

My FRIENDS, — As political feeling — or rather political bias — is generally spoken of with a little personal influence, many of you will imagine, that, owing Richard Cobden more than a penny on his Financial Budget upon the narrowness of personality — but I shall do no such thing.

This is the very course which, for centuries, has led to your prostration. I shall, therefore, take a double view of this Budget — the one financial, the other political. The marrow is contained in the following figures, and I shall, firstly, analyse the value of its realisation to your class, and for that purpose I shall take the several proposed reductions *seriatim*, and shall then show you the value of that reduction, if made, to each individual, making no distinction of class, but presuming that the pauper in the workhouse consumes as much tea, timber and wood, malt, hops, soap and paper, and pays as much window tax and advertisement duty, as the richest Peer in the realm.

NATIONAL BUDGET.

Proposed reduction of expenditure 10,000,000	
Proposed legacy and probate duty upon real estate, whether en- sailed or unensailed .. .. .	1,500,000
Proposed amount of surplus revenue ..	£11,500,000

PROPOSED REDUCTIONS OF DUTIES AND TAXES.

COBDEN'S DUTIES.	Loss of Revenue.
Tea — Duty to be reduced to one shilling per pound .. .. .	2,000,000
Timber and Wood — Duty abolished .. .. .	945,000
Butter, cheese, and upwards of one hundred smaller items of the tariff — Duties abolished .. .. .	516,000
Total loss upon Customs .. .. .	£3,451,000

COBDEN'S DUTIES.

Malt — Duty abolished .. .. .	4,260,000
Hops .. .. .	416,000
Soap .. .. .	850,000
Paper .. .. .	723,000
Total loss upon Excise .. .. .	£5,249,000
Window Tax — Abolished .. .. .	1,610,000
Advertisement Duty — Abolished .. .. .	190,000
Total of Taxes .. .. .	£1,770,000
Total loss upon Customs, Excise, and Taxes ..	£11,477,000

The population to be affected in its individual capacity by these several reductions, we must estimate at twenty-seven millions; and then I will show what the proposed saving to each would be. The two millions on tea, would amount to 1s. 6d. per head; the nine hundred and forty-five thousand saved on timber and wood, would amount to not quite 3d. a head; on the five hundred and sixteen thousand on butter and cheese, and other articles, not quite fourpence halfpenny; on four millions two hundred and sixty thousand malt, not quite three shillings and twopenny a head; on four hundred and sixteen thousand hops, not quite fourpence; on eight hundred and fifty thousand soap, not quite eightpence; on seven hundred and twenty thousand paper, not quite sixpence halfpenny; on one million six hundred and ten thousand window tax, not quite one shilling and threepence; on one hundred and sixty thousand on advertisement duty, not quite three halfpence; and thus we make the following sum of the annual saving to each individual by the proposed reduction contained in Mr Cobden's budget. The sum which he proposes to realise, that is, the saving which he proposes to make, amounts to eleven millions four hundred and seventy-seven thousand per annum; and here follows the saving that would accrue therefrom to each individual, for the whole year.

Proposed reduction of Tea .. .. .	8 d.
Ditto on Timber and Wood .. .. .	1 6
Ditto on Butter, Cheese, and upwards of a hundred other articles .. .. .	0 4
Ditto on Malt .. .. .	3 2
Ditto on Hops .. .. .	8 4
Ditto on Soap .. .. .	8 8
Ditto on Paper .. .. .	0 6 2
Ditto Window Tax .. .. .	1 3
Ditto, Advertisement Duty .. .. .	0 12
8 s	

