



THE O'CONNOR AND NATIONAL TRADES' JOURNAL.

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LONDON, SATURDAY, APRIL 10, 1852.

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THE DIFFICULTIES OF STATESMANSHIP.

To reconcile the Rights of Property with the Rights of Labour has ever proved the great Difficulty of Statesmanship, and the antagonism now raging among various sections of politicians demonstrates that the problem is still unsolved. Expert mental Legislation is constantly baffled, because it has never yet been based on a comprehensive principle of policy. Each succeeding administration contemplates the current prejudices of the day, and adopts measures calculated to retain themselves in office. National welfare is sacrificed to the retention of Downing-street; and however Whigs and Tories may vituperate each other in the pursuit of power and patronage, they always unite together to resist the just claims of the people to any participation in the Government. Both factions are fertile in sophisms; both are equally dexterous in preparing statistics; both affect a profound reverence for public opinion; but neither of them will move an inch beyond the narrow dimensions of the oligarchic circle.

How happens it that so much misery prevails on this fair earth? The sources of production are illimitable in the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdom, and labour is ever ready to turn them to account. The power of consumption, measured in the impulse of appetites and desires of the human race, is always equal to the power of production. Consequently, under natural law, supply and demand should never fail; neither deficiencies nor glut ought to occur. The reward of industry would be ample and certain, and idleness alone would be subject to privation. That these results are not realized can only be attributed to imperfect distribution; for it is impossible to deny the premises on which this reasoning is founded.

Political Economy has revealed some truths and subverted some errors, but it has not solved the industrial problem; it has not reconciled the Rights of Property and the Rights of Labour. It has chiefly studied the art of producing wealth, and been almost silent on the art of distribution. It has done little for the moral and social elevation of humanity. Wealth is the appreciation of material things, and a term of comparison, which has no positive sense, unless it is distinctly expressed at the same time to what it relates. Economists have treated it as an abstraction, and not with relation to man and society, and hence has arisen the failure of their science. For since wealth is the product of human labour, which procures for us all the material good we seek to enjoy, the fundamental question to be answered is this—For whom is wealth created? According to the answer given to this question, man belongs to wealth, or wealth belongs to man. Personal slavery is the sternest form in which man belongs to wealth; a slave in Cuba is a portion of his master's property, as he can be bought and sold, as well as the goods the industry creates. Wages paid to a free man, when stunted and precarious, scarcely raise him above the level of servitude.

Pauperism and privation are forms of the imperfect distribution of wealth, and legislation has dealt with them rather as crimes than as misfortunes. It has, to some extent, sought a remedy in systematic emigration; albeit, parliamentary documents prove that fifteen million acres of land, untouched by plough or spade, might be usefully cultivated within the limits of the United Kingdom. The sum expended in emigration for the able-bodied poor, willing to work, but unable to find employment, would soon reclaim large portions of this neglected soil. With this field of labour vacant and at our command, it is difficult to believe in the theory of over-population. It is also a large demand on our credulity, when the great body of the people are badly fed, clothed, and housed, that our science is claimed to be the theory of over-production. Political economy, however, as popularly taught, insists on the truth of both these doctrines. This science so dominates in Parliament at the present time, that mere accountants, who get up statistical tables, are mistaken for statesmen.

What praises have not the professors of this science lavished on cheapness, as the principle blessing of the working classes? But, let us ask which of the two dissimilar forms of cheapness we ought to commend? Much money for little labour is the form of cheapness which the sons and daughters of toil are quite willing to accept; but the form of cheapness hitherto offered them is the very reverse—it is little money for much labour. This distinction is fundamental, but it is conveniently suppressed by the economists. Every working man is a seller of labour, and a buyer of money, and his wages are high or low in proportion to their purchasing power over common commodities. In a mere arithmetical sense, a shilling is less than nine pence, and in the same confined sense, a quarter loaf at sixpence is cheaper than a quarter loaf at ninepence; but since the working man must buy money by the sale of his labour, before he can buy bread, the vital question for him to determine is whether, in the same time, he can more readily earn the ninepence than the sixpence. In this view food is not his first necessity—his first necessity is constant employment at living wages.

