hesse. Let this be permitted and we shall see in Hesse, and soon in Germany, the end of constitutional government; and not long afterwards would follow the end of princely dominion, for only in the constitutional form is this now possible in Germany.

Another trial upon charges of high treason, for having carried arms in Baden against the Prussian troops, came on upon Wednesday, and ended by verdicts of guilty, and condemnation to 'death by the axe.' The accused were two brothers, named Wittenberg; the one an ex-petty officer (assistant gunner), and the other a master shoemaker.

DENMARK AND THE DUCHIES.—The hostile armies have suffered severely from the attack of cholera, and active warfare has been suspended in consequence.

GREECE.—Affairs in this country seem in a state of complete confusion. Both the church and the state dignitaries are at war with King Otho.

The term of the legislature expires on the 8th inst., says the correspondent of the 'Daily News,' and the King, under these circumstances, goes away from the country in a mysterious manner, and for an unlimited period, after making arrangements (involving the most unexampled and violent assumption of arbitrary power), for at least a prolonged absence, with an empty treasury, the country overrun with banditti, the regular army disaffected, an incompetent and villainous ministry (or rather no ministry), no legislature existing, and the elections still hanging over the heads of the people as a stone to crush them. It is said that there is a complete organisation on the part of the Camarilla, in case the elections are held, to carry them all, by a coup de force, throughout the country, excluding every independent candidate, without exception!

UNITED STATES.

The Canada brings news to the 16th inst.

The accounts from Washington are of a very important character with regard to the slavery question, and state that the California Bill had received the formal sanction of the Legislature. A bill establishing a territorial government in New Mexico had also passed. On the 6th inst. President Fillmore addressed to the Houses of Congress a long and important message on the question of New Mexico, accompanied by an official letter from Mr. Webster, as Secretary of State, to the Governor of Texas, replying to that minister's letter on the boundary dispute of Texas.

The message is lengthy; we therefore extract the following summary of it from a New York paper:—

Both these documents have elicited the warm approbation of the whole country, with the exception of the portions which are red hot with slavery fanaticism. The President shows that his duty requires him to maintain the status quo, and guard New Mexico against the encroachments of Texas until Congress shall have decided the question of boundary. That question he does not judge; it is enough for him to know that Texas never had possession of New Mexico, that the United States conquered it, and that the treaty of peace with Mexico bound the Union to protect the people of the territory and confer on them the rights of American citizens. Moreover, the United States have claims upon the unoccupied lands in the territory which are not consistent with its alien dominion to Texas, and on these grounds, the President in firm, yet temperate, language announces his determination to prevent and suppress any hostile demonstrations against New Mexico on the part of Texas. At the same time he urges upon Congress the duty and necessity of promptly settling the boundary question and putting a peaceful end to the contest. This recommendation came before the passage of the Boundary Bill in the Senate, and, doubtless, helped it forward. The letter of Mr. Webster to Governor Ball contains a masterly argument of the question, and it is every way worthy the reputation of its author. It is indisputable that the new Administration has most creditably met the wants of the crisis, and done all that could be asked for the prevention of any real trouble that may have been threatened in the southwest. Its policy is also in perfect accordance with that pursued by the previous Executive; the tone of President Fillmore's message is a little more diplomatic, and its language less condensed and sensitive than would have been employed by General Taylor, but otherwise there is no difference. The message was received in the house with a great deal of bluster by the champions of the South; and the ultra slavery party, finding itself embarrassed, held a caucus, at which a committee of vigilance reported a series of resolutions of a violent character, but, as it would appear, no practical value.

On the 9th the Senate approved by a majority the bill introduced by Mr. Pierce, giving Texas 10,000,000 dollars as indemnity, with a line altogether more favourable than that proposed by the Compromise Bill.

The formation of the Cabinet was completed. The United States Cabinet is constituted as follows:—Secretary of State, Mr. Webster; Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Corwin; Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Graham; Postmaster-General, Mr. Hall; Secretary of the Interior, Mr. McKim; Secretary of War, Mr. Conrad; Attorney General, Mr. Crittenden.

Some conversation had taken place in Congress relative to the formation of a steam line between New York and Mexico.

