

Dundee, Wednesday.

MY DEAR FRIENDS, You will not expect a long letter from me...

On Sunday I went to Aberdeen, and there we had a bumper. Old veteran Archy McDonald was in the chair...

On Tuesday I started for Dundee, and the mail being full, I was obliged to go outside for forty miles, pelting rain the whole way...

As far as I have gone, I am bound to say that the old ship is about to float once more, and the crew are determined to have the OLD PILOT at the helm...

The establishment of a NEW NEWS-PAPER at the bottom of the Scotch conspiracy, just as of old, but the RED CAT, which will commence its twelfth year...

Your faithful Friend and Representative, FEARGUS O'CONNOR.

Edinburgh, Thursday.

MY FRIENDS, I had one of the most glorious meetings here last night ever held in Edinburgh—a bumper...

I have now to tell you that five Chartists are to be tried here in a fortnight under the new Act, and that Powell-like, one of Sir George Grey's FRIENDS—a Mr JOHN RUSSELL (is not that an ominous name?)...

"ONWARD AND WE CONQUER, BACKWARD AND WE FALL, THE PEOPLE'S CHARTER, AND NO Surrender."

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PRICE FIVEPENCE OR Five Shillings and Sixpence per Quarter.

But when you hear all the treason, you will wonder how I have escaped the deep-laid villainy of professing friends.

FREE TRADE AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.

TO THE WORKING CLASSES.

MY FRIENDS, Editors, tract-writers, authors, statesmen, and politicians, invariably call attention to predictions which they never made, and would estimate their title to knowledge upon those predictions...

With these numerous instances of editorial latitude before you, you must naturally be sceptical as to any reference made by a public man to his past predictions and anticipations...

In 1834, when Mr O'Connell all but dared the Irish Liberal members to oppose the measure then brought forward, I did, nevertheless, oppose it, and thirty-seven Liberal Irish members were compelled to vote with me...

Firstly.—The disappointment. Secondly.—The distress and suffering; and Thirdly.—The impossibility of averting a revolution, unless the change was accompanied, not by the unexplained "timely and prudent concessions" so mysteriously hinted at in the celebrated Russell Edinburgh missive...

However, the Free Trade question was made a political "CRY," and, as I predicted, its most injurious result has been the election of several of its advocates to represent the system in Parliament; and every one of whom live, thrive, and prosper, not upon legitimate profits made by trade, but upon their ability to cow Labour, to crush Labour, and reduce the wages of the Labourer.

It is very true that all my writings and my speeches have been confined to one organ, and read only by one class; but then I wish the friends of the system to understand, that what I have created revolution in every country, has been either the misrepresentation or the non-representation of the wants and will of the industrial classes; and, curious to say, the farmers of England look upon me as a violent Free Trader, though I have always opposed the measure, while the Press and the middle classes of England have represented me as a destructive physical-force monster, although I have invariably denounced the system, and have shown to you most unequivocally how every physical revolution has ended in a middle class ascendancy, and Labour's prostration.

Let me now recall to your recollection the effect of the first Free Trade measure—namely, Sir Robert Peel's Cattle Tariff. When that measure was being debated in the House of Commons, before the Easter recess in 1842, and when a little breathing time was demanded to take the opinion of the country during the recess, Mr Wakley read a letter of mine from the "Northern Star," predicting what the effect of the measure would be, and honourable members responded by a laugh. I predicted that the effect would be a glut of meat through panic—that the farmers, apprehensive of the arrival of foreign stock that did not exist, would overstock the meat market; and that I was right, was at once established by the fact of meat almost instantaneously falling to little more than one-half of its previous price, and much that would not keep being thrown into the Thames. Now that was panic. There was no surplus of cattle in England, but the farmers feared there would be, and they all rushed to market.

principles—"Where there's a demand there's a supply"—that the shipping interest would very speedily furnish a competitive cheap transit for an increasing trade.

I use these arguments for the purpose of apprizing you of the effect of the system of complete Free Trade, which it is said comes into operation in February next; while I contend, and upon the same basis, that it is at this moment in full operation. Nay, more, that from the present time till February the price of wheat will not be measured by any possible Free Trade standard, but by English panic. Corn is a thing which can be bought cheaply from other countries; and all other countries—and especially America and Canada—have been preparing for the advent of Free Trade. And the farmers of England, with a perfect knowledge of the large supplies abroad, will dread the competition from this anticipated glut, and will consequently overstock the market from this period to the dreaded time. But there is another and perhaps a more cogent reason for presuming such a result—it is said that the harvest of this year was gathered in such a damp state as will not allow of its being long kept on hand.

I think I hear the Free Trader exclaim, "Why this is the very result that we anticipated from the measure, THIS IS CHEAP BREAD." True, but it is only one of the trinity, for what becomes of "high wages," and "plenty to do?" And how often have I told you, that cheap and dear bread are relative terms, and that the man without a penny to buy the cheap loaf, is in a worse condition than the man who can pay a shilling for the dear loaf.

Let me now come to the question of RECIPROCIITY—the basis, the only basis, upon which "timely and prudent concessions" would be established. We hear much about England's glory, and her national faith, but let me now show you that her National Debt, her taxes, and her rents, and every engagement that I have before mentioned, is based upon what is called Protection, and, therefore, I call it the keystone of the arch.

The rents of this country are mortgaged to the fundholder, the tithes are estimated by Protection, and the taxes are measured by the same standard; and as the rents of the empire amount to more than the national expenditure I will deal with that item first. Rents are measured according to the price of wheat, presumed to be insured by a tax upon foreign corn, and the rate by which rent is established we will call 60s. a quarter, or 7s. 6d. a bushel—that is, that it would not pay the foreigner to grow it, pay the duty, risk freight and insurance, at a less amount. If we then average the yield of England lowly at twenty-four bushels, or three quarters to the acre, and if the competition of foreign corn reduces English produce to 5s. 6d. per bushel, and it will reduce it much below that mark, this will be the result—every English farmer will lose 2s. per bushel upon the produce of his land, or 48s. upon each acre. If, then, we estimate English rents at 11s. per acre, we find that this loss increases the rent to 3l. 8s. per acre, or more than trebles it. But, says the Economist, "what is not the only thing which wheat establishes the standard value of gold, and of everything else; and the rent of grass land, upon which a blade of wheat may never be grown, is regulated by the presumed price of wheat."

This you may say is the landlord's view of the question, ultimately. Not so, however, it is the labourer's view, because the farmer will not employ him; it is secondly the farmer's view, who will become very fractious and disloyal, before he allows his all to go; and it will, thirdly, become the landlord's view, when he is called upon to pay tithes, taxes, poor rates, mortgages, provisions for younger children, personal and judgment debts, out of uncultivated land. Well, but again, the Free Trade manufacturer exclaims, "What's that to us, they are the very class whose rights and privileges we sought to destroy." Perhaps so; but what becomes of their trade when the staple trade of the country, employing more hands than all others put together, is paralysed and in a state of perfect stagnation? Will the landlord employ as many servants? Will he be as good a customer to the several trading classes? Will he be as good a mark to the creditor, whether national or personal? Will the farmer be as good a customer, or will the pauper in the workhouse be as good a customer to those several traders?

That is only one view of the Landlord, Tenant, and Labour side of the question. And next comes the most gloomy. It is this—So far from these reduced rents and reduced prices ending with the injury they inflict upon the landlord and the tenant the poor rates will increase in the exact ratio in which the landlords' and tenants' poverty increases; and according to their inability to spend in the manufacturing market, will the profits of that class be measured; and according to the ability of all, will the national exchequer be measured; and according to its stability, will be measured the loyalty of bishop, parson, soldier, sailor, landlord, tenant, manufacturer, operative, labourer, banker, merchant, shopkeeper, and policeman.

Now, depend upon it that that must, and will come to this; because ascendancy, equality, comfort, and contentment, and not preference for any system, constitute the bonds of allegiance, and the ties of affection.

But I shall proceed to show you the folly of placing any reliance upon the meaning attached to the words of a man looking for office. When Lord John Russell wrote his letter from Edinburgh, he knew no more about the question of Free Trade than he does now. You have been governed by an entangled system of policy, which has been tortured into intricate political phraseology; a minister is not expected to talk sense; he submits a riddle to the country, and asks the country to solve it; but will he solve this riddle? If the national faith was pledged to the fund-lord upon the understanding that protection for domestic produce should be the basis of that faith, can that faith be kept if the basis is taken away? In other words, does any man in his senses, or does any man, except an official receiving that quarterly salary for juggling, believe that a pound can be paid out of ten shillings? And, if he does not believe that, or if the conjurers cannot accomplish that, or if the conjurers every man with a grain of common sense in his head, that the mortgage must go without his interest—that the person without his tithes—or the landlord must go without his dinner?