The argument addressed to individual selfishness which urges all to buy cheap and sell dear, is hollow and false. All trade resolves itself into barter, and barter is the exchange of equivalents, that is, equal labour, for equal labour embodied in commodities. If a shoemaker insists on cheap bread, the former is entitled to cheap shoes.

This reasoning must be expanded. Capital, employed in business, must always yield two returns—the profits of stock, and the wages of labour; if not, capital and labour must, sooner or later, part company. Wages are paid for creating products; if those products, when exposed for sale in a market, realise but little money, how can the employer continue for any lengthened period to give much money for creating such products? It is clear he will not; for it would involve a sacrifice of his profits. He, therefore, retires from business, invests his money in land or houses, or in railways, mortgages, or consols; when he usually ceases to be a payer of wages.

But does no one gain by cheapness? Yes; all who live on fixed annuities, who consume but do not produce, who buy but do not sell. Cheapness adds to the purchasing power of their incomes, that power becoming more efficient exactly in the proportion in which commodities fall in price. If French boots sell in London for two-thirds of the English price, the annuitant saves one-third of what he used to pay before the competition commenced; and what he gains is a clear loss to English employers and employed—loss to their profits and wages. Cheap goods evidently mean cheap wages.

Assuming this proved it is important to note the effect of indirect taxation on wages under the cheap system. Let us suppose that all prices rule high, and that wages are 20s. a week, and the taxes on consumption 2s. on those twenty; this is ten per cent. Now, let us suppose that all prices rule low, and that wages fall to 10s.; the tax of 2s. becomes twenty per cent on the ten.

Free imports are not Free Trade. So long as Customs and Excise are levied for purposes of revenue, trade is not free. Besides, real commercial liberty requires that exports should be as free as imports; but this does not depend on ourselves, but on the consent of foreign governments. We may open our harbours if Parliament so wills it, but we cannot open the ports of other countries.

Is the present political controversy one simply of cheap bread? Certainly not in the eye of a statesman; it involves the further questions whether the poorer soils of this kingdom which require the most labour should be thrown out of culture, and whether the fifteen millions of waste acres should never be reclaimed?

Is it a question simply of cheap sugar? No; it is whether our West India colonies should throw off the British connexion, and transfer their allegiance to some other power.

Is it a question simply of cheap timber? No; it is whether Canada shall annex itself to the United States.

Is it a question of cheap freight? No; it is whether our East India shipping trade shall be transferred to the Americans, who have now an immense advantage, but little understood, since California was declared a part of their sea-board.

We commenced by referring to the antagonism that now exists between the Rights of Property and the Rights of Labour. Land is appropriated by law to exclusive ownership; we are not now inquiring whether this be right or wrong, but dealing with it as a fact. It forms the basis of private property. Is it not a fair inference from this arrangement that among the Rights of Labour is that which gives to our working classes, excluded from the soil, the sole privilege of working up all the raw materials of the United Kingdom, whether proceeding from the surface or the bowels of the earth? Have they not a sacred claim to be protected against competition if it lowers their wages or throws them out of employment?

What, then, it may be asked, do you oppose Free Trade? No; we oppose free booty. We must be more definite. A rational Free Trade would admit into this country, free of any duty, all those articles which our soil, climate, and industry cannot produce—as tea, sugar, coffee, wine; but all these are now heavily taxed. An irrational Free Trade admits hats, boots, shoes, gloves, watches, clocks, jewellery, all of which we can produce among ourselves in sufficient abundance, and by so doing give employment to our people. In the former scheme, no national industry is displaced; in the latter, the displacement is serious.

In the limited space to which we are confined, it is impossible to sketch out a comprehensive principle of policy. We cannot even indicate all the outlines which we propose to fill up. We ask indulgence on our first appearance in 'The Star.' The evidence will accumulate as we proceed, and the system advocated will develop itself in all its bearings. The Rights of Property have many organs—the Rights of Labour, few. These subjects may be viewed under aspects not yet familiar or popularised. There is much prejudice to be removed in various quarters. There are many differences which are verbal, not real. True friends are sometimes suspected and repulsed, while real enemies win unmerited confidence. We will now only observe that, in our judgment, the strength of a nation mainly consists in the certainty of employment and the amplitude of wages.