Intelligence had been received from Havana relative to the remainder of the Cuba prisoners. Seven of them are to be liberated in the course of the month; the other three are to have eight years of the chain gang. This is the wind-up of Lopez's piratical invasion of Cuba. There were unauthenticated rumours of a second Cuban expedition in preparation; and a strange story of a plot to dismember the union in which Lopez was said to be implicated.

It was asserted at New Orleans on the 10th inst. that Governor Bell had issued commissions in Texas for raising troops in almost every county to march for Santa Fe, on the 1st of September. There was some prospect of an Indian war on the frontier.

The State elections in progress throw some faint light on the prospects of parties in the congressional contest. In Missouri the elections were going in favour of the Whigs; 114 had been reported, and the result of forty-six was unknown; on the returns made there were sixty Whigs to thirty-two followers of Mr. Benton, and twenty-two democrats opposed to him. In North Carolina the democrats have a majority of fifty-one on joint ballot in the legislature. In Kentucky the democratic gain was small and not sufficient to shake the Whig preponderance in the state. In Indiana the democrats are said to have a majority of twenty in the legislature, and of about as many in the convention to revise the constitution of the state.

GARIBALDI IN AMERICA.—Gen. Garibaldi is in New York suffering severely from rheumatism, though slowly recovering. He has addressed a letter to the Italian committee declining the proposed demonstration in his honour, not only because the state of his health will not permit his receiving it, but from motives of personal modesty. The patriot hero says, 'No such public exhibition is necessary to assure me of the sympathy of my countrymen, of the American people, and of all true Republicans in the misfortune which I have suffered, or of the cause out of which they have flowed.'

'Though a public manifestation of this feeling might yield much gratification to me, an exile from my native land, severed from my children, and mourning the overthrow of my country's freedom by means of foreign interference, yet believe me that I would rather avoid it, and be permitted, quietly and humbly, to become a citizen of this great Republic of Freedmen, to sail under its flag, to engage in business to earn my livelihood, and await a more favourable opportunity for the redemption of my country from foreign and domestic oppressors.'

The Committee in announcing his refusal of the proffered honour, state—'Of twenty-five millions of Italians, five millions alone have been able to maintain the sacred banner of Liberty; the other twenty millions have fallen again under an oppression more ferocious than before. For them the knowledge that their popular champion had been welcomed by the greatest people in the world, would have been a consolation, the same as for a prisoner looking through the grating of his cell to see afar off a powerful man, whose gestures of sympathy show him to be a friend.'

Although your kind intentions have not been carried into effect, nevertheless, oh generous citizens, we feel the debt of gratitude to you. Nor can we complain of the modesty of Gen. Garibaldi, which more than his feeble health has thwarted our projects. Our high esteem, our love, and our hopes in him are by no means diminished. We are perfectly certain that when the pity and justice of God shall cause the miseries of the people, and the iniquities of their oppressors to cease, Garibaldi will rush to the assistance of his beloved country. His sword will again become a terror and we hope, will carry destruction to the very roots of tyranny.'

A fire has taken place at the prison of Sing Sing in this State, destroying a portion of one wing of the prison, including several mechanic shops belonging to the establishment. A portion of the convicts laboured with the greatest zeal in putting it out.

The cholera continues to exist in a comparatively mild form in some places in the Western and Middle States, but has not appeared in other quarters. At Cincinnati and Pittsburgh it is far less fatal than last year; at Harper's Ferry alone its ravages have been considerable.

Two steamers have arrived from California, bringing news thirteen days later from California, with some two hundred passengers and about three million dollars in gold. The general aspect of things, commercial and political, in the new state is satisfactory. San Francisco is rapidly recovering from the late fire and will gain in appearance and solidity by the disaster. Real estate still maintains its prices, and the buildings now erecting are mostly fireproof. Business is dull for the moment, but there is no doubt of its revival, as the season advances. The trouble anticipated with foreign miners has not taken place and will not. They refuse to pay the tax levied on them, and the people agree that they are right and that the impost is too large; the collectors no longer endeavour to enforce it. A good deal of complaint is made at the delay of Congress, but the assertion that California would set up for herself independent of the United States, is repelled in public meetings, and by several of the journals.