Now, that would be the annual saving to each individual, in case the manufacturer of those several raw materials remitted in the price of the manufactured article, the whole amount of duty paid on the raw material — a boon which the consumer could not expect, as he did not receive it when the duty upon leather, timber, and other raw materials was reduced. If you multiply twenty-seven millions by eight shillings and eight pence, you will have 11,700,000, or 223,000 more than Mr Cobden's proposed reduction. So that you find eight and eight pence per head, per annum, is the saving to be achieved by each individual, allowing that he pays his share of window tax, advertisement duty, and duty on paper; and presuming that the peer's family and the peasant's family consume an equal amount of the other articles, and then you will find, if you estimate the working days in the year, (leaving out Sundays and holidays) at 300; and if, in consequence of the reduction of this eleven millions four hundred and seventy-seven thousand per annum, the capitalist reduces the wages of his labourers by one halfpenny a day, that would amount to 12s. 6d. a year, or 3s. 10d. over and above the proposed boon, too, to take the reduction lowly, and very lowly, too, at a shilling a week, he would find a loss of two pounds three shillings and fourpence a year.

I know the question of family will be urged, and I might answer that by at once striking off the major portion of the Budget, contained in two items, namely — the malt tax and window tax, neither of which would press upon the infants or children not working of the labouring class. But if I take the family view of it, it would stand thus — suppose each family to consist of five — three workers and two youths — then that family, even allowing them to share in the malt and window tax, would save five pounds three shillings and fourpence a year; that is, if the whole five are included, and if the wages of the three workers is reduced by one halfpenny a day each, that alone would amount to one pound seventeen shillings and sixpence a year, or nearly the amount of their share of the proposed reduction. But if you take it at the probable amount, namely — a shilling a week, it would amount to seven pounds sixteen shillings a year.

Now, labouring men, notwithstanding the odium cast upon the advocates of labour, in consequence of their association with the principles of Chartism, and in spite of the class and party odium — nay, of persecution — heaped upon me, merely in consequence of my unswerving adherence to the cause of Labour, I caution you, in the face of this about to be resuscitated capitalists' agitation, and I tell you that Government is not centralised, centralised, or localised, but is individualised; and that every employer, whether in or out of Parliament — whether in or out of the Cabinet — is a member, and a powerful member, of that government; and that the individual power of those individual rulers is sectionalised in their locality, and centralised in the House of Commons, and there constitutes the worst and most hideous description of tyranny; and this I wish you to bear in mind when I come to consider the question under its second head, namely — its political bearing.

Mr Cobden, in his very elaborate, but yet, well condensed letter, shows a great deal of tact. He acts upon the old principle, that every stratagem is fair in war, and he very wisely and very prudently plays the "Chronicle" against the "Times," and Wellington and Russell, and Russell and 1849; this is not only justifiable but just, both as regards finance and politics — what he states of the Wellington Cabinet is true, and as long as representation and legislation depend upon party, the politician, like the client, must retain the ablest advocate; and Cobden knows

full well, that Wellington is the most powerful advocate in the House of Lords, and he knows that, although questions of finance belong to the Commons, that Wellington and his party can influence their party in the Lower House.

I even go farther, as I rejoice to think that I stand in that position which enables me to speak of men as they deserve, without fear or control, and I assert, without fear of contradiction, that the Duke of Wellington made the most sweeping financial reforms of any minister known to British history, and not only that, but he reduced the staff of clerks and officials to the requirements of office. It was his constant custom to attend at the several offices just at the hour when the clerks and officials should arrive, and without ceremony or favour, those who were behind time were scolded, as they say in Lancashire, Wellington cared not a fig for patronage for his party; name did him what patronage does for the Whigs. I now come to the political consideration of the question, and upon this I base my approval of the propositions contained in the

COBDEN BUDGET.

The great principle upon which the Whigs have held office has been patronage; and although the proposed reduction in Cobden's Budget of upwards of eleven millions a year, would give but a slice to each labourer, even allowing that it was not sourced by more than a corresponding reduction in wages, yet when distributed in the shape of patronage by a Whig government, it affects each labourer to an enormous extent, so enormous that it is impossible to calculate it. This amount taken from the Whigs they will be compelled to reduce the idle staff, and the quills of their subservient supporters in the Commons will bristle like porcupines when their votes can be no longer paid for.