ALADDIN.

THE O'CONNOR FUND.

Brought forward, £4 9s. 2d.; a friend, Nottingham, per J. Sweet, 1s. 6d.; J. Gillott, ditto, 6d.; Mr. Hudson, ditto, 3d.; W. Lakin, ditto, 3d.; Kirk, 3d.; John Glodfield, Longroyd-bridge, 5s.; John Oldfield, Huddersfield, 5s.; Joseph Oldfield, ditto, 5s.; James Logan, ditto, 2s. 6d.; a free thinking friend, ditto, 1s.; W. A. Blackford, 1s.; W. Stokes, Grattott, ditto, per Mr. Reynolds, 2s.; Mr. Dixon, 1s.; P. A. Hitchcock, 1s. 6d. Total, £6 0s. 6d. per Mr. R. O'CONNOR.

From Mr. J. J. Dawson, 2s. 6d.; W. Dawson, 2s. 6d.; J. Bates, 1s.; J. Briggs, 1s.; J. Lee, 1s.; Sarah Lee, 6d.; C. Hind, 1s.; J. Wadsworth, 3s. From Mr. J. D. Lewis, 2s. 6d.; J. Jones, 6d.

Sir, I have with me a Post-office Order for 18s. 6d., for the O'Connors' Fund, and I shall thank you to publish, in order to induce others to do their duty. It is an example that ought to be copied by thousands who have urged Mr. O'Connor to continue exertions on their account, and who then promised to 'help him out again and again'—promises which, for their own credit, I hope that they will fulfil—by so doing they mislead the gentleman to go on, spending his own funds in a cause, which, for the want of better support, has so involved him as to bring on a state of mind worse than death. I therefore hope that every one will exert himself according to his means, and where shillings cannot be got, to get pence, as a penny will beat the poorest, and may be the means of saving a deserving individual from penury and want. To the 'Old Guards' I would say that the crisis has arrived when they should bestir themselves, and not to allow such a stain to rest on the escutcheon of Democracy as that of ingratitude to the man who has spent his thousands in their cause. If they do, can they ever expect a leader to devote himself to the cause of such a set of base ingrates, unless it be to repay them in their own coin? Hoping that all will arouse from their apathy on the subject, I remain, yours truly, JOHN O'BRIEN.

P.S.—The parties are all Land members, one, and will hand over their scrip to Mr. O'Connor any time when it will be beneficial to him, and hope there are plenty of others that will do so too; and by that means he may be able to get enough to become the proprietor of O'Connorville, and thus become independent. John Oldfield, 5s.; John Glodfield, Longroyd-bridge, 5s.; Joseph Oldfield, 5s.; James Logan, 2s. 6d.; a Free-thinking Friend, 1s.; Huddersfield, April 6th, 1852.

THE PRESENT CRISIS.

A public meeting was held on Wednesday evening, at the Great Hall, Royal Mint-street, Borough. The meeting was addressed by Messrs. Jones, Finlen, and others. Resolutions connected with the duty of the people to obtain political power, by means of the People's Charter, were unanimously agreed to, and the meeting dispersed with a vote of thanks to Mr. Bligh, the chairman.

DEATH OF HER SERENE HIGHNESS THE DUCHESS OF SAXE-WEIMAR.—Her Serene Highness the Duchess of Saxo-Weimar, mother of His Serene Highness Prince Dorothea of England, died very suddenly on Saturday last at Weimar.

Free Correspondence.

[As the columns under this head are open for the free expression of all opinions, the Editor is not responsible for, or committed to, any.]

NATURAL STATE OF SOCIETY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE STAR.