A good deal of excitement has been caused by a report at Marysville and Sacramento city of a place called Gold Lake where the precious stuff could be procured with ease in unheard of abundance. Ten ounces were reported as the yield to a panful, and men were said to gain a thousand dollars in a day. The distance from Marysville was said to be 200 miles, and a large emigration at once set out for the place, with provisions and mules, the price of which rose greatly in consequence. But the adventures were disappointed and wandered about vainly in search of the Lake. The excitement of course died out or rather reacted against the author of the report, said to be a crazy man, and there was danger of his being lynched. Subsequent reports, however, confirm the first news, and the tide will no doubt turn again.

The diggings generally are not yielding much just now, the water being high in many places. Several murders have been committed in various diggings, but otherwise good order is maintained. Coal of good quality has been found in California and Oregon. The progress of civilisation seems to be rapid among the mines, especially as regards luxuries culinary and potative. The present population of the State is reckoned at 121,000. The health of the country is generally good. In Oregon gold mines have also been discovered, and that territory is improving with rapidity.

The 'Tribune' says—'A riot among a body of German tailors in New York city has excited a good deal of attention and cast some odium upon the efforts now making by the industrial classes for the improvement of their condition. The tailors have for some days been on a strike, and on Monday week some hundred Germans assembled around the house of one who persisted in working at the objectionable rates and proceeded to chastise his workman. The police interfered and there was a brief fight, in which weapons were employed with fatal effect, two persons receiving mortal injuries. Some forty of the rioters were arrested and now await their trial. The mass of the trades have publicly disavowed all participation or sympathy in this outrage, which they feel to be chiefly injurious to themselves. The tailors also condemn the folly of these extemporaneous revolutionists, most of whom have been but a few months in the country and cannot speak English. The trade is entering upon an every judicious course in the organisation of an extensive working association, by which the workmen will receive the product of their toil undiminished by the employer's profits.'

There never was such a great movement among the New York industrialists, and nearly every trade is organised. All are regulated by central organisations and co-operate most harmoniously.

A singular affair which has taken place at Washington has produced there the most intense excitement. It seems that the police have long suspected Mr. W. L. Chaplin, of Albany, a respectable gentleman, aged about fifty, and well known as an Abolitionist and the editor of 'Chaplin's Port-folio,' an abolition paper, of being concerned in favouring the escape of slaves to the Free States. On Thursday morning last he paid his bill at the hotel in Washington, where he had been staying, and left in his carriage driven by a free black of that city. The police, who watched his movements, ascertained that he had not left the city, and prepared to intercept him on the northward road. In the evening he took in three runaway slaves, belonging to Messrs. Thoboms and Stephens of Georgia; the negroes had been for some days concealed in the city waiting a chance to escape. When the carriage arrived in Spratburg, a town of Maryland some seven or eight from Washington, the officers suddenly appeared, seized the horses' heads, and thrust a rapier through the fore wheels, thus stopping all advance. Chaplin seeing that they were taken, called on the negroes to defend themselves, and a desperate fight took place, though the darkness of the night prevented the shots fired from being fatal. As it was, several wounds were given and received on both sides, and it is admitted that the fugitives fought bravely. They were armed with revolvers and Bowie knives. Chaplin was first mastered, some five or six men flung themselves upon him as he leaped from the carriage. One of the negroes escaped, but, being hurt, has since given himself up. Chaplin is in prison at Washington, and he will be given up to the authorities of Maryland for trial. His punishment will be severe, as the court will act under the idea of stopping all such aid to fugitive slaves, which is thought to be more frequent than it really is. He says he is only sorry that he did not succeed. An attempt has been made to connect the affair with the 'National Era,' an anti-slavery paper published at Washington, but there was no ground for it.

CANADA.

The Canadian Parliament was prorogued on the 10th inst. by the Governor-General in the presence of a large assemblage, including over two hundred of the citizens of Buffalo, where the Provincial and Municipal authorities at Toronto have been feasting and making much of it in return for the civilities they paid Lord Elgin and his suit some time since. In announcing the prorogation his Excellency, in the Queen's name, assented to 207 bills, among which were an Act for the transfer and management of the Provincial Post-Office, Acts to equalise Assessments, to establish Free Banking, to impose twenty per cent. on foreign reprints of English copyrights, to incorporate a company for the settlement and moral improvement of the coloured population, to make the selection of jurors by ballot, giving municipalities power to issue or withhold tavern licenses. In his speech his Excellency said he would carry the Post-Office law into effect without unnecessary delay. He expressed satisfaction at the addresses proposed by either house, expressing loyalty to the throne and attachment to the institutions of the province, and expressed confidence that the sentiments of the address are those of the great body of the people. He congratulated Parliament on the improvement of the revenue. He avowed great satisfaction at his visit to the Welland Canal, and gratification at the courtesy of the citizens of Buffalo at that occasion. He recommended the members, when they returned home, to promote measures of practical utility.