Now, observe that the landlord is still the man possessing political power; and rest assured that a few rebellious landlords, surrounded by the sturdy yeomanry of England, would become a much more dangerous army than the whole corps of shivering Free Traders. The landlords had no concert, the landlords could only act together in the House of Commons; but the bluster, the noise, and the promises of the Free Traders, had its effect out of the House of Commons, and in the House of Commons as well. Many landlords went with Sir Robert Peel, never understanding the consequences that would result from Free Trade; others were chicken-hearted, and dreaded the threatened revolution in case of resistance;

while those whose estates were mortgaged, or whose properties were small, measured their allegiance to the Free Trade minister by the political, rather than the agricultural, standard. One said, "I have not £4,000 a year, nor £400 a year, if my debts were paid, therefore I will sacrifice the scanty agricultural revenue to the political salary received on quarter day; besides, I have poor relations for whom I may secure bishoprics, livings, commissions, places of some kind, or pensions." Others have said, "My father lives, and is healthy; I have been brought up in expensive habits; my politics differ from his, but they are the only bait for the Downing-street trap, so here goes!"

You will understand, then, that Free Trade was carried by a Ministerial juggle, by delusive promises and bluster, and by timidity; the Leaguers promised and blustered; the landlords got frightened, and surrendered. But you have not seen the veritable commencement of Free Trade yet. It was made a political question, as all questions are—and follows who had jumped from their cloaks into Spanish leather boots—from dung carts into carriages—and from the sandstone floor to the Turkey carpet—had the insolence to designate every man as a Tory who opposed their Free Trade agitation.

The question of Cotton, from its importation to its exportation, is perfectly understood by all financiers. We have tables without number, showing us profit and loss—what can be safely given for the raw material—what can be paid for labour to manufacture it, expense of machinery, fire, oil, candles, casualties, and all the rest of it; but we have no table submitted to us of the farmer's liabilities—in a great measure depending upon natural causes, over which he has no control. Let me give you one. Suppose we take McCulloch's estimate of land under cultivation at twelve million acres; in that case, what I contend is this: that the difference to the farmer between a fine weather harvest, and such as we have just had, amounts to over six millions of money—that is, if a farmer has a hundred acres of grain—the difference between saving that grain in fine weather and catching weaver, will be over 10s. per acre. I estimate it very lowly, as you would find if you understood the expense of bad harvest weather to the farmer. I make no estimate for several items, but I merely take the difference of saving, leaving the difference of price, consequent upon damage, wholly out of the question, and those six millions confer no benefit upon any one.

A Lincolnshire farmer, a Norfolk farmer, or a Suffolk farmer, or, indeed, any farmer, has a quantity of corn ready for cutting—he knows that there will be a scramble for men; he sends his bailiff on Sunday to employ the required number, whose wages are measured by the requirements of the farmers. Those men are employed by the week; they set to work on Monday morning, at nine o'clock; it begins to rain; they are obliged to be set at some fiddling work for the remainder of the day, or, perhaps, for the week—and thus the farmers, in the aggregate, lose six millions, while the labourers are only benefitted by receiving their wages for being idle, or uselessly employed, instead of working. No doubt the Economists will tell us that this is all right, as the six millions circulate more extensively; and are merely taken out of the pockets of the farmers; but that is the very question I am on, because I am showing the effect that Free Trade is likely to have upon that important body, and, through them, upon every other class of society. I am showing that it is easy to measure national faith by Protection, but hard to uphold it when that Protection is taken away. And I am also calling your attention to what I have told you a thousand times: that, Free Trade once established, and then an abundant harvest in those countries that supply us with food, and a good season in those countries for gathering the harvest, and a deficient harvest in England, got up in bad condition, and expensive in consequence of catching weaver, and the English farmer is a bankrupt; and when the English farmer is a bankrupt, I should be glad to know what will become of the English labourer, the British manufacturer, British faith, and the British Constitution?

I tell you now, that Free Trade is all moonshine. I tell you that Free Trade should have been the end, and "timely and prudent concessions" should have been the means of making it harmless. Not such paltry concessions as altering the mode of collecting a few local rates, and reducing the price of a few articles of luxury and necessities of life. As long as you pay interest upon seven hundred millions of debt, and as long as you pay twenty-four or twenty-five millions for Governmental expenses, and as long as you pay fixed salaries to officials, the farmer must get 20s. for his pound's worth of wheat, fixed at that price by Protection; and if he only gets ten shillings, instead of the pound, he cannot possibly meet his national faith engagements.

My friends, this is no political question. The Reform Bill was no political question—it was a party question; Free Trade is a class question—and yet those sporting beggars who spoke about "High Wages, Cheap Bread, and Plenty to do," and were so loud in their professions of philanthropy, called themselves Liberals—and now that the thing has wholly and entirely failed, they invite those who were to have "High Wages, Cheap Bread, and Plenty to do," to become emigrants, and leave their native land. Why, we were to want population to keep pace with the briskness created by Free Trade. The emigrants that were banished by idleness, were all to return. So what has become of the benefits of this measure, and where is the working man in England who can say he has been bettered by it?

I foretold the condition to which it would reduce the Irish people, and my prediction has been too faithfully verified, I foretold its effect upon the English people while they were most enthusiastic in anticipation. I foretold that you would have crowded workhouses, crowded prisons, sedition, and revolution. I did not wait for those occurrences to guess at the result, as other writers do, nor could it be considered a prediction, as it was the natural consequence of the measure. And now I predict, that before twelve months from this day you will have a national bankruptcy;—that the landlords, as I told them in the House of Commons, will all have become Chartists—that they will have begun to see the expense of a State Church—the burden of feeding unwilling idlers, and the folly of feeding idle, pampered, bloated, useless officials.

Working men, Free Trade was a "CRY"—its motto was "HIGH WAGES, CHEAP BREAD, AND PLENTY TO DO." Reform was a "CRY"—its motto was "PEACE, RETRENCHMENT, AND REFORM." You have seen how the national faith has been kept. The French Republic was a "CRY"—its motto was "LIBERTY, EQUALITY, FRATERNITY," sealed with the "KISS OF LIFE," and you have seen how that has ended. Prussia had its "CRY," but it was such a long lamentation and hallelujah that I cannot recapitulate its motto. Vienna has now had its revolution, and the enthusiasm of fools, who believe that with the last shot popular triumph is proclaimed, are

loud in their expression of hope. But I tell you that that also will end in moonshine, or what is worse, in the establishment of the reign of capital; and yet Free Trade will go far to disturb and destroy all the rules and order of British Society and of the Constitution itself, than the great Continental war which ended with the Battle of Waterloo.

Free Trade was Labour's ruin. It was intended to constitute the political power of the master class—it will end in their annihilation. And then the value of the Land at home and the value of Protection for native industry will be discovered. When the jugglers have tried all other means to preserve national faith, but more especially to preserve their own ascendancy, they will be obliged to fall back upon the Cottage, the Labour Field, and the Charter to defend them, and then, like Quintus Cincinnatus, I will cheerfully return to my plough.

Your faithful friend and representative, FEARGUS O'CONNOR.

TO THE QUEEN OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

LETTER III.

RESPECTED SOVEREIGN, Europe is in a state of high irrationality, and in many places so excited as to be bordering upon insanity and madness.

The contests in which some of them are engaged, and which threaten to extend to others, are far worse than useless. They inflame the passions, and destroy life and property for no rational object; on the contrary, they make matters much worse, and, if allowed to proceed, will yet more involve and confuse all parties, and render a speedy adjustment of their differences impracticable.

Where there is power, the times and circumstances require strong and prompt measures of coercive, friendly interference—and Great Britain, Russia and France, as their interests are deeply involved with those of all other countries, should say to the contending parties, "We must have peace established throughout Europe, in order to calm the minds of all, and prepare them for a common-sense adjustment of the aristocratic and democratic opposing feelings"—feelings which blindly and most unwisely exist between parties not now knowing who they are contending for. There is but one real interest throughout Europe; in fact, throughout the world. That interest has now to be adjusted, rationally, for the benefit of all people.

The three days' revolution of February, in Paris, has rendered it necessary that real liberty, equality, and fraternity should become a universal fact; for it cannot be a fact in France without becoming a fact throughout the world, and the sooner this change shall be effected the better it will be for all in every country.

The only question now deserving the consideration of rational beings is—by what means, and in what manner, can this most desirable change from falsehood to truth, from evil to good, be effected with the least injury and most benefit to all parties?