Dear Sir,—My last letter to you has been the most serious consideration, not only of the working classes, but also of the whole religious world, inasmuch as the evidence adduced is fairly selected from the Book which they generally acknowledge to be the Inspired Word of God, and able to make us wise unto salvation; and, whatever Christians may think of the Jewish ceremonies and sacrifices, they all hold that the moral commandments and ordinances, given by God to Moses, are of universal and perpetual obligation. I think not that I am to destroy the Law or the Prophets, says the Christ, 'but I came to fulfil them; who, therefore, shall break one of the least of these commandments, and shall teach men so, he shall be called least in the kingdom of heaven; and who shall observe and teach them, the same shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven.' And the object of all the Laws of Moses that I have enumerated as I have abundantly proved, is to establish social morality, truth, and justice, among the Jewish people, to secure the happiness and well-being of the whole community, and to secure the labourer, free from rent, government charges, or any other incumbrance, except a small tax to their priests and Levites, the whole of which amounted to less, even in proportion to their population, as compared with our population, than we have to pay to the established religion of Great Britain; and for the payments the priests and Levites received, besides performing the religious ceremonies of their religion, they were the only lawyers, not law quibblers, but teachers of the laws of Moses—viz., national schoolmasters to the people; they were also the physicians, the magistrates, the judges; and the High Priest, the successor of Aaron, was the chief magistrate, and his court the High Court of Appeal for all difficult questions—which must always be decided in conformity with the Law of Moses—the elders of the people in the towns and cities acting as jurors. These payments to the priests and Levites, in short, were the only expenses of their general, as well as their local governments, during the whole of the time they acted as Moses commanded them. They had no standing army supported by the state, but all were voluntary soldiers who could bear arms, equipped and accounted by themselves formed into armies, regiments, and companies, under officers of their own choosing. They had no pompous and expensive court, foreign ambassadors, or costly aristocratic establishments, and no interest for money, and no national debt. It was a pure democracy. They had Universal Suffrage, and every man had his own property, and in land, which he could not permanently alienate, no man could take it away from him, secured by his land marks and by a correct general survey, and the Levites received a fair and equal share of the land, which he could not permanently alienate, no man could take it away from him, secured by his land marks and by a correct general survey, and the Levites received a fair and equal share of the land, which he could not permanently alienate, no man could take it away from him, secured by his land marks and by a correct general survey.

Working men! Let me again intreat you to read your bible, understand it, they contain unfathomable mines of show you, still more plainly, hereafter, that to the poor, the law is the Gospel, very truly preached, I am, respectfully, dear Sir, yours, JOHN FINCH.

Liverpool, 4th April 52.

W OLVERHAMPTON CONSPIRACY CASE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE STAR.

Sir,—Since our last communication to you we have been steadily, and in a great measure, successfully, agitating the Trades of Scotland on the above case; and all we can now promise to do more or less to contribute to the great and substantial victory gained for labour in November last, in the Court of Queen's Bench.

The following, among other things, have agreed to render immediate assistance:—The Joint Committee of Glasgow, who have voted £10 from their funds; the Type Founders of Edinburgh, £3; the Moulders of Greenock and Edinburgh, have each unanimously agreed to make a general subscription on behalf of this case. The Tailors of Edinburgh, the Boot and Shoemakers, the Hatters, the Pipe Makers, the Carriers, have all agreed to exert themselves in procuring assistance towards liberating the defendants from incarceration.

We have also had interviews with the United Broom and Calico Printers of Scotland, who have made an appeal to all their Branches to raise subscriptions for the object. On Saturday, April 3rd, we attended a General Delegate meeting of the Cotton Spinners of Scotland, which was held in Paisley. There were from thirty to forty delegates present, including Glasgow, Greenock, Barrhead, Johnstone, &c., &c. The delegates were deeply interested in the case, and expressed their desire to obtain prompt aid from their respective localities and mills. Mr. Duncan Sherrington, whose name and patriotism is familiar to every reader of 'The Star,' rendered us great and important service. His appeal to the delegates was truthful, stirring, and effective. Every word he uttered seemed to proceed from the very depth of his heart, and to the hearts of all present. We were poor in our thanks; but our sincere thanks for his valuable assistance; and we trust that each member of their Association will adopt the same views, and act with the same earnestness and good feeling which governed Mr. Sherrington, and which we believe actuated each delegate.

We, also, Mr. Editor, tender you our sincere and heartfelt thanks for the able and disinterested manner that has characterised your able advocacy of Labour's Rights; and we trust those whose cause you so eminently defend, will render you that assistance you so eminently deserve. The improved, intellectual, and moral tone of 'The Star' is satisfactory to every intelligent and right-thinking mind. We are, yours, &c., EDWARD HUMPHRIES.

Edinburgh, April 6, 1852.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE STAR.