As regards the useless squadrons afloat on foreign stations, and every item repudiated in Mr Cobden's budget, no working man, no honest man, can gainsay the justice of the proposed reductions. Of what possible avail are they except for the purpose of feeding a set of pampered idlers, and making them supporters of a reckless government?

The "Times," it is true, takes Mr Cobden sorely to task for his sins of omission, but does not disturb a single one of his arguments. The "Times" says — "Do not the landlords pay tithes, and Poor-rates, and 'pro bono publico' and numerous other local rates and taxes?" No doubt they do, and they got their estates chargeable with those taxes; but, still further, the whole of the tithes and a very large portion of the Poor-rates still belong to the family dish, and constitute the incomes of the younger sons of the proprietors of those lands, and they are the trustees and the distributors of this stock fund, which is a lien upon the land, and the first charge upon the land; and the great majority of English estates — nay, nearly all — having changed hands since these burdens were imposed upon the land, the present owners have purchased subject to those charges, and still preserve the right of distributing them amongst the younger branches of their families. For instance, 236 of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal have the presentation to 2,927 Church livings, and does not the "Times" suppose that the presentation to those livings neutralises the tithe burden imposed upon the land? Here follows the analysis of the House of Lords, and from it you will learn, that the adoption of Mr Cobden's Budget is not to be simply viewed as the means of conferring 8s. 8d. a year upon every labourer, but is to be taken as the future standard of governmental capacity, the effect of which would be to drive the Whigs from office, and place them in antagonism to the present system of monopoly and centralisation. Here follows the analysis of the House of Lords:—

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Officers in the Army .. .. .	35
Officers in the Navy .. .. .	10
Officers in the Militia .. .. .	10
Officers including Officers of State, and persons in the Household, &c. ..	48
Peers possessed of Clerical influence, including English and Irish Bishops .. .. .	48
Peers .. .. .	119
Patrons .. .. .	47
Living .. .. .	56
Patrons .. .. .	59
Living .. .. .	67
Patrons .. .. .	68
Living .. .. .	76
Patrons .. .. .	77
Living .. .. .	89
Patrons .. .. .	91
Living .. .. .	94
Patrons .. .. .	99
Living .. .. .	118
Patrons .. .. .	119
Living .. .. .	119

Now, I think that will afford you the means of guessing why the Peers, both Temporal and Spiritual, do not look upon tithes as a great burden, and the amount of patronage arising from Poor-rates, and other local rates, *pro bono publico*, and all conferred upon younger children and poor relations, will reconcile you to their toleration of these other burdens. You shall now have the analysis of the House of Commons, and I think you will see a reason in its constitution for the destruction of too much patronage. Here it is:—

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Sons of Peers .. .. .	57
Ditto Military Officers .. .. .	12
Ditto Naval ditto .. .. .	12
Ditto Militia ditto .. .. .	10
Ditto Officials .. .. .	3
Brothers, Nephews, Cousins, and others connected with Peers .. .. .	38
Ditto Military Officers .. .. .	4
Ditto Naval ditto .. .. .	2
Ditto Militia ditto .. .. .	2
Ditto Officials .. .. .	7
Members not included in the above but holding offices in the Army .. .. .	23
Navy .. .. .	4
Militia .. .. .	26
Officials .. .. .	39
Clerical influences exercised by 87 Members who have 232 livings .. .. .	37
23 Members having 1 living .. .. .	50
23 ditto 2 .. .. .	53
6 ditto 3 .. .. .	59
3 ditto 4 .. .. .	18
2 ditto 5 .. .. .	14
2 ditto 6 .. .. .	18
2 ditto 7 .. .. .	18
2 ditto 8 .. .. .	18
2 ditto 9 .. .. .	18
87 Irish Peers .. .. .	242
Sons of Peers, Brothers, Nephews, Cousins, Sons-in-law of Peers, &c., including Navy, Army, and Militia Officers, and Officials .. .. .	152
Members holding Commissions in the Army, Navy, and Militia, not included in the above .. .. .	88
Members who are patrons of Church livings .. .. .	87
Living .. .. .	397
Number of Members .. .. .	658