Existing contending interests, which have arisen from the injurious, artificial, or false state of society, as it has been formed throughout all nations, will answer this question, each according to the confined locality of ideas prevalent within the narrow circle of class, sect, and party, in whatever division of Europe their characters have been misformed. Having been early in life permitted to overcome and see beyond these artificial and degrading local influences, and having no private interests opposed to the general interests of all humanity, it appears to me, under these circumstances, to be true wisdom to terminate the disorders of Europe, by a congress, to be held in some place near its centre, or in London, as it would be there better protected in its deliberations than in most other places.

This Congress to be composed of Delegates from every Power in Europe—two from the large powers, and one from each of the other independent States.

These Delegates to be elected in each State by Universal Suffrage; their business should be to form a general Constitution and Code of Laws for Europe.

It is presumed that these Delegates would be the most practical men for the business to be transacted in this Congress, that the different countries possessed, although probably many mistakes would be made, to remedy which evil, the Congress should have the power to elect, by a majority of votes, twenty-five of the most experienced men in Europe, according to the best knowledge they could acquire of each person's qualifications.

These twenty-five to form a Council of investigation and revision of the acts of Congress, and no Constitution or Code of Laws to be adopted, except sanctioned and agreed to by a majority of the Congress and of the Council.

The questions first submitted to the Congress for decision should be the following:— 1st.—Whether the Constitution and Laws for the government of the population of Europe be based on the fact that the character of each individual is formed for him; or on the old belief, that each one forms his own character.

2nd.—Whether the responsibility of forming the character of each should be on society; or on the individual. 3rd.—Whether there should be one Constitution and Code of Laws for Europe; or more than one—and, if the latter, how many. 4th.—Whether there should be one or more languages in Europe—and, if only one, how that one should be decided upon.

5th.—Whether Europe, in future, shall be composed of separate independent scientific societies, federatively united under one government, with one interest; or kept divided, as at present, by different languages, and opposing governments and interests.

6th.—Whether the present contending classification of the three divisions of society into upper, middle, and lower, shall be maintained; or a new classification adopted, in which the most useful and best qualities of each of these divisions shall be combined in the character of every individual, so as to form a real and superior equality among the entire population of Europe, and, ultimately, of the world.

7th.—Whether the population shall be divided in interest, every man for himself and each opposed to all; or whether individualism shall be superseded by a unity of interests in which all shall be instructed and provided for in the best manner that existing means and knowledge will admit.

8th.—Whether the present most inferior and dishonest mode of producing and distributing wealth shall be maintained by the authorities of Europe; or whether the superior and scientific mode of producing the best qualities of wealth in superiority, and of distributing it justly and beneficially, shall be adopted.

9th.—Whether the people shall be left to have their characters formed from birth by accident and under such vicious and inferior circumstances as to render, in after life, falsehood and deception unavoidable; or whether each one shall be well cared for by the State and scientifically trained within good circumstances from birth, so as to insure the most

valuable and best character to promote the prosperity and happiness of society which the natural organisation of each will admit.

10th.—Whether the people of Europe shall be governed as heretofore, in the most ignorant manner by the few, for the unnatural and injurious supposed advantages of those few, keeping the mass in slavery and starvation; or whether they shall be trained to govern themselves like rational and intelligent beings; beneficially for themselves and their posterity, including also the few who have hitherto governed Europe on the fundamental principle of falsehood and deception, requiring for its support a continued increase of force and fraud.

11th.—Whether the people of Europe shall live in large towns and cities filled with all manner of vicious, injurious, and inferior circumstances, and in isolated situations, with few social advantages; or whether they shall be now placed within superior circumstances, scientifically arranged to secure to all the real advantages of cities and isolated residences, without the vicious, injurious, or inferior circumstances now common to both.

12th.—Whether the Government or Governments of Europe shall continue to employ the wealth produced by the present overstrained working of the industrial classes, to create the most vicious, injurious, and inferior circumstances; to waste the human faculties, physical and mental; misapply capital; produce vice, ignorance, gross oppression, and universal misery; or whether it shall be applied to create good and superior circumstances everywhere, to the exclusion of the vicious, injurious and inferior and thus ensure goodness, knowledge, and happiness to all, without evil to any.

And, lastly, whether the change from falsehood to truth, from all that is evil to all that is good, shall be commenced throughout Europe immediately; or that the change shall be indefinitely postponed.

These being the questions of the deepest and most permanent interest to the human race, will naturally occupy the first attention of Congress, as the foundation on which to construct a rational Constitution and Code of Laws for Europe.

These subjects now opened to your Majesty are new to the higher classes of society, and, with few exceptions, will at first alarm many; it has now, however, become most necessary for their safety that all should fully understand them.

In two memorials presented from me, by the late Lord Castlereagh, to the Congress of Sovereigns held in Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1818, the circumstances which, if allowed to continue, must of necessity lead to the present disorganised state of society over Europe, were distinctly stated, and the remedy, or mode of prevention pointed out. The advice then given was disregarded, and the natural consequences have followed.

It is not too late for the Aristocracy of Europe, if its order possess mind and decision equal to the crisis which has arisen, yet to save itself and the people from great suffering and destruction of life and property.

Believe me, it is practicable by open and straightforward measures for your Majesty's Government to stay this volcano of revolutions over Europe, establish peace, and secure permanent progressive prosperity for all parties;—truth, honesty, and decision are alone wanting. It is indeed grievous to see such enormous means to produce permanent universal prosperity and happiness so misapplied, as to inflict misery—more or less—upon all, and to throw the civilised world into complete confusion and disorder.

If the British Government does not interfere between the contending and opposing principles of individual and united interests, or in other words, between Aristocracy and Democracy, one or other of the parties must be destroyed, and that party in the nature of progress will be the Aristocracy.

It is my duty to state these matters plainly to your Majesty, that, if possible now, at the eleventh hour, right direction may be given to the enormous powers of society for the permanent good of all.

Most respectfully, Your Majesty's faithful Subject, ROBERT OWEN.

London, 24th October, 1848.

THE LAND AND ITS CAPABILITIES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NORTHERN STAR. DEAR SIR,—I shall take it as a favour if you can find room for the following testimony of my practical experience, as I consider it the duty of every man to give his information upon the point of so much importance as the capability of the soil; and as the cultivation of wheat should be one of the first considerations of my brother agriculturists, we should take the best mode of producing that useful plant.

I have tried the experiment of producing wheat in six different forms in one field. One plot was sown in the common way—the rest on the top and ploughed—in the next drilled with the Norfolk drill—another was done with the press—one was drilled with the plough drill. The last was drilled in rows seven inches apart, and six in the row; and from four to six grains in each hole, or about two bushels per acre. The drill and the press were about five strokes, and the other sown one load per acre; but the dibbling far exceeded any of them; and I feel convinced that if the dibbling is properly managed there is no other mode that will produce so much.

I advise all who dibble wheat on dry land to have the rows about seven inches apart from each other, and the holes five inches from each other in the rows, dropping about four seeds into each hole; by allowing seven inches between the rows it not only gives the plant's more air, but it also gives an opportunity of hoeing between the rows, and clearing away the weeds, which ought never to be allowed to grow to the injury of the plants. Further, I advise that the sown seed never to be sown bed, for I never saw a farmer who sowed bed seed that was a good manager. But it is no use my saying much upon that subject as they will have Mr O'Connell's very valuable work on Small Farms, which I hope my brother agriculturists will pay strict attention to. Now, as there are some who think that four acres of land will not grow sufficient to support a family of five persons, I will only say to those persons, go into any well-managed garden and measure the ground so managed, and value the crop, and you will be astonished at your ignorance. But some will say that a field cannot be made to grow so much as a garden. Well, it can be produced from one acre can be produced from four, if the same means are used. Now last year, as well as this year was not a good season for gardening, and I sold (if correct) at the market price, which produced me 34d. per square yard, and this year they will make 3d. per yard; and at 3d. per yard it amounts to £60 10s. 0d. per acre. As the crop was only sown in March, and sold off in the first week of November; so it will be seen that the ground has only been occupied seven months out of the twelve.

Yours truly, J. B. BENTLEY.

Chickney, near Dawsbury, Oct. 24.

RESTRICTION OF LABOUR.

TO THE PRINTERS OF CALCICOES AND DELAINES IN SCOTLAND.

FELLOW WORKMEN.—As the Labour question is attracting general attention, I offer these few remarks for the benefit of the trade. It is a question which is applicable to all kinds of labour. It is a well known fact, that it is the surplus hours which regulate the price of labour, and it is the all-engrossing question with the employer how they are to protect their wages. The employed printers have been very lukewarm towards the movement, and as there are three men idle who would spare the idea of a restriction, although they have been out of work for a twelvemonth. But what is to be done? The idle men have not got one shilling per month for the last year. They do not want charity; they want a fair share of the work that is going on. Now, the wages of the printers working ten hours a day, who have plenty of hands doing nothing; if the employed would accept an eight hours bill, it would take the surplus hands out of the labour market, and it is by far the best mode of protecting wages. It may be said that this is impracticable, but it is quite practicable if it were well understood, and it would be a benefit both to the employer and the employed.