Sir,—I find in the columns of your valuable journal that a subscription is about to be raised to replenish the funds of that excellent and patriotic gentleman, Mr. Feargus O'Connor, whose noble and humane principles formed him to not beyond his means. I am exceedingly glad to find that it is necessary to open a voluntary subscription for the relief of Mr. O'Connor, whose property and position in society should place him beyond want; but, like many other good men, he has attended to the wants and necessities of others, and has neglected the interest of himself. I have known Mr. O'Connor for thirty years, and I will say, without fear, that a more noble or generous-minded man never existed. I remember that gentleman, when elected M.P. for Cork, to be escorted to his house (the Begonia Hotel at Hankin) by about ten thousand of as honest men as any country contains. Yes; and Mr. O'Connor deserved all that, and even more, as his whole life and study was devoted to the welfare of his fellow man. I have known Mr. O'Connor to give more of his valuable time, and spend large sums of money, to bring to justice a number of men whose butchery at Watergrange Hill is beyond description. Yes, Sir, on that occasion Mr. O'Connor's noble talents, time, and cash, were spent, and never did many of our countrymen do more, to bring down vengeance upon the heads of those murderers. I beg you will put my name down for ten pounds; and I only regret I cannot, at present, serve the cause ten times ten, as I know Mr. O'Connor well deserves every man who values his liberty, to come forward with his might, and give a helping hand to draw Mr. O'Connor out of his difficulties. Mr. O'Connor's endeavours were not unconstitutional—they were just and reasonable. He was, and is, only seeking the rights of his fellow man, which must, and will be, granted in the end. What is truckling manhood should hold his seat for seven long years in the House of Commons. That M.P. goes into the interest of his country; but the greatest good will for the least evil is offered to him, he forgets the golden rule of his life, he has a Chancery lease of his seat, and to the d— he flings his conscience and gratitude.

Again, Mr. Editor, I would ask, what is more unreasonable than to find that, because a man has not a property of a few hundred a year, he is not eligible to consider the sense is ridiculous? Such a want of common for one moment amongst honest men. What does the fellow man—or what does he care about the wants of his fellow man? The bare idea should not be entertained that a man of a duke or a lord know about their misery? It is nourished in the lap of luxury; the poor and the destitute may go to Hong Kong, for what he cares. To business and to perfect government, you must have men to ensure their honest; but you must have men, so as to come undisturbed servants; they should be liable to be discharged in twelve months.

At present the franchise is too limited. Is there anything more foolish, than because I do not possess what I used to have, I cannot vote for a member of Parliament—or that because a man does not pay an inconvenient rent, he is not to have a voice in the choice of an M.P.? It is nonsense—nonsense—downright nonsense.

all that they stood in need of, without asking or receiving either usury or interest; and if they were, through poverty or misfortune, not able to repay it before the end of the sixth year, they must have been forgiven the debt in the seventh.

We live under a very oppressive political, moral, and religious constitution and condition, if it is not then the Jews did. But how have our Christian legislators and our moralists acted in this matter? They have passed some hundreds of acts of Parliament for the enclosure, or rather seizure, of these lands of the people; and then they have driven the poor from off this land, which was justly their inheritance, and the inheritance of their fathers, and in direct opposition to every principle of God's and Moses's law, he who had the most land before had the smallest share—he who had the least land, the cottage squatter, portion; and the labouring peasant, without their consent being asked, or the least power to prevent it, were robbed of these millions of acres altogether.

And how the large proprietors are now using these lands, and trading the unfortunate tenants who have been engaged in cultivating part of them, Dr. Adam Smith has formed you. Besides these tilled lands, there are millions of acres that were once the property of the labourer, a good profit for cultivating them, but they are suffered, generation after generation, to lie idle, because the labourer for the first few years probably could not afford to pay any rent for them. Other landowners, regardless of the misery of unemployed thousands, keep large districts of this small country for hunting and shooting grounds—extensive parks, woods, and pleasure grounds, producing game and food for the nobles. In years that are past, and when very members of Parliament were wanted, Irish landlords divided their estates into numberless little patches, and sold them to the people, who were then, and are now, perished with hunger. The poor tenants, who have lived the whole of their lives on the land, and who have been the labourers, have been turned out of their homes, and have been reduced to a state of utter poverty and distress. The poor tenants, who have lived the whole of their lives on the land, and who have been the labourers, have been turned out of their homes, and have been reduced to a state of utter poverty and distress. The poor tenants, who have lived the whole of their lives on the land, and who have been the labourers, have been turned out of their homes, and have been reduced to a state of utter poverty and distress.