The "Times" is very wrath with Mr Cobden for baiting his trap with a kind of alibi, but I dare say, that if he had confined his Budget to a reduction of the Paper and Stamp Duties that he would have been a living Pitt. The maxim of the Whigs, that "taxation with representation is tyranny, and should be resisted," does not at all apply in their eyes to

the present system. That maxim held good when taxes were direct and when aids were granted to the monarch, and when those aids and supplies were voted by those who had to pay them, and who had not the power, as under the present system, to recover them with enormous interest in the shape of reduction of wages.

In my opinion, Mr Cobden's proposition is over-moderate — he proposes to return to the Budget of 1835; but surely with the hope of retrenchment held out by the Reform Bill, and retrenchment not being very extensively carried out up to the year 1835, he might have taken a wider range; however, that may follow, and I am not disposed to utter a word calculated to place the working classes in antagonism to those who advocate a measure about all others calculated to destroy the horrifying system of governmental patronage.

Machinery and the power that it gives to the individual capitalist, and the Reform Act, established a completely new system in this country — a system which the Whigs hoped to convert to party purposes; and in order to make both branches of the legislature harmonious, they created, during their administration from 1831 to 1839, no fewer than eighty-two mongrel peers — a larger number than was created for a century after the Revolution of 1688, during which time we had an American war, and great continental and domestic convulsions, circumstances, which always lead to honour and promotion; they created a larger number within those nine years than were created from 1788 to 1815, the year of peace, — a period embracing the French Revolution of 1793, the Irish Rebellion of 1798 — the Union of 1800 — and almost a continuous period of naval and military warfare, and from which promotions and honours invariably spring. This has been the invariable policy of the Whigs; they have preached economy — they have indoctrinated the people with the most physical force maxims, and when by those means they have possessed themselves of power, they have become the most oppressive tyrants.

Free Trade is a very ramified principle; and I look upon this Budget of Cobden's as a step well calculated to open the eyes of all parties to what must be its inevitable result — namely, the representation of Labour when patronage is destroyed, and through that, the highest cultivation of the national resources under a national Government — the inevitable effect of which must be to make the rich richer and the poor richer. Under these circumstances, I trust that no working man will measure his opinion by the financial standard which I have submitted, but by the inevitable political result which must follow. When I see a man like Cobden raising himself to the highest position that industry and talent can achieve, it does not accord with my principles or your interest that I should measure my opposition by personal feelings. If I did so, I should be justly considered, as one of Rigby Watson's "one-eyed men," only capable of seeing through my own telescope, while, at the same time — as with the question of Free Trade, so with that of the present Budget — as one of your instructors, it is my duty to analyse it financially and politically for you, merging the apparent financial incapacity in the inevitable political result.

I will now show you how taxes put on, and how taxes taken off, affect the consumer in each case. When the stamp upon newspapers was fourpence, the price of the paper was sevenpence — now the stamp is a penny, and the price of daily papers is fivepence, and the price of a majority of the weekly papers is sixpence — thus the proprietor has had a remission of threepence in the article for which he must pay ready money, and he makes to the purchaser a reduction of a penny. But I will show you, upon a general principle of taxation, the pressure of indirect taxation upon the consumer. Suppose a manufactured article to consist of one, two, three, or four raw materials, upon which no duty is paid, and suppose a shilling's worth of that or those raw materials, when manufactured by Labour, to sell for two shillings. Call it a yard of anything. Suppose, then, that a tax of threepence is imposed upon that or those raw materials, the price in such case of the manufactured article — in order to repay the manufacturer — would be 2s. 3d.; whereas, we may estimate it lowly at an increase to 2s. 6d. a yard — thus giving the manufacturer a profit of one hundred per cent. upon the conversion of the raw material into manufactured fabric — that is, a profit of a hundred per cent. per annum, but per conversion — and if he is enabled to convert the raw material into a manufactured article in a fortnight — which he can, and less — and as there are twenty-six fortnights in a year, he makes a profit of one hundred per cent. in a fortnight, or two thousand six hundred per cent. per annum. If, then, as I have explained to you scores of times — that if taxes were direct instead of indirect — fair competition would destroy this system of making profit upon taxation, the taxpayer would be the legislator and the tax-assessor — and, I promise you, that he would then look more narrowly even into the expense of tax collecting.