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THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
 hereby announces the following meetings :
 Sunday afternoon, September 1st, the Metropolitan
 County Council will meet for the despatch of business
 at City Charist Hall, 26, Golden-lane, Barbican
 Lane. Hamilton and Lookhart, of Aylesbury, will attend.
 to be taken at half past two o'clock.
 Sunday evening (same date) a public meeting will be
 in the above Hall, when Messrs. Hamilton and Look-
 hart will attend and address the assembly. Chair, to be
 taken at seven o'clock.
 Thursday evening, September 5th, the sub-
 committee appointed by the Democratic Conference, will hold
 their third meet at the Metropolitan County Council
 to be taken at eight o'clock precisely.
 Signed, on behalf of the Committee,
 JOHN ANNOTT, General Secretary.

Portraits of Patriots.

the readers of the " Northern Star," and
 Democratic party generally, are informed,
 there is now a re-issue of the various
 engravings lately distributed with the
 Northern Star." They consist of

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NORTHAMPTON.—On the 25th of June, 1846, immediately after the passing of the Corn Law repeal act, Lord John Russell and the Protectionists, defeated Sir Robert Peel and his friends by a majority of seventy three. Sir Robert formally resigned office, and arrangements were made for his successors,—whigs—who have, therefore, now been in power four years and a month. The last dissolution was in June, 1841, and the election took place in July, and the new parliament assembled for the first time on the 18th of September, 1847. Lord John Russell is Prime Minister at the time of the election.

SOUTHAMPTON.—The whigs will be ready for six issues in two or four weeks.
BURY, Danbury.—They shall be sent when ready.
GALFRITS.—Read the first notice to correspondents.

THE NORTHERN STAR.
SATURDAY, AUGUST 31, 1950.

THE GREAT WANT OF THE AGE.

and to create that state of public feeling, and

to create that state of public feeling, and in public affairs, which is most inimical to peaceful and orderly progress. When great changes, founded in reason and justice, are required until the public mind has become impatient, the period for calm discussion, and the reasonable adjustment of our institutions to the wants of the time passes away, and is succeeded by that of popular excitement, leading to revolutionary violence, caused by the pas-

disciplined many, for the mastery.
The hostile attitude assumed by Lord Jagan-

the hostile attitude assumed by Lord JOHN RUSSELL and his Cabinet, backed by the aristocracy, towards the popular movement for political enfranchisement, is certain to eventually result in such a struggle, unless the Whig Ministry are replaced in time by an administration capable of comprehending the actual state of the country.

requirements. The questions which re-

requirements. The questions which recent events have caused to engross all men's minds are those of CIVIL RIGHTS—rights recognized by the theory of the British Constitution, which provides that all men shall be equal in the eye of the law—rights not to be exchanged for charity. The determination to gain those rights is growing stronger among the working middle classes every year, though

ect which alone arouses our aristocratic

This question has been long enough before the public to warrant an immediate and peaceable settlement. Petitions were first introduced for a reform in Parliament towards the close of the last century, as a means of

as an almost inevitable sequence, too intelligent to be cajoled by political adventurers and

Until we have a real representation of the people in the Commons House of Parliament emanating from a constituency thus formed, the curse of oligarchical domination, with its consequent extravagance, injustice, oppression, and discontent will continue to afflict the nation. As husbands, fathers, sons, citizenry, all honest men are bound, by the highest ties of duty, the noblest aspirations of freemen to unite for the accomplishment of this great and paramount reform, and when so obtained, to apply its powers in the spirit of justice, to promote the welfare of the whole body politic without distinction of class, party, or sect.

The leading measures which ought to be enacted by a People's Parliament, will form the subject of a separate article.

PROSPECTS OF INDUSTRY.

PROSPECTS OF INDUSTRY.