I remain, One of the Unemployed Calico Printers, Neilston, Oct. 23rd. WILLIAM GORDON.

Stamp Office 3/12



Poetry.

The following selections are extracted from SHELLEY'S Queen Mab:— COURTIERS. Those gilded flies That haunting in the sunshine of a court...

WARRIORS AND LAWYERS. War is the statesman's game, the priest's delight The lawyer's jest, the hired assassin's trade...

THE DOOM OF FAULSHEED AND TYRANNY. Whence, thinkest thou, kings and parasites arose? Whence that manifold host of drones, who heap...

Reviews.

THE HISTORY OF IRELAND, from the earliest period of the Irish Ancestry, to the Revolution of 1848. By T. WAIGHT, M.A., F.R.S., &c. Part I.—London: J. & F. Tallis, 100, St John Street.

An impartial and trustworthy History of Ireland would be one of the most valuable and interesting works that author and publisher combined could present to the public.

This promised impartiality is not so easy a matter, for whether an author be a 'Celt,' Catholic or Protestant, Conservative or Progressive, it is a difficult task to rigidly abstain from giving a favourable colouring to one set of principles and partisans at the expense of their opposites and rivals.

It affords us pleasure to speak favourably of the work thus far. Part I. opens with an account of Ireland as known to the Greeks and Romans, commencing with the celebrated voyage of the Argonauts.

Part II. opens with an account of Ireland during the earlier Anglo-Saxon period, and some forty pages follow which are almost entirely filled with accounts of civil contentions, the sanguinary conflicts of rival chieftains, and the Danish invasions.

to the splendid heroism of the Irish victors in that memorable battle. The 'glories of Brian the Brave' will never fade from the page of history.

But the victory of Clontarf—'thou glorious, wisest, best,' fell on that battle-field; and the country immediately relapsed into that state of anarchy which rendered the subsequent invasion of the Norman brigands a matter so comparatively easy.

The discussions of the Irish chiefs, and their treachery to each other—which took the shape of positive treason to their common country—appear to have been the main causes of Ireland's ruin.

Mr Wright strongly and properly condemns the wholesale slaughtering committed by the invaders, and the cruelties they inflicted on the prisoners who fell into their hands.

This work is printed with large clear type on good paper, and the embellishments are of the first class, although, we think, with the exception of the map of Ireland, out of place.

The originals of these letters were discovered at the Tuileries, in the secret portfolio of the ex-King of France, after his flight from Paris on the 24th of February.

In this work the reader will be reminded of the fraternal hug given by Louis Philippe to Prince Albert, when the latter went on board the Gomer to welcome the former to England.

I perfectly comprehend, as your Majesty reminds me, how rash it would be to give one's self up too long before bad projects and hopes which so many citizens' senses might frustrate and render chimerical.

In another letter dated Philippe writes, 'It is not the first time I have seen, in my long career, that trifling causes have produced great effects.'

Queen Mab. A Philosophical Poem. By Percy Bysshe Shelley. London: J. Watson, 3, Queen's Head Passage, Paternoster Row.

youth can rise from its perusal without feeling more than ever wedded to virtue, and bound by that tie to struggle for the happiness of mankind, and the triumph of Truth and Justice.

Under our usual head of 'Poetry,' will be found some extracts from this poem; we here give the following additional selections:—

Commerce has set the mark of selfishness, The sign of its all-enveloping power Upon a shining orb, and called it gold:

THE REIGN OF THE PROVICATOR. All things are earth: the very light of heaven Is 'earth's' earth's inspiring gifts of love,

THE POOR AND THEIR OPPRESSORS. Whom life is misery, and fear, and care— Whom life more wakens but to fretful toil;

THE TAx-PAYER'S Catechism. By Effiaz. Liverpool: J. Shepherd, Scotland Road. London: J. Cleave, Shoe Lane.

This catechism is put in the form of 'Dialogues between Mentor and Telemachus on the Causes of Charism, and why little robberies are punishable by law, and not great ones; addressed to Special Constables, Flogging Soldiers, and all who through ignorance give countenance to oppression.'

The People's Charter. A verbatim Report of a Lecture. By Samuel Kydd. London: E. Dipple, 42, Holywell Street, Strand.

A defence of Chartist principles, a sketch of the history of Chartism, a vindication of the points of the Charter, and sundry comments on the villainous efforts of the Press to mix up Chartism, Communism, and Republicanism, with the view of damaging all three, form the subject-matter of this Lecture.

An Appeal to Trades Societies. By Alfred A. Walton. London: Watson.

This is a well-written appeal in support of the principles set forth in the Plan of Trades Organisation commented on in our editorial columns in last Saturday's Star.

An Act of the People's Parliament for the reduction of Her Majesty's Civil List, &c., &c. London: Strange, Paternoster Row.

A vast improvement on the general run of Acts of Parliament. We hereby authorise this 'Bill' to be 'laid on the table' of every tax-payer in the United Kingdom.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.—A Treatise on Female Complaints. By Mrs Martin. London: 70, Chandos Street, Charing Cross, The Spy of 1848.

THE LABOUR QUESTION. TO THE EDITOR OF THE NORTHERN STAR.

SIR.—It would have been strange indeed, if the commotions and insurrections of Europe had been lost upon the Malthusian economists of England.

There must be no opening for misconception by parental forethought; we specially point to a due limitation of the number of births, the neglect of which cannot be effectually compensated by any amount of industry and economy; and again (quoted from Mill): 'One cannot wonder that silence on the great department of human duty should produce unconsciousness of moral obligation when it produces oblivion of physical facts.'

That the land of England is inadequate to the maintenance of the whole population. That increase of population does not tend to an increase of national wealth.

number, adding means to ends, will not, when related to just laws and wise institutions, regulate the number of men born in a state, to the means of subsistence.

It will be an easy task for me to prove that the negatives of these propositions are correct. The land in cultivation in Great Britain is estimated at 33,792,460 acres; the whole extent of surface at 51,000,000.

Mr Alison, in his work on Population, says, 'There is no instance in the history of the world of a country being peopled to its utmost limits, or of the multiplication of the species being checked by the impossibility of extracting an increased produce from the soil.'

Mr Mill, in his Elements of Political Economy, says, 'If that condition is easy and comfortable' writing of the people, all that is necessary to keep it so, is to make capital increase as fast as population, or, on the other hand, to prevent population from increasing 'faster than capital.'

So far from the increase of capital being under the increase of population, the fact is notorious, that so great is the accumulated capital of this country, that British capitalists have launched millions of their surplus riches in speculations of foreign enterprise, to I believe, an incalculable extent.

If, however, the argument of the economists were correct—viz., that population increases more rapidly than property—the increase of the powers of production would be made to keep pace with the increase of the numbers of the people.

It is, however, an event which it behoves the clergy and the aristocracy to take note of. Our courts of justice should be required to settle the question now raised, viz.—'workhouse rule' of more effect than God's law, the law of nature, and the law of the Church? If it be, why should we any longer mope Almighty God by professing our faith in His word; or by pretending to establish His worship? Englishmen have a right to demand by what statute, or on what constitutional principle these poor men are first driven from their homes and then from their wives?

By the influence and operation of that enactment, hundreds of thousands of our fellow-countrymen have been slain, the wretchedness of millions has been increased, their loyalty shaken, the different 'classes' engaged in angry strife, and before the universe we now stand a nation professing to honour God, but in works denying Him!

Philosophy may harden our hearts and blind our eyes; causing us to wrong and oppress the poor—it cannot instruct us how to deceive that God at whom it would have us fear. 'The Lord will enter into judgment with the ancients of His people and the princes thereof; for ye have eaten up the vineyard; the spoil of the poor is in your houses. What mean ye to beat my people to pieces, and grind the faces of the poor? saith the Lord God of Hosts.'

CO-OPERATIVE LAND AND BUILDING LEAGUE.—At a meeting of the Co-operative Land and Building League held at Whittaker's Temperance Hotel, 93, Great Ancoats Street, on Wed. 21st, Mr. Kitchin was in the chair. It was unanimously agreed:—'That the rules, as now read, be confirmed; and that the following persons be authorised to receive names of new members on behalf of this society, viz.—Mr. Thomas Whittaker, Temperance Hotel, 93, Great Ancoats Street; Mr. James Leach, 73, Rochdale Road; Mr. Thomas Kitchin, 25, Mount Street; Mr. Wm. Willis, printer, Old Church Yard; Mr. Francis Shanley, 5, Grimes Square, Bradford Street; Mr. W. Kitchin, 21, Smith Street, Gaythorn; Mr. James Hoyle, Hope Street, next door to the Blue Bell, Salford.'