This system of indirect taxation is a kind of hobgoblin, a thief in the dark; it takes the money slyly and covertly out of your pipe, out of your mouth, out of your nose, out of your eyes, and out of your breeches pocket; it is a kind of will-o'-the-wisp, and if you bought everything tax and duty free, and if the taxpayer called upon you on quarter day for an equivalent in hard cash for what the system thus cunningly takes from you at every meal, you could kick him out of the house; and you may rely upon it that there is not a branch of expenditure into which the greatest supporter of our present system would not narrowly and jealously look, if he had to put his hand into his own pocket, instead of putting both hands into your pockets.

Thus I have shown you a thousand times the effect of indirect taxation upon labour, and I will repeat it, and no operative in England or Scotland will gainsay it. When the Income Tax was laid on, nearly every employer reduced the wages of his hands — some ten, some fifteen, and some twenty per cent, but I will take it lowly at a penny per day, or sixpence per week, and I will assume, for illustration, a master employing a thousand hands and returning an income of 25,000 a year; upon that income he should pay £150 tax, and by the reduction of even sixpence a week he would make a profit, after paying the tax, of £1150 a year. But suppose he only reduced his wages by a farthing a day, he would still realise a profit of £175, and if he reduced wages by half-a-farthing a day, or three farthings a week he would actually make a profit of £25 after paying the tax.

Now observe, half-a-farthing a day is only three farthings a week, and what I have always endeavoured to draw your undivided attention to is, that if the £1300 taken from you in the shape of tax was paid to you in wages and distributed by you amongst the shopkeepers, it would be better for that class than if accumulated by the capitalist, and applied to the purchase of land or to some speculation. This is the great evil of the system. It is framed, not to represent solid keepable property which has no active mind to look to its interests, but to represent the flying, fleeting, fluttering genius of floating

capital, which is able to muster round its standard the most enthusiastic feelings upon the most Utopian schemes.

When you understand those things, you will understand the principle of representation as applicable to Labour, and you will understand the Labour Question as applicable to the most profitable cultivation of our national resources, and upon the solution of which, believe me, the peace, the prosperity, and happiness of Britain depends, and when you think less of pikes and folly, and more of the Labour Question and the cultivation of the national resources, then folly will no longer be urged as your disqualification for the suffrage, but on the contrary, if knowledge became taxable, the Chancellor of the Exchequer would appoint a whole host of brain-gaugers, whose business it would be to take stock of every man's intellect, and if the man whose ignorance is NOW urged as his disqualification, THEN official ignorance, idiocy or insanity, the official could set him down as a Newton, and place him in schedule A, amongst the first-class tax-payers.

Let me give you a very apt illustration of the standard by which the wages of aggregated series is measured. After Father Mathew's visit to Leeds, Teetotalism for a time became very general, and a large employer, being a coming Christian spirit, was one of its principal advocates; and when cheap cold water became a substitute for gin and beer, he told his hands that they could submit to a reduction of wages, as their wants were fewer and their means comparatively greater.