According to the *Daily News* "the management of the masses will in future be something far more difficult than it has been hitherto." In the tendency of modern industrial organisation to "concentrate the scattered powers of labour, as well as of labouring energy and mind," it sees "monstrous" because "more intelligible" masses to deal with," and it begins to doubt whether the much-vaunted principle of "supply and demand" will help the Capitalist over the difficulties which loom in the future.

Every reader of the *Star* knows the violent and vituperative manner in which the *Daily News*, and all the smaller organs of the "Manchester School," have constantly

They have always pretended to appreciate
all Government or Legislative interference

They have always preferred to interfere between the owners of capital and the owners of labour, as an infraction of all sound principles of national economy, calculated to tend to the most disastrous results in practice. The advocates of such measures have been stigmatised as the worst possible enemies of the 'working classes'. *Laissez Faire* was the only principle by which those who interfered in any way were pursuing a suicidal policy, and overturning that free, equitable and proper settlement of the terms between capital and labour, which was most beneficial for both, and for the country at large.

But the reciprocity of our economical friend

and demand" was in favour of the employers and against the workers. But the reciprocity of our economical friendship is truly Irish—all on one side. No sooner do they find that it is just possible the advantage may come some time or other be in favour of the employes, than forthwith they call out lustily against Government interference. Nor are they so moderate in their demands as the "intemperate and violent demagogues," who induce the ignorant working classes to make such preposterous proposals for the regulation of capital and labour, as were embodied in the Ten Hours Act of 1847. The penalties imposed by this act for the infraction of its provisions were exclusively of a pecuniary character; but we prescribe a more active treatment for the refractory employer workmen, who are beyond the control of "supply and demand."

organ of those who opposed Legislative interference in behalf of the factory children.

organ of those who opposed Legislative interference in behalf of the factory children, women and young persons, as an adoption of the worst theories of the Communists.—

If insubordination and turbulence display themselves among the ranks of railway employees, government and the legislature must interfere, and the result will be one of two things, either an especial and rigid code, like that of the merchant seamen, or an undertaking of the management to enforce discipline. The chiefs of our army and our navy declare that they cannot preserve discipline without the power of arrest, of the lash, and of courts-martial. The same principle applies to the railway men, an almost capital crime. Several of the continental powers have placed their railways under military jurisdiction, and the Austrians, who endure the lives of his countrymen for the sake of the railway, have placed the railway men under military jurisdiction.

Pleasant moment for the railway men.

COBDEN and BRIGHT once declared they were

CODDEN and BRIGHT once declared they were determined it should. When "supply and demand" fails to make them sufficiently subservient to the millocracy and the plutocracy "the power of arrest, of the lash, and of courts martial, which consider disobedience to superior orders as almost a capital crime," are to be called in to subdue the rebellious labourers who dare dispute the right divine of capital to treat them as it pleases. Really this is a new revelation of the tendencies of our "industrial development" which deserves the gravest attention from the Proletarians of this country. It means neither more nor less than this:—When the semblance of freedom, which under the name of wages, perpetuates slavery among the producing classes, fails to effect that object, the owners of capital will have no hesitation in resorting to the more open form of chattel slavery. As to the idea of Industry having no rights, that is Utopian, if not impious. "The labourer is not entitled to his hire," he is not to be "first partaker of the fruits," he is to exist simply as a machine to produce wealth for the enjoyment of the privileged and

this by the apparently voluntary system of competition between himself and his brother.

his by the apparently voluntary system of competition between himself and his brother angels, well and good. If not, then open, undisguised force, and compulsion must be resorted to. The lash—the terrible discipline of courts martial, in which the mere fact of disobedience to superiors may be punished by death—are weapons to which capital is prepared to have recourse, for the purpose of forcing its victims to their bitter, unrewarded, and unprogressive toil.

It is just as well that we should be told this in time, in order that we may know what is

in time, in order that we may know what it is before us, as the ultimate development of our modern industrial system of concentration. There have not been wanting grave, thoughtful men, who, pondering deeply on its tendencies, have declared that its only permanent result would be the degradation and slavery of the masses, and the ascendancy of a half-powerful moneyocracy; but they were derided as dreamy theorists, or denounced as scoundrel disturbers of our glorious commercial system. Now, however, we have the avowal from the official organ of the promoters of the new system, and the

to the case of the Engine Drivers on the Eastern Counties line, there can be but little

to the east of the Engine Drivers on the Eastern Counties line, there can be but little doubt, but were the exigency to arise the capitalist would find plenty of reasons for applying the same kind of compulsion to workers as all descriptions. In fact, the inference is inevitable, from a system of production which, in its very essence, estimates more highly the wealth created, than the man who creates it. Of the laws which are passed, nearly nine hundred and ninety-nine out of every thousand have for their object the protection of property. The physical, intellectual, or moral welfare of the producer of that property, obtains scarcely the slightest recognition among the duties of the Legislature.