MEMORIAL.—The total number of persons in England and Wales who were relieved in the year 1846, amounted to 1,721,350, being in the proportion of 104 for every 1,000 in the estimated population; and exceeding by more than half a million the number relieved in 1830-40.

TO THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND.

LETTER II.

FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN.—None can deny that this is an age pregnant with important events. These petty, the most profound wisdom, the most fervent patriotism, and the most unflinching integrity.

Under the pretence of liberalising our institutions, they have sacrificed the most sacred rights of the poor, and have jeopardised the property of the rich—they have dragged the national mind with what they call philosophy, until the laws of God and the injunctions of the Church have lost their influence—ill Christianity can no longer be accounted part and parcel of our laws.

Yes, fellow-countrymen, we may strive to find rest and security while we reject the rule of Almighty God; but He will prove our wisdom to be folly—our strength to be weakness! We may, in the pride of our hearts, deny His over-ruling providence, and neglect His worship; but, with impunity, we cannot thus strive against Him! God will surely, if we persist in our wicked course, set our feet in slippery places, and cast us down into destruction!

Were I to say what might be both legally and constitutionally said on this subject, perhaps I should be misunderstood, I might, inadvertently, be the cause of further riots. From such disgrace and infamy I would save my country, yet I can exhort no one to submit to such an unnatural, unwholesome, and unchristian rule.

It is not my duty to settle the question involved in this most disgraceful affair; but, holding, as I do, that the right of the poor is as sacred as that of the rich, that the laws of God and the injunctions of the Church are of more weighty obligation than the 'workhouse rules; and believing, as I do, that the 'interests of all classes are the same, I cannot withhold the expressions of my regret and disgust that, for obeying the voice of God, of nature, and of the Church, nine free-born Englishmen should be doomed to prison. It is indeed deplorable that, for such cause, an episcopal city should have its peace broken at midnight, that its chief officers should be required to enforce a revolting and inhuman 'workhouse rule, and that its police should be employed in capturing those who must have excited their commendation and sympathy.

It is, however, an event which it behoves the clergy and the aristocracy to take note of. Our courts of justice should be required to settle the question now raised, viz.—'workhouse rule' of more effect than God's law, the law of nature, and the law of the Church? If it be, why should we any longer mope Almighty God by professing our faith in His word; or by pretending to establish His worship? Englishmen have a right to demand by what statute, or on what constitutional principle these poor men are first driven from their homes and then from their wives?

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Varieties.

RAILWAY ACCIDENT.—On Monday week, shortly after a train left Newark, the engine came in contact with three horses which had accidentally strayed upon the line and killed the whole of them.

STALKING A LETTER.—A letter-carrier has been sentenced to fourteen years' transportation, at Falmouth, for having stolen a letter containing £33 in bank notes.

THE EXCISE LAWS.—A passenger on the North British Railway was lately arrested at Berrick and fined for violating the Excise Laws by conveying whiskey across the border against his luggage.

DEATH FROM A DISEASED POTATO.—A death has occurred at Worcester from the virus of a diseased potato, which got into a wound. The patient exhibited the usual symptoms of poisoning.

THOMAS MOLOY, of Thurles, corn-broker, was committed to Thurles Bridewell for using seditious language to two soldiers.

FLAX.—Last year the flax seed occupied 53,319 acres, and this year only 42,262 acres are sown with flax. Still the fibres this year are much larger and much heavier than those of the previous year, the entire produce of the year is 15,688 tons against 17,494 tons of last year.

THE BUBBLING INSURANCE.—The bursting of a cattle insurance bubble has involved the farmers, generally, in a loss of £25,000 for which the holders of the bubble are now suing the promoters of the bubble.

DEATH OF STONE.—We regret to say that the stone work of the French Church, St Martin's-le-Grand, the New Hall, Lincoln's Inn, and the New House of Parliament, is in a state of rapid decomposition. What the mortars and builders been about—'Trade Protection Circles.'

YANKEE WIT.—'I sat that the tune old cow died of' asked an Englishman, retitled the industry with a New-England whistled Yankee Doodle. 'No, Beef, replied Jonathan, 'that ar's the tune old Bull died of.'

LAUGHTER.—A hearty laugh is occasionally a not of wisdom; it shakes the cobwebs of a man's brains, and the hypochondria from his ribs, far more effectually than champagne or blue pills.

MAKING THE STORY SHORT.—A Miss Story was made at the house of Mr. Story, in the city of London, a very plain story, in the city of London, and is rapidly advancing towards completion.

THE OLDEST LETTER-PRESS PRINTER.—Died on Thursday week, aged seventy-eight, Mr. Thomas Lambert, printer and bookseller, Colliergate, in this city, the oldest letter-press printer in England. He was the son of a blacksmith, and learned the printing trade from his father.

COFFEE DRINKING.—During the late national festival held at Brussels, 3,200 cups of coffee are said to have been served in a single day at one cafe alone, the Cafe des Mille Colonnes.

A MARRIAGE MAXIM.—A husband should be very distant from a wife until the first child is born. After that time he should be as near her as he can be, and should be as good as dead when he is not.

ATROCIOUS OUTRAGE.—Jane Chibolt, a cripple, residing at Wroughton, is in the habit of allowing the workmen to kindle their pipes at her fire. A few days ago a fellow named Wiles, whom she constantly obliged in this way, finding her alone attempted to cut her throat, on which she inflicted two wounds, and fled to the police.

CIVILISED.—The New York Globe says:—'In this country, one man dies worth twenty millions of dollars, and while he has been making it twenty thousand women have perished in infamy, to escape starvation at their needles. What a precious state of society this reveals!'

EXETER CORRECTION.—The Corporation of Exeter in such straitened circumstances, that they were much difficulty in getting any one to accept the mayoralty last November. It appears that his worship is often called on to advance money to pay the police, that their gaoler's salary was in arrear, and that officer had been paying his turnkeys out of his own funds, and that the expenses of witnesses and the other disbursements for the trial of a man named Wiles, who had been arrested for the purpose of a neighbour, who rescued the poor creature. Her ungrateful assassin is in custody.

PLAIN TALK.—In the Jamaica House of Assembly, a motion being made for leave to bring in a bill to prevent frauds by wharfingers, one of the members rose and said:—'Mr. Speaker, I second the motion; and I would say to a man a set of rogues; I was once myself for years.'

AN AMERICAN PAPER mentions, as an extraordinary increase in the value of land, that in 1811 a farm called Barr's Farm, in Cincinnati, was purchased for a sum of 3554 dollars, and has since been nearly all sold as building land at prices which make the total value to amount to 9,304,000 dollars.

SAM WELLSBERRY.—'What blessings children are, as the clerk said when he got the fees for christening a girl, "I shall prevent the use of ardent spirits," as the good man said when he watered his spirit cake, "Time is money," as the thief said when he stole the patent lever watch.'

A YANKEE PEDLAR with his cart overtaking another of his own on the road, was thus addressed, 'Hallo, what do you carry?' 'Drugs and medicine,' was the reply. 'Good!' returned the other, 'you may go ahead; I carry grave-stones.'

PLATE GLASS.—The art of plate glass making was borrowed from France not more than eighty years ago, and now the art of making it is so improved with greater facility and at a less cost in England than in any other part of the world.

A CURIOUS CABAGE.—There is now growing in a garden at Milnthorpe, Westmoreland, a cabbage which its owner denominates the 'hen and chickens,' from the circumstance of its having a cabbage growing from where each leaf joins the stem, and there are no fewer than twenty-seven of these cabbages on it.

THE BANK NOTES.—Great caution is necessary in taking 100 Bank of England notes, as a number of £1 notes, having the cypher forged to them, are in active circulation. The forgery is so admirably executed that its detection is difficult.

A MAN IS KNOWN BY THE COMPANY HE KEEPS.—At the late Sessions, Sir Robert L. Inglis, Bart., M.P., was granted a 'Music and Dancing License' for Exeter Hall! The next previous license was granted to the 'Cat and Shoulder of Mutton;' and the next following one to the 'Sphinx and Companion.'

SCOTCH COGNAC.—The tranquillity and pliancy of the Scotch in the most extraordinary circumstances, 'bring to mind,' says Colman, in his 'Random Records,' 'the incredible tale of the Scotchman's tumble from one of the loftiest houses in the old town of Edinburgh. He slipped, says the legend, off a roof sixteen stories high; and when midway in his descent thought of the matter he was in, he changed the terms of government are, however, less surprising than the abandonment of the Ghetto by the Jews of Rome.'