The "Morning Chronicle" of this week has a very laudatory article upon the present condition and future prospects of the Farmers, but you will recollect how since 1834 — but especially in 1843, 1844, and 1845, when the "Times" and "Chronicle" were laughing at the fears and anticipations of the Farmers, how I predicted the very events which have occurred, and which both are now deploring. On Saturday week I published a list of American exportations of food to this country within a very short period. I showed you that the Statistician in the patent office in America proved that this year America could export twenty-eight million quarters of corn, and that America every year could produce enough to feed the world. I gave you the long catalogue of bread stuffs and other stuffs grown in America, and to compete with John Bull in his own highly taxed country. I have since taken the trouble to sum up the amount of Land — of English Land — that would be required to produce the amount of produce sent to us, and I find that, averaging the produce of wheat at twenty-four bushels to the acre, they have within that short time exported to this country in corn alone the produce of over six hundred thousand acres; while in oil cake, lard, butter, cheese, baked bread, (think of that! — beef, pork, and other articles the produce of the Land, they have exported as much as could be produced by about four hundred thousand acres more. That is the produce of a million acres of first-class English Land. And at the foot of this letter you will find another list of importations, and if we add to it what has come from other countries, you will discover that to the middle of December, about three months after harvest, and while Free Trade is yet in its infancy, that we have received the produce of over two millions of British acres; while McCulloch estimates the amount of Land in cultivation at twelve million acres. Thus, already, with a duty of six shillings, America — taking the standard of English produce at a very high rate — has exported into this country one-sixth of what her own Land could produce.

I dare say you recollect that in 1845 the "Times" assured us, that America for many years could not send us 500,000 quarters of corn, and I hope you will bear in mind that when I was carrying on a brisk fire against all the Free Trade journals and Free Trade party, that I stated that when the rich man of the world was opened to the produce of the world, glut in our own market would be the only standard that would measure the price of highly taxed produce; and I ventured to assert that from the banks of the Seine, French corn would be shipped for the English market, and could be delivered there at a lower rate of freight than it could be delivered from the inland countries of England, or than from any Irish county. Well, every body laughed at this, and all said, "What a fool he must be, when France is an importing country." I replied, "Yes; France kept down her produce to the standard of restriction; but when you destroy protection for home produce, a portion of the cotton lands of America, and of the vineyards and grass lands of France will be turned into corn growing land for the rich market. Well, as the Lord sometimes does deliver my enemies into mine hands, read the following from last week's Gloucester market note — mind, Gloucester alone, and that the corn must have been shipped at Havre, which is at the mouth of the Seine. Now here is the answer, and read it:—

FREE TRADE IN CORN. — About twenty French vessels laden with corn arrived at Gloucester during the past week. Before the repeal of the Corn Laws the average arrival there of French vessels was not more than twenty-five in the course of the year; but within the last two months alone the arrivals have exceeded fifty.

Well, then, the reason why I objected to Cobden's Free Trade Budget was, because such reforms as he now proposes, and many others, should have preceded Free Trade; however, there is an old saying, "Never show your work half-finished to a FOOL or a WOMAN," and perhaps Cobden has evinced good policy in shaking the foundation before he pulled down the whole building. He now discovers that he has "tried up" the brains and prejudices of the old aristocracy, and out of these new materials he may erect a more secure house. But as my crying sin has been the dealing with the whole question of Labour, and not trusting it piece-meal, I now tell you that the Russell system of Free Trade has so shaken the base and superstructure of society, that all proposed financial reforms are mere MOONSHINE.

I assert it for the hundredth time, that the landlords of this country and of Ireland are irrevocably bankrupts; that their every debt and their every engagement was based upon Protection; that the rents by which they were enabled to meet those engagements were measured by Protection, and that that Protection now gone, and with farmers — as the "Chronicle" admits — paying rents out of their capital — under these circumstances, I say there is no hope for any interest in this country, as all materially depend upon the condition of our farmers, but a thorough settlement of old accounts UNDER THE NEW SYSTEM.