an Priest! O' Christian Legislators! These are the fruits of which your own scribes and writers have given us abundance, and the most undeniable evidence, judges, whether you are Christians have anything in your superior in these respects, which are the most essential to human virtue and happiness, to the laws of God, as given by his servant Moses.

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At present the franchise is too limited. Is there anything more foolish, than because I do not possess what I used to have, I cannot vote for a member of Parliament—or that because a man does not pay an inconvenient rent, he is not to have a voice in the choice of an M.P.? It is nonsense—nonsense—downright nonsense.

I call upon every man to come forward first, to help Mr. O'Connor out of his difficulties; next, to agitate for his rights. I do not only call upon Christians, for I do believe that every honest, well-meaning man is a Christian, but I call upon every man, who is a Christian, to help Mr. O'Connor out of his difficulties. I do not only call upon Christians, for I do believe that every honest, well-meaning man is a Christian, but I call upon every man, who is a Christian, to help Mr. O'Connor out of his difficulties. I do not only call upon Christians, for I do believe that every honest, well-meaning man is a Christian, but I call upon every man, who is a Christian, to help Mr. O'Connor out of his difficulties.

I have the honour to remain, with great respect, Sir, your obedient servant.

Albert Street, Shoreditch.

WINDING UP OF THE NAT.

Sir,—I have at different times thought I would write to you on the various and important position of the Labour present I will, with the permission of the Editor, call attention to the question generally; but for the present, I will only say that the affairs of the Company, which have been the subject of the Company, are now being wound up. The members of the Company, who have been the subject of the Company, are now being wound up. The members of the Company, who have been the subject of the Company, are now being wound up.

CO-OPERATIVE INTELLIGENCE.

CO-OPERATIVE CONFERENCE.

On Sunday last a well-attended and interesting meeting (composed of representatives and friends of several co-operative societies in the district), was held in the rooms of the Bradford Co-operative Society, for the purpose of discussing, hearing reports of the progress of the movement, and to consider the practicability of uniting the societies in the district in a co-operative movement for mutual advantage, and the purchase and distribution of goods at reduced prices. A preliminary meeting having been held in the earlier part of the day, it was announced by the Secretary, that the following societies had responded to the invitation to attend the Conference represented by the following gentlemen:—

Redemption Society:—Mr. David Green; and Mr. Holmes, Leeds Co-operative Society:—Mr. Byleson, Mr. Richard Jones, and Mr. Hols; Bradford Co-operative Society:—Mr. Thomas Carr; Huddersfield Co-operative Society:—Mr. James Foreman; Pudsey:—Messrs. Isaac Shaw, William Grange, William Wulcock, and Henry Gables; Huddersfield:—Mr. S. Pitkethley, jun., Mr. Francis Wilden, and Mr. James Brookbank; Bingley:—Mr. Thomas Foster; Howarth:—Mr. Joseph Wood; Keighley Co-operative Society:—Mr. Joseph Marshall; Keighley Working Men's Society:—Mr. James Preston.

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LATEST FOREIGN NEWS.

FRANCE.—Paris, Thursday.—The French government has granted 50,000fr. for a monument to Marshal Ney. SPAIN.—A decree was published on the 5th instant, at Madrid, annulling the liberty of the press, establishing a censorship, the government to suspend and suppress journals at pleasure.

ment to be constructed and ventilated after the fashion of the British Houses of Parliament; so that the assembly might be close, and the speakers inaudible in the gallery.