THE AMERICAN PRESS.—The editor of the Victoria Standard, a Mississippi newspaper, has been killed in a street fight, and is the third editor of that journal who has fallen in a similar manner, within its pages, since it was first published in 1838.

THE PRODUCE OF GRAPE.—The quantity of grapes in Paris that the peasants fail to bring away of inferior quality inside the walls, lest the fruit should not fetch six centimes the two-pound weight, the amount of entrance duty to which it is subject, and the consequence is, that a regular fair of grapes is established outside the walls of Paris, and is attended by immense numbers of soldiers.

A NEW GAS.—A new description of gas, free from ammonia, has been lately invented. It is called the 'hydro-carbon gas,' and is generated from water and tar on rosin.

WHAT MUST THE PACIFIC BE?—The privilege of selling newspapers, &c., at the several stations on the London and North-Western Railway has been let by tender to Messrs Smith and Son, new agents, for the term of £1,500 a year. The persons who have hitherto supplied Easton Station, &c., the company has the enormous sum of £810 for a stand on the station alone.

FOR THE WORKING MILLIONS. A HOME FOR EVERY INDUSTRIOUS MAN AND HIS FAMILY. UNITED PATRIOTS AND PATRIARCHS' EQUITABLE LAND AND BUILDING BENEFIT SOCIETY.

MR. O'CONNOR'S WORK ON SMALL FARMS. THE CHEAPEST EDITION EVER PUBLISHED. PAINES' POLITICAL WORKS. THE EVIDENCE GIVEN BY JOHN SILLETT.

No. 22, OF 'THE LABOURER' CONTAINS TWO ARTICLES BY MR. ERNEST JONES. No. 23, will be ready on November 1st.

commission of acts from which at calmer periods they would revolt with horror. The demeanour of every one of the prisoners has been all that we could wish for.

ENDOWMENT OF CATHOLIC PRIESTS IN IRELAND.

Lord John Russell was recently waited upon by a deputation of the citizens of London, to urge an early settlement of the 'Jew Question.'

verment did not dare to grapple with this master evil firmly; and the successful resistance made by the landed party to every really useful portion of the Irish bills that were brought in, showed that they are, as parties are now constructed, too powerful for any Ministry to risk a quarrel with.

MR O'CONNOR'S TOUR.

We have been disappointed in not receiving the looked-for reports of Mr O'CONNOR'S meetings in Scotland. It will be seen by Mr O'CONNOR'S letter that that gentleman has had splendid meetings at Montrose, Aberdeen, Dundee, &c.

DEFENCE AND VICTIM FUND. Received by Wm. RIDEN. Mr. Rider, per Wm. Hoster ... £ 10 0

CENTRAL VICTIM FUND.

Receipts of week ending Oct. 21, 1848. Nottingham, per Mr. Street ... £ 0 1 6

RECEIPTS OF THE NATIONAL LAND CONFERENCE.

Mr. J. SWIFT acknowledged the receipt of the following sums for Mrs. M'Donnell, viz.: Mr. Goulder ... £ 0 0 8

MEETING OF HAND LOOM WEAVERS.

DELBART.—On Monday week a large meeting of weaver delegates, from various districts of the counties of Antrim and Down, was held in McDonald's Tavern, Hill Street.

ALSO, FOR THE WORKING MILLIONS IN CONNECTION WITH THE ABOVE, THE UNITED PATRIOTS AND PATRIARCHS' BENEFIT SOCIETIES.

SUMMARY OF CLAIMS. Sickness and Superannuation ... £ 2674 1 8 1/2

FIRST DIVISION. Entrance according to age, from 5s. to 10s. Monthly Contribution for Sickness and Management, 7d.

SECOND DIVISION. Entrance according to age, from 4s. 6d. to 9s. 6d. Monthly Contribution for Sickness and Management, 2s. 1d.

THIRD DIVISION. Entrance according to age, from 4s. to 9s. Monthly Contribution for Sickness and Management, 1s. 7d.

FOURTH DIVISION. Entrance according to age, from 3s. 6d. to 8s. 6d. Monthly Contribution for Sickness and Management, 1s. 4d.

FIFTH DIVISION. Entrance according to age, from 3s. to 8s. Monthly Contribution for Sickness and Management, 1s. 1d.

SIXTH DIVISION. Entrance Money ... £ 0 0 0 Monthly Contribution ... £ 0 0 0

These Societies are in six divisions or sections, for the Members to receive the following Benefits according to their Subscriptions:—

PORTRAIT OF GUFFEY.

The above portrait, taken by his fellow-sufferer, Wm. Dowling, is now ready. Price 3s. Orders received by Mr. Dixon, 144, High Holborn.

PORTRAIT OF JOHN MITCHEL.

This portrait will be given with the "Northern Star" on Saturday, the 11th of November. Price, with the paper, SEVENPENCE.

NATIONAL LAND CONFERENCE.

Which will assemble at Birmingham, on Monday, October 30th.

THE NORTHERN STAR.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 23, 1848.

THE IRISH TRIALS.

The Court House at Clonmel is once more left to its usual quiet. The law has had its victims, and is satisfied. The curtain has dropped on one part of the drama, and the busy actors have wended their way to other quarters.

But supposing they were, what would be gained by it? Would it render the task of governing Ireland a whit less difficult than it is at present, or in the slightest degree abate the real causes of that misery and discontent, which render that country the "great difficulty" of all English administrations?

Even if the money for pensioning the Priests could be found, and they were willing to accept it, the bargain would be a useless one. The consideration for which they were bought over could not be secured. But both of these conditions are wanting.

The plan, therefore, is futile and impracticable in every point of view, and the mere fact of its ever having been entertained at all only adds another to the long list of instances which prove the total incapacity of our Statesmen to deal with the evils of Ireland.

By force of arms and priestly influence we have just quelled an attempted rebellion, and obedient juries have convicted its leaders at Clonmel. The people of Ireland should be shown that we do not intend to stop there, and leave things as they have been.

It is imperative to remind the Secretaries and Comptroller generally, that the state of the funds demands immediate consideration. It is unnecessary to recapitulate what we have said on former occasions, as the active members of the body take up this question at once, and in an efficient manner.

EARLY CLOSING.—THE LONDON INTELLIGENCER states that at Huddersfield, the whole of the linen-draper, haberdashery, and other tradesmen, (with a few exceptions) have closed their respective shops at seven o'clock, according to previous arrangement, in order to afford their assistants, apprentices, servants, and others employed by them, that relaxation which the constant and irksome duties imposed upon them render necessary.

STATE OF TRADE IN PANLEY.—Traders here hankle to the lowest position. The trade with almost every house in town for the last two weeks has been put down almost everything as the web was finished. The consequence is, the streets are again crowded with unemployed workmen, and those who can obtain work can only earn a wage that will scarcely afford to sustain the life of one individual.

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EXPENSE FUND.

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AID FUND.

AID FUND. Oldham ... £ 0 0 8

VICTIM FUND.

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FOR DR. M'DONNELL'S DEFENCE.

FOR DR. M'DONNELL'S DEFENCE. Worcester, per A. Z. ... £ 0 4 0

FOR MRS. M'DONNELL.

FOR MRS. M'DONNELL. Dury, J. Jones, and a Female Democrat ... £ 0 8 0

TO EXEMPT PRISONERS FROM OAKUM PICKING.

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THE TEN HOURS FACTORIES REGULATION ACT.

Mr. Sturges.—When Sir Robert Peel, Mr. Bright, and the others of the same school, were assenting to the Ten Hours Bill, it was their practice to assert (without any attempt at proof) 'If you subtract one-sixth from the hours of labour, you must necessarily subtract one-sixth from the produce, and also one-sixth from the wages.' Too many of the friends of the Factory workers were staggered at that positive, but false assertion.

It was in vain to suggest that there might possibly be the correcting circumstances, viz.—'The operatives not being so tired and exhausted, would, probably, produce more and better work per hour; or, 'the labour being more equally divided, the pressure from competition would not be so great.' When these suggestions were offered, we were laughed at by Messrs. Peel, Bright, and Co., and assured that 'it was a simple rule-of-three question; if twelve hours' labour yielded twelve pence wages, ten hours' labour could only yield ten pence wages.'

Time and experience have determined who was right. Those incorruptible and inflexible arbiters have decided against the 'philosophers'; Peel and Bright have now received an answer that ought to silence even them!

It would seem that while some millowners are endeavouring, by most unfair means to frustrate the object of the Legislature in the working of the Ten Hours Act, and to make its operation as annoying and disadvantageous as possible to the operatives (the Messrs. Starkey, of Huddersfield, are striving to give to their 'hands' all the benefit of that measure, and are endeavouring to make its operation pleasant and profitable to all.)