England will never feel the entire effects of Free Trade until there is a thorough failure of our own harvest, with an abundant harvest in other countries; or, to show you that she must hang upon one or other of the horns of the dilemma, she will be in as bad a condition when there is an abundant harvest at home, and also an abundant harvest in other countries, and when her farmers meet Jonathan's untaxed produce in the competing market.

By taxed English corn, and untaxed American corn, I wish you to bear in mind, that

Free Trade has in nowise relieved English corn from the innumerable burthens to which it was and still is subjected. Even your National Debt is based upon Protection, and that Protection being taken off, it now remains a greater burthen upon produce reduced in value.

Always keep the condition of your farmers, with their multitude of labourers, and the agricultural towns and villages dependent upon them, in view. They are your best customers; they are at your door. The transit of your produce costs you little or nothing. They pay you in produce or in cash, and that class is now upon the inevitable "road to ruin." They can measure their rent engagements, and taxes, which are direct, better than you can measure your engagements and taxes, which are indirect; and in order that you may have your actual position vividly before you, here it is. — Wheat gives the standard value to all lands not wheat lands, the value of wheat, under Protection, establishes the standard value of grass lands, and all other lands. Suppose, then, that, independently of a superabundant harvest, when low prices were compensated by increased produce, rent by Protection, was fixed at 7s. a bushel for wheat; and suppose the average produce — as I have taken it — to be twenty-four bushels; and suppose wheat to fall to 5s. a bushel, and ere long you will see it much below that; but suppose 5s. — in that case, the farmer loses 2s. a bushel upon twenty-four bushels, or 2s. 8s. an acre, while his rent is, perhaps, a pound an acre; and, therefore, instead of the pound he is now paying in rent and loss, 3s. 8s. an acre; while the landlord, with that instinct of SELF-INTEREST which no human power can eradicate, will still have to pay his four or five per cent. on mortgages — the interest upon marriage settlements, or perhaps the principal — principal and interest upon simple contract and bond debts, tithes, LARGER POOR RATES, PRO BONO PUBLICO RATES — all other rates, and to keep up his social dignity.

Now, then, if the mortgage and bond debts are larger than the National Debt, let Mr Cobden's attention next be directed to the fair settlement of the landlords' and farmers' account; and let all contracts, based upon Protection, which was national faith with the farmer who expended his capital under its banner, and with the landlord who contracted those debts under the same influence — let them be revised also, and let us not have the double anomaly of paying their engagements as well as the National Debt, with 30s. in the pound. And, above all things, let the Financial Reformers take heed, lest they fall into the egregious error of making machinery against land the *casus belli*, for they may rest assured, if they do, that the well-fed sally will — when — urged to the last point — rally under their heretofore feudal lords and masters, and then that agricultural power, so long sluggish and dormant, will spring into a lively existence, and such an agitation as will astonish the weak minds of their opponents.

I always told you that Free Trade was carried by the local appliances and engines at the command of its advocates — that they could muster their adherents with a few hours' notice by an advertisement, the bell, or a few posters on the walls, while the sluggish landlords and the confident tenants were scattered over the face of the earth, and could offer neither resistance nor opposition; but let them rest assured, that there is a vast difference between a powerful interest in a state of torpor, uncertainty, and doubt, and the same interest awakened by experience to its position.

It is, then, labourers, because I consider the very discussion of this Cobden Budget as calculated to settle those long standing accounts, that I say to you, that I beg of you, to implore of you, and beseech of you, not to allow the Whig enemy and its Press to play the Chartists against the present movement. Support the proposition politically — abandon all thoughts of its financial bearing which I have thought it my duty to submit to you, and let Cobden and his party understand that MY MYRMIDONS are not to be rallied for Whig purposes, as his proposition will shake them to the very foundation; let them understand that we are for measures when measures are good, and that, although we are never to be made tools, we know when to become auxiliaries.