More strikes against a system like this can have but a very temporary effect, even when by a rare concurrence of favourable circumstances they happen to be successful. The working classes can hold their own for a very short time in the face of the hostile influences which are constantly and actively in operation against them. The natural increase of population, and the improvements in machinery by which more work is done with fewer hands, are two permanent influences by which the contest for work and wages must be made ever yearly more desperate. Wherever an occupation appears to be understood there will, however, exist a constant and active

If any one occupation appeared at the present time to have been in a position to command fair terms, it certainly was the engine drivers. It is comparatively a new one, and the rapid extension of the railway system within the last four or five years, in conjunction with the peculiarly difficult and responsible duties they have to perform, might fairly have led to the presumption that the supply was under the demand. We are sorry to say, that judging by the reports this week, such is not the case. The Directors of the South Eastern have apparently found little difficulty in filling the places of their late drivers. The Directors on the other lines have given them assistance in a way which should give a salutary lesson to the working classes, and teach them to make their Unions *general*, instead of *local*. How-

that the process of plundering the workmen to pay dividends on the South Eastern, and

other lines besides, will henceforth meet with but slight check or hindrance.

The only way by which this state of things can be effectually met, is not by Labour attempting to *combat* Capital, but by commanding capital of its own to employ and reward itself; and, by making a little capital go a great way, by means of scientific combinations, direct exchanges and good management. If the Proletarian class are ever to render themselves independent of the capitalist class, it must be by means of Mutual, industrial and commercial co-operation. Unless the labourers can combine to work for themselves, and to elevate themselves *out of* the thralldom of the wages system, their combinations *not* to work for employers will exercise no enduring influence. The sole, simple and effective cure, is the pacific reconstruction and assimilation of the interests of capital and labour upon equitable principles, for the general benefit. The labouring classes have all the materials for effecting this at their command. They want but the knowledge and the will to apply them rightly; and in the face of the industrial tyranny with which the *Daily News* threatens them, the sooner they acquire and apply such knowledge the better for themselves and the world.

LOUIS PHILIPPE.

The "old Fagin" of France has departed this life. A career of unusual length and extraordinary vicissitude terminated quietly in a country to whose hospitality he was frequently indebted for shelter in the course of his chequered life. A few years ago, he was cried up as the great man of the age, vaunted as the NAPOLEON of Peace, who, by what was called liberal, conservative, and constitutional means, was to lay the foundation of a new and lasting order of things in Europe. No terms of laudation were thought too extravagant for the man whom his courtiers denominated alternately "NESTOR," and "ULYSSES." The politicians and journalists of the day, with whom success is synonymous with desert, echoed the adulation of his scribe flatterers; and a few years since, when he paid a royal visit to this country, the Press, almost without exception, joined in a chorus of compliment and eulogy absolutely stunning.

lead the unthinking multitude. The splendid vestments in which they had robed it—the

virtues they subscribed to it—were in a moment rudely stripped off, and the paltry character and dimensions of the cheat exposed to the gaze of the world. For eighteen years he was at the head of affairs in France, and, during that time, not one great or generous idea ever seems to have crossed his brain. His whole object was to convert the mighty resources of the country he ruled over into a means of aggrandising his own family. In the pursuit of this all-absorbing object, all methods were alike to him. Nothing was too mean, false, or hypocritical for adoption, so that it served the purpose of linking the Orleans family imperishably with the reigning dynasties of Europe. For this he equivocated, manoeuvred, lied. At the very moment when his last intrigue in Spain seemed to have consummated his policy, the storm of retribution burst forth and swept him from the throne, whose vast powers he had prostituted to the most sordid and selfish ends. He had weighed upon the country like a nightmare. Absorbed in his own miserable self-seeking, he knew nothing of the real condition, or of the wants and opinions of the people. Carefully shutting up every avenue by which that knowledge might have been obtained—violently repressing every upheaving of the fermenting elements of society—he and his servants imagined they had subdued the aspirations of a nation to their own base level. The constituency of the whole of France was a mercenary body of placemen, too few even for the places which a gigantic system of centralisation had placed at the disposal of the Court. Bribery, accompanied by a shameless want of principle on the part of high and low, connected with the state machinery, was the only motive power. Having no lofty principle to guide him—judging of all other men by his own standard—he sought to govern purely by cunning and bribery, and to save himself as monarch by playing off one class against another.