It is with more pleasure than I can express that I copy the following paragraph from the Leeds Mercury of the 7th inst., which I have this day received from my kind and constant friend, the Rev. G. S. Ball—

MESSRS. STARKEY AND THE TEN HOURS BILL.—In the Messrs. Starkey's case a paragraph appeared in the Leeds Mercury in relation to the Messrs. Starkey's manufacturing establishment, and their workmen's general grievances, and the whole facts in connection with the case did not then appear, we have been requested by the parties concerned, not that the matter has been made public, to state the whole case. When the Ten Hours Act came into operation in May last the millowners generally reduced the wages of their hands in the proportion in which the hours of labour were reduced, the reduction in some firms, however, being larger than in others.

Several of the mills in the neighbourhood of Huddersfield had only been working a few days per day for some time previously to the Ten Hours Act, and the Messrs. Starkey, of Longroyd Bridge, had been among the first to set the example, and giving the same amount of wages for the eleven hours labour as had before been given for twelve. This was done for nearly three years; but when the Act was passed limiting the hours to ten, it was thought only just by the Messrs. Starkey to reduce the wages of those paid by the week. In some cases the amount of reduction was two shillings per week, in others more than proportionate to the least amount of work done. The Messrs. Starkey, for instance, had reduced to twenty shillings per week, but it was ascertained that the amount of labour performed during the ten hours was worth twenty-one shillings when contrasted with the amount performed before the Act came into operation. They had, therefore, each man £1 paid to them as the arrears for twenty weeks, and a permanent advance of one shilling per week given. It was found in the course of the inquiry, where the hands were paid by the week, that they had been able to do as much, or more, with very trifling exceptions. The inquiries are going on in other departments, and whatever appears to be due to the hands will be paid to them, and their wages increased in proportion to the amount of work done. This conduct on the part of the Messrs. Starkey is highly honourable and commendable. At the same time it is only fair to other masters in the district to say, that when the Ten Hours Act came into operation they did not reduce their wages at all, and that neither they nor their men have any reason to be dissatisfied with the course pursued.

Messrs. Starkey were opposed to the Ten Hours Bill; they believed it would be injurious to their workpeople. Now, however, since it is passed, they nobly second the Legislature, by taking care that it shall not be their fault if its operation is not beneficial. It is impossible too highly to estimate the conduct of those gentlemen.

I rejoice, also, to find, by the above extract, that 'other masters in the district, when the Ten Hours Bill came into operation, did not reduce their wages at all, and that neither they nor their men have any reason to be dissatisfied with the course pursued.' Such conduct will be more productive of peace than the presence of thousands of police and troops.

None but those who have 'in that district' witnessed the contest for the Ten Hours Bill can imagine the delight with which I have perused the above extract from that paper. I am sure its effects will also rejoice that his fears respecting the effect of the ten hours clause have been proved groundless.

It were enough had I no other inducement than to call your attention, and that of your readers, to the noble and Christian conduct of the Messrs. Starkey, and those 'other masters in the Huddersfield district'; but, Sir, I lament to confess I am also urged, by a most painful circumstance, to ask for your insertion of this letter.

I am informed, by those who have never deceived me, that in Lancashire and Cheshire many millowners are striving, by the most vexatious means, to defeat the well-working of the Ten Hours Act—may, even to make it the instrument of tyranny to all their 'hands' above eighteen years of age, by forcing them to work thirteen and fourteen hours a day.

That is done to induce the operatives to petition for the repeal of the Ten Hours Act!

It would be tedious to enter into an explanation of the different schemes invented and adopted by those unreasonable millowners. They are known to those who are most determined not to be cheated out of the Ten Hours Act. Should those foolish and wicked millowners persist in their unreasonable and cruel plans, the friends of the factory workers will be compelled to petition Parliament for the whole of Mr. Sadler's Bill, viz., a restriction to ten hours of day labour, for all under twenty-one, instead of eighteen years—the stoppage of the moving power—no millowners to sit on the bench as judges under the Act—and the personal punishment of refractory masters as well as of transgressing operatives; nay, if we are forced into another struggle, I do not think it will be possible to restrain the demand for an Eight Hours Bill.

It is very much to be deplored that persons possessed of so much influence and wealth should, in these most dangerous times, be engaged in sowing the seeds of dissension among the operatives of our densely-populated manufacturing districts. We have had proof upon proof that agitation is prejudicial, both commercially and politically. Would that the millowners, who are now engaged in exasperating their workpeople by striving to resist the benevolent intentions of the Legislature, could be induced to follow the truly patriotic and Christian example of the Messrs. Starkey, and 'those other masters in the Huddersfield district' whose praiseworthy conduct I have recounted from the pages of the Leeds Mercury.

If the opposition to the law is still persisted in, there is one officer of the Crown whose special duty it becomes to cause the movements of the offending parties to be watched, and to prepare a remedy by a new and more stringent Act of Parliament. The Secretary of State for the Home Department is answerable for the peace of the country—it is his imperative duty to guard the operatives from the tyrannical exactions of an Act of the Legislature. The factory inspectors should be instructed by strict attention to every effort, made by masters or men, to render inoperative a law that has been passed with the most benevolent intentions. They should also be instructed to devise the best method of rendering those attempts abortive.

Should the Home Secretary unhappily neglect this duty—should the inspectors be remiss in theirs—and should the opposing masters persist in their vexatious schemes, the Ten Hours Bill committees will not fail in their duty, and the country will know who to blame for another popular struggle against FACTORY SLAVERY! I remain, Sir, Your obliged servant, RICHARD OASTLER.

P.S.—I would most respectfully, but earnestly, urge upon the mind of the Home Secretary the solemn obligation under which he is bound at once to prevent those seeds of dissension from taking root. It is by neglecting to nip such social evils in the bud

that so much work is found for spies, police, troops, gaoles, lawyers, and judges.

May this appeal prevent the mischief which these unreasonable masters would cause, save the district from the vexation and loss of another agitation, and the government from the disgrace of employing more spies. R. O.

TO THE WORKING CLASSES.

'Words are things, and a small drop of ink falling—like dew—upon a thought, produces that which makes thousands, perhaps millions, think.'

STATE OF EUROPE.

CHARTIST ORGANISATION.

BROTHER PROLETARIANS,

It cannot be concealed that the good old cause of 'the right against the wrong,' has not progressed with the rapidity which we have all so long hoped for a few months since. Then, the heroic proletarians of Paris trod the streets of their beautiful city its masters, and the acknowledged pioneers of European regeneration, then the heroic populations of Germany were driving before them the dastardly princes, who were too glad to acknowledge, on their knees, the sovereignty of the King of France, so that they might only be permitted to wear their worthless heads. Then, the victors of Italy, panting for long-desired Liberty, were victoriously chasing the foreign oppressor from their 'renowned, romantic land.' Then, Poland's White Eagle spread its wings once more to catch the gale of Freedom, blown from the sunny shores of the Seine. Then, from one end of the Green Isle to the other, rose the cry of 'Ireland free, or the world is a blaze.' Then, even the long-coated slaves of this island seemed to share the general fervour for another and a better order of things, and the cry of 'The Charter, or No Surrender!' sounding from the Thames to the Dan, gave promise of the speedy emancipation of Britain's pariahs. Then, the friends of Democracy were full of hope and confidence, and their enemies were terror-stricken and discomfited.

But two or three months have elapsed, and change for the worse. The Charter of the Justices, more magnanimously than wisely spared by their conquerors, took courage, and recommenced their old game of intrigue against the new order of things. In France, they conspired a commercial panic as the first step to ward weakening and paralyzing the proletarians. Next they conspired—and succeeded at no means, however infamous, in carrying out their conspiracy—to bring the Republic into disrepute, and turn the ignorance of the provincialists to account. They too well succeeded, and the infamous Assembly called 'National,' was the result. They conspired, and succeeded, in the defeat of the proletarians, was made the pretext for instituting a 'reign of terror' directed against the principles and the men of February. I need not repeat the sickening recital of the proletarians shot by hundreds after the conflict was over. I need not reiterate the horrible details of mock trials by court-martial, and the transportation of thousands of the very men who created the Republic. The mass exodus of the Republic and its authors are perished. The Constitution remains at home; the men are on their way to Algeria, to Senegal, or wherever the sun strikes from above and pestilential vapours from below.' These horrors have engaged your attention for months past. Here, however, I may introduce an episode from the columns of the Kronos—an 'outrage tale'—in connection with the transportation of one of the companies of 'insurgents' recently sent from a unitary station to the coast of Africa. The men were lately married to one of the prisoners, gave premature birth to her child, and then hurried to Havre, where she arrived fast, faint, weary and broken-hearted. A glittering row of bayonets came on to the quay, and through the steel hedge she caught sight of her husband; she burst through the row of guards, caught hold of her husband's mangled hands, and fell at his feet a raving maniac.