Central Criminal Court

but that the duty of 2s. 6d. per lb., legally leviable, should be demanded in all cases.

the Revs. John Jones, John Roberts, J. Lloyd, J. Bower, B. Owen, and Mr. John.

by the persons intimate with the deceased, such as Guizot, the Duke de Broglie, Count Molé, Duke Pasqu

THE COINAGE.—The "Gazette" has a proclamation, clearing the legal currency of the "one florin, one-tenth of

MIRACULOUS ESCAPE OF

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and quick returns.—*Punch*.
THE COINAGE.—The "Gazette" has a proclamation, "by which the value of the 'one florin, one-tenth of a pound' is fixed at one penny."

nation that its free voice deliberated, selected, and
and the institutions which now govern the country,
once under the Republic," says the great actor, "was
amid upon its point. We have replaced it on its
pass." This true and broad base being the poor little
ry personage of the Elysée.

parody goes on to say that the fault of the old sys-
government was that no one in power or authority
when to stop, or to set bounds to his authority and
tion. M. Bonaparte declares that he has remedied
y taking all to himself?

at does a people want with liberty? asks the political
of Mæcenas. Surely it is not freedom of either thought,
tion, or action, that could do it any good. What
it required was the liberty of choosing a good go-
ernment. It chose me. I choe-me, and here I am.

ch a haranguer would have had great and legitimate
on the Boulevard du Temple, where all mounted
ed an audience. But it is a melancholy sight to see
with the power of a dictator, and with sufficient im-
to address a people, or even the semblance of a
in, in such a tone, without exciting a convulsion either
gher or indignation.

the finale of the speech is quite of a piece in logic and
ence with the rest of it. "I ask nothing for my-
saith M. Louis Napoleon Bonaparte. "What have done
France and got nothing for myself." A full com-
of the Treasury and the Civil List, with the property
aken the title of Emperor a score of times. "But I
not take it, unless parties believe me to conspire."

is it as certain as the rising of the sun, or the com-
summer, that par lies in France will conspire? They
othing left but to conspire. They have no other way
fending their property and character, aggrand and
as both action and expression in the country are
y conspiring. And conspire every party in France
and will—those spirited men at least of every party,
cannot lie down under the most stupid, immoral, and
nt despotism that ever gained power by surprise, and
by terror and by tyranny. The French must conspire.
upon they are to have an Emperor. It is promised
But it can matter little what the thing is called,
rench nation is at present in the pillory, the con-
of every other nation in the world; and of every
man. Whether the executioner who has placed
in that position shall continue to wear his original
vents and badges of office, or whether he shall cover
with a purple robe, and surmount them with an
al crown, cannot surely make much difference.

character of France, its position, and the resumption
place, among nations are, however, matters that con-
be French. Our own opinions on the subject do not
nt us being glad to learn even from President Robert
that, nothing shall tempt him to break the peace,
turb the present tranquillity of Europe, save some-
which shall touch the honour of France. What such
with such principles, and such a code of honour and
ily, may deem the honour of France, we cannot very
imagine. But decidedly as long as the French lie
ry under the disgrace of their own present prostration,
of the European Powers could think of interfering.
Schwarzenberg himself could not well wish to see
and constitutional France in other plight or in other
than it is.

DUTIES OF THE DEMOCRACY.

By JOSEPH MAZZINI.

From the Nation (Belgian) of March 16th, 1852.)

At now should be the watchword, the rallying cry of
reply is very simple; it may be given in a word:
—one, European, unceasing, logical, bold, of all and
where.

The talkers have lost France; they will lose Europe;
a holy reaction takes place against them in the heart
party. Thanks to them—we are now on the Lower
re. By dint of disputing as to the future we have
oned the present to the first comer. By dint of sub-
ging, each his little sect, his little system, his petty
stitution of Democracy for the common faith, for the
nation of forces in order to conquer a ground, we have
n disorganisation into our ranks. The sacred phalanx
should advance as a single man, sarrying itself
ry martyr's death, has composed an assemblage of free
a, a veritable camp of Wallenstein, less the genius of
aster.

The hour of attack it is disbanded, right and left, it
und itself scattered in knots, in little detachments, on
cross roads of Socialism, everywhere, except on the
av. The enemy was one; he did not discuss, he
y; he has found his advantage in it; and it is not by
isions on the best manner of settling humanity by line
le, that we shall get rid of him for ever.

We have told truth enough to our enemies; thanks to us
their own consciousness, it now rends their hearts like
ulture of Prometheus; it troubles them, and makes a
er of every crime they commit.