Governmental abortion as this. Had it been otherwise, men might have doubted the exist-

of a Providence and an Avenger, and an encouragement to other tyrants and tricksters on thrones, have been gathered from a triumphant career, which violated every principle that ought to guide those entrusted with the management of public affairs. The terror-stricken flight of the disguised Mr. SMITH, from the Tuileries, amidst the loathing contempt of a people, who would not condescend even to pursue him, was the most convincing and appropriate conclusion of a reign marked throughout by fraud, duplicity, meanness and selfishness.

This poor puppet who has just passed through a considerable portion of the country in the vain hope that he might create, or find such an amount of popularity as to justify him in making a bold and forcible effort to destroy the constitution he has sworn to uphold, ought to gather a lesson from the fate of his predecessor. If eighteen years quiet possession of power, aided by the immense revenues granted by the nation, and the large private fortune possessed by LOUIS PHILIPPE, failed to keep him on the throne, what chance is there for LOUIS NAPOLEON to overthrow the Republic, and raise a new one that shall last? He is pursuing the same policy of repression unwarmed by the experience of the past. The Press is muzzled, the right of public meeting and of association taken away. Open, undisguised, brute force, under pretence of preserving "order," is the sole weapon relied upon by the PRESIDENT. One would have imagined that this foolish game had been played so often, and always with the same result in France, that no one would have been stupid enough to try it again. By forcibly putting down the open expression of public opinion it is not destroyed. On the contrary, its very compression adds force and momentum to its inevitable explosion.

Those who will take the trouble to peruse the accounts given by the Press not in the pay of the "Special Constable," will discern that France is at heart thoroughly republican. All

the blight is extending, although slowly, and as yet to no serious amount amongst the tubers; and apprehensions are expressed that the disease might become formidable with any continuance of cold and damp weather. There are some few bad accounts amongst the reports received to-day, but even still I can see no ground whatever for apprehension as to the safety of the bulk of the crop. It is a very good sign that Indian corn is not much looked after in the markets. The potatoes now in consumption are as fine in quality as in any year within my recollection.

THE HARVEST.—The uncertain and unseasonable state of the weather is a source of much anxiety at a moment when so much depends even upon a few days of sunshine. Still, however, there has been no previous impediment to harvest operations and immense progress has been made in the saving of the crops, which, taken in the aggregate, promise abundance of food. We shall probably have more wheat and flour to some extent, but we are likely to have a very large surplus of corn and a splendid oat crop for exportation. Our exports of butter are now very extensive. The last account of the potato, from the county of Antrim, and some other northern districts, are quite

occasion referred to; and, as far as the public could judge, the worthy alderman intended by his conduct on Tuesday to show how much he resented the language directed against him by the Lord Mayor. In the course of the proceedings he accordingly addressed the chair offensively, and refused to retract his expressions until he was entreated to do so by a junior member in the name of the council. During the course of that took place the adjournment of the meeting, and the following scene then ensued:—Lord Mayor. I am sorry to hear now, that when I preside next over the meeting of this body I shall take good care to assert my authority by all the power that my position can exercise, and by throwing myself on the support of the council; and if Alderman Rooney, or any other member of the council, on my declaring him to be (in reason) out of order, shall refuse to submit to the chair, I shall be compelled to have recourse to a proceeding which I should much rather avoid. I never in the course of my life received from any member of this council, a more gratuitous, and, in my judgment, unprovoked insult than I received to-day. I thank the majority of the council for not countenancing it, and I trust that for the future order will be preserved here, and that the Lord Mayor will not be insulted in his chair with unprovoked and gratuitous expressions.

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Dr. Buller, a tall thin American, with white hair, and purely Transatlantic features and countenance, made a great "hit" with a speech that seemed to have for its secondary object the furtherance of peace, but for its primary purpose the exaltation of

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