Now, this is but one of hundreds of similar tales of horror which are told of widows and broken-hearted mothers. Contrast this with the benevolent spirit of the mercantile, who borrows to power on the shoulders of the people they deceived, now are the vices of courtiers and play the part of mushroom aristocrats. Whilst the people are positively famishing; whilst widowed wives and orphaned children make the heavens echo with their groans, MARRIAGE—the aristocrat of the land—the traitor MARRIAGE—holds his fetes in a Royal Palace, while his luxurious apartments might feed a hundred of the poor. At the same time, the people MARRIAGE fetes their enemies—every such 'nemesias' Lord NORMANBY, the representative of the English aristocracy! Hunger and imprisonment; the hulks and death—are the rewards allotted to the people for displacing SAUCEZ and setting up MANARZ. Within the last fortnight we have seen three unquestionable enemies of Republicanism called to the government of France: DEFAVRE a leader of the fourty-eighters; LAMARTE a poet, and Works, and who less than a year ago refused to attend any of the 'Reform Banquets' at which the toast to 'the health of King Louis Philippe' was not included in the programme (!); VIVIER formerly Keeper of the Seals in the Thiers Cabinet, and subsequently, under Guizot, Vice President of the Council of State; and FRESLOS, not so well known as his two co-regents, but whose republicanism is of the same colour. It is to be regretted that the Monarchy that the despots of the Republic have just been defeated. For to the benefit of the Commonwealth, the sham Republicans are answerable. MARRIAGE the traitor, MARIE the intriguer, and LAMARTE the splendid babler, are the men who must be held principally responsible for these bitter fruits of the glorious Revolution of February.

Is there not some chosen cure, Some hidden thunder in the stores of heaven, Red with unnumbered wrath, to blast the men Who owe their greatness to their country's ruin? There-action in Germany was less signal. Frankfurt had its barricades and defeat of the popular party. The results are less disastrous than in France, but had it not been for the fourty-eighters in Paris. It is due to the real Democrats of Germany to say that they have never been caught by the clap-net of 'imperialism.' The foolish men who have been bawling for a 'German Empire,' are now learning the severe but wholesome lesson, that to centralise the power hitherto wielded by a host of petty despots, is but, in fact, to aid despotism with renewed strength. The 'black, red, and gold,' and the rest, the hubbub of 'Germanism,' has been hitherto a mere noise, which served to divert attention from the principles of Democracy, under the pretext of 'preserving public order.' The Frankfurt Parliament is a gigantic fraud, intended to consolidate the power of the bourgeoisie at the expense of the people; and is already, and justly, becoming more odious to the proletarians, than were the effete despots it has superseded.

The dream of Polish independence soon vanished. The splendid victory of the people of Milan, and the chivalrous strain of the Italian revolution, are now a mere memory. The Italian people are again reduced to a state of hopeless slavery, and the Italian people are again reduced to a state of hopeless slavery, and the Italian people are again reduced to a state of hopeless slavery.

How sadly Ireland has fallen need not be told. It blisters one's tongue to speak of it—it paralyses one's hand to write of it. Ireland has found 'beneath the lowest deep a lower still.' There is not such another instance in history of good men and true misled or self-deceived as to the character of their country. It is clear to the senses that there can be no more writing, or speaking, or organising, for the 'independence of Ireland.' The regeneration of that country may not be impossible, but the modern operatics taught in the NARROW and USTRIN schools is clearly not practicable. The union of the masses of Ireland with those of England may win political and social reform for both countries. Other means of winning 'Ireland for the Irish' hold to be utterly visionary.

Of this country the least said is the better. Our regenerating fever soon came to an end; but, unhappily, instead of leaving us restored to perfect health, left us more miserably prostrated than ever. 'It were long to tell, and sad to trace, the causes of our present state of wretchedness.' Enough, that I remind you that some of your unfortunate brethren have been condemned to life-long chains and slavery; that others are languishing in vilest dungeons; that the families of both are suffering; that others—many others—are marked out for the vengeance of their and your enemies; and that, notwithstanding this immense extent of misery, popular indifference was never more clearly manifested than at this very time; and Chartism 'organisation' has become the mere name—the shadow of a shade.

This is a melancholy picture. But are we to conclude that 'there is no hope for nations?' No! I discern grounds for hope more than mere hope—in the present year the sun of Liberty has dawned. All the countries may say 'Or must I except our own? It is for you to decide.

In France the role of the traitors is fast drawing to a close. LAMARTE has been long 'used up.' This very day news has arrived that GODECHAUX, the pet of the promulgators, has resigned. Of the prominent and influential betrayers of the Democracy only two now remain in power—MARRIAGE and MARRIAGE are doomed. The handwriting is on the wall, they have done the dirty work of the bourgeoisie and

they will have their reward. Indeed, I see it stated, that MARRIAGE already threatens to resign the Presidency of the Assembly, because that immaculate body has declined to vote him an supplementary sum of £600,000 francs, (£240), to defray the expense for one month of his establishment. 'This sum he required over and above his allowance of 4,000 francs (£160) a month, which he receives for his presidency. Modest and austere Republican! His threat of resigning will not alarm the Moderates; on the contrary, such a step would mightily please them. The only two real parties in France—the enemies, and the friends of the Revolution—gradually but surely forming themselves into distinct camps. Once this division is complete the death-struggle will come. In the meantime the ardent Democrats are labouring unceasingly for the propagation of their principles. The Toulouse banquet first showed that the principles of veritable Democracy were not, as had been falsely asserted, confined to Paris. Subsequent similar manifestations have shown that the 'Red Republic' is rapidly progressing throughout the departments. Even the English journals record their fears of the real and rapid advance of Democracy. Depend upon it, these fears are not groundless; but their fears should excite our exultation.

In spite of the affair at Frankfurt, the workmen of Berlin have held their own; and throughout the German States democratic ideas are ardently and successfully propagated. The gallant CARL SCHAPPEE, so well known to us, and so justly admired by the English people, has been for some time the champion of Democracy, but the day of his deliverance is not distant. KARL FRIEDRICH SCHMIDT, a German Democrat, persecuted by the contemptible King of Prussia, has been liberated from his prison by the voice of a Prussian jury, and, crowned with flowers, was escorted to his home with shouts and songs of triumph, by the enthusiastic and armed people. Lastly, the glorious victory of the people of Vienna has all but redeemed the defeat of the Parisian proletarians in June. But the day of victory is not distant. The Austrian Emperor has been driven from his throne, and the Austrian States. The success of Jellachnik and his Croatian hordes would have been a fatal blow to the cause of liberty in Eastern Europe. Unluckily there is ground for apprehension that the temporising of the Diet will yet undo the glorious work of the 6th of October.

The Poles are said to be forming a vast organisation for another and a still more successful struggle. There is now this week an insurrection at Milan, but the report appears to be premature. If, however, the Austrian Democrats can maintain their position, another rising in Italy must take place. Under any circumstances, Europe has not yet seen the last of Italian struggles for liberty.

And now, what are the enslaved classes of this country doing?—I need not answer. What they should do, self-protection, honour, justice to the persecuted, should dictate. Clearly the first necessity is the re-organisation of the proletarians, and the professing Chartists, or rather of those who really are Chartists.

Brother proletarians; it can never be, that you will now, at a ten years' struggle, tamely sit down and hug your chains. It can never be that you will callously see the tyrant-made widow and orphan pine in starvation; nor is it possible that you will tamely allow your unfortunate brethren—the victims of the 'spies'—to suffer their tears to flow unavailingly, and to see their children, and their children's children, in the hands of the tyrant-made widow and orphan pine in starvation; nor is it possible that you will tamely allow your unfortunate brethren—the victims of the 'spies'—to suffer their tears to flow unavailingly, and to see their children, and their children's children, in the hands of the tyrant-made widow and orphan pine in starvation; nor is it possible that you will tamely allow your unfortunate brethren—the victims of the 'spies'—to suffer their tears to flow unavailingly, and to see their children, and their children's children, in the hands of the tyrant-made widow and orphan pine in starvation; nor is it possible that you will tamely allow your unfortunate brethren—the victims of the 'spies'—to suffer their tears to flow unavailingly, and to see their children, and their children's children, in the hands of the tyrant-made widow and orphan pine in starvation; 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nor is it possible that you will tamely allow your unfortunate brethren—the victims of the 'spies'—to suffer their tears