An hour is come to speak the same truth, pure and pre-
as we conceive it, to our friends. They have done the
possible bare to the love of causes; they would kill
it by excess of nobility, or by want of intelligence,
not been immortal.

I am not accusing the great social thought, which will be
ory and the mission of the epoch: of which we are the
ors. I find no fault with the holy aspirations which
ey the emancipation of the workers, salvation for all,
up for all. I complain not of the tendency to substi-
tute as far as possible, free association for the unhid-
den relation of individuals, credit from the State for the es-
sentially selfish credit of bankers, a simple law-on superfi-
cially the multiple taxes attacking the very life of the poor
mer, primary instruction and equal education of all for
resent monopoly and inequality. These things have
been reached for twenty years by us all; they are compre-
ended in that old word—Republic, for which our fathers
and which is sufficient for me.

I accuse the Socialists—the chiefs especially—of
being falsified, mutilated, narrowed this grand thought,
w for all, by imprisoning it in absolute systems, which
each at once upon liberty and individuality, on the sover-
eignty of the country, on the continuity of progress.

I accuse them of having desired, in the name of their
very individuality, to extemporise positive solutions to the
tem of human life before that life was able to manifest
in its fullness of aspiration and capacity under the in-
fluence of those great electric currents which are called revo-
lutions.

I accuse them of having pretended to be able, at any fixed
to give issue from their narrow or sick brains, to an
realisation which can proceed only from the concurrence
the human faculties in action, and of having substi-
tuted their solitary I for the collective European I; of
giving the spoken in the name of St. Simon, of Fourier,
or, or someone other, where it was a question of killing the
leaders for the profit of the continued revelation, and for
tributing on the front of the temple—God is God, AND

HUMANITY IS HIS PROPHET.

I accuse them of having hidden man under the sectarian,
intelligence under formalism, the idea of life under one
manifestation of life; of having called themselves
socialists, Communarians, Communitarians, red or blue,
matters what, instead of calling themselves men, re-
publicans, democrats of the nineteenth century; of having
established fatal distinctions between Socialists and Republi-

cans—between Socialists and Revolutionists.

I accuse them of having in their vanity always said—"It
is where they should have only said—"It is we;" of
having employed all the resources of their minds to devour
another, to annihilate each other, to destroy in the
other's heart all confidence in any direction; of having
degraded, by a logical necessity, the disolving, mephis-
tophanic genius of Providence, who denies them all, who
is God, society, government, and enthrones irony in the

I accuse them of having dried up the sources of faith,
killing animalised man, of having pushed the workman
into egoism, in concentrating almost exclusively the
end of all upon material interest, in putting forth as
end of European labour that which should be only a
; in taking for a principle the physical amelioration
can be only a consequence of his moral amelioration.

I accuse them of having repeated, with Benscham and
y that life is the search after happiness, instead of
confronting with all those who have brought about grand
formations in the world that life is a mission, the ac-
complishment of duty.

I accuse them of having made believe that a people could
be regenerated by growing fat; of having made of the
tion of humanity a mere question of the flesh pots of
tion; of having said to each, according to his capa-
ty to each according to his wants, instead of crying from
households—to each according to his love, to each ac-
cording to his devotion.

I accuse them of having through I know not what vague
populitarianism which ends in inaction, through I know
what establishment of headless communes, enfeebled
united as far as in them lay, the feeling of nationality;
is to say—of having desired to make the lever act
taking away the point of leverage, and humanity while
pressing its organisation for action.

I accuse them of having done all this under the
fire of the enemy, when every one should have been a
leader, when unity and organisation were highest laws,
the peoples arose in faith, and ran the risk of dying;
despair; when the question was above all to make the
revolution an European event, and not the mere solution of
economical problem; when it was needful to send
men, like a fiery cross, from mass to mass, from nation
to nation, the word I wrote in beginning—ACT UP.

I accuse them of having forgotten this—or having said, "What France
to Europe is the solution of the problem of the or-
ganization of labour, for having despised the voice of those
children who called upon all the differing to orga-
nise themselves upon a common ground to maintain the
—France has arrived by way of Rome at the shame of
nd of December.

office in the same street and parish, - Singapore 1857,