This proposition, above all others, will cause a split between the place-hunting Whigs and the veritable Liberals in the House of Commons; and in return for their many entombed victims, let us have the consolation of seeing them at the bleak side of the Treasury. No sincere Chartist — no discreet working man — will offer any resistance to the COBDEN BUDGET.

Your faithful friend and unpaid servant,  
F. E. O'CONNOR.

P.S. Here follows the farmers' death warrant:—

AMERICAN PROVISIONS. — The following large and numerous arrivals of provisions and grain have lately taken place from the United States of America. The vessel *Arcton*, post brought 3477 bushels of flour, 14108 bushels of wheat, 18 barrels of apples, and 1429 bushels of corn; the *John Marshall* from Alexandria, U.S., 6730 bushels of wheat, 2260 bushels of Indian corn, 314 bushels of wheat, and 210 barrels of flour; the *Stephen Larnum* from Baltimore, 5720 barrels of flour, the *Masconoma* from Baltimore, 1400 barrels of flour, 10380 bushels of Indian corn, and 292 bushels of wheat; the *Libbie* from New York, 2877 boxes and 15 casks of cheese, 1491 barrels of flour, 98 barrels and 89 barrels of rice, 97 barrels of beef, and 123 casks of oil cake; the *Diadem* from New York, 4500 barrels of flour, and 2260 bushels of Indian corn; the *Harriet* from New Orleans, 8290 sacks of Indian corn, the *Margaretta* from New Orleans, 365 barrels of flour, 118 barrels of wheat, 223 barrels of corn, and 14 tons of lard; the *Hendrick Hudson* from New York, 7195 boxes and 749 casks of cheese, 764 casks of apples, 210 casks of butter, 223 barrels of flour, 2000 bushels of corn, and 5000 lbs. weight in bulk, and about 100 casks of oil cake; the *E. Z.* from New York, 1878 barrels of flour, 100 barrels of rice, 1850 bushels of barley, 8793 bushels of wheat, and 1480 bushels of Indian corn; the *U. S. S.* from New Orleans, 1200 bushels of flour and 100 casks of oil cake; the *David Cannon* from New York, 884 barrels of flour, 6001 bushels of Indian corn, 21 casks of cheese, 200 barrels of flour, and 1140 bushels of corn; the *Devereaux*, from New Orleans, 1899 barrels of flour, 70 barrels of apples, 122 boxes of bacon, and some of biscuits, beef, and potatoes; and John R. Shildy from New York, 3652 barrels of flour, 1254 boxes and 70 casks of cheese, 216 of beef, 252 bags and 273 bushels of wheat, 12977 bushels of Indian corn, 861 barrels and 408 bushels of rice, 35 boxes of bacon, and 34 of tinned corn; the *Devereaux*, from New Orleans, 1899 barrels of flour, 70 barrels of apples, 122 boxes of bacon, and some of biscuits, beef, and potatoes; and John R. Shildy from New York, 3652 barrels of flour, 1254 boxes and 70 casks of cheese, 216 of beef, 252 bags and 273 bushels of wheat, 12977 bushels of Indian corn, 861 barrels and 408 bushels of rice, 35 boxes of bacon, and 34 of tinned corn; the *Devereaux*, from New Orleans, 1899 barrels of flour, 70 barrels of apples, 122 boxes of bacon, and some of biscuits, beef, and potatoes; and John R. Shildy from New York, 3652 barrels of flour, 1254 boxes and 70 casks of cheese, 216 of beef, 252 bags and 273 bushels of wheat, 12977 bushels of Indian corn, 861 barrels and 408 bushels of rice, 35 boxes of bacon, and 34 of tinned corn.

bushels of wheat, 1292 bushels of Indian corn, 1568 barrels of flour, 16 packages of beef, and 6 apples; the *Spartan*, from New York 5034 barrels of flour, 1640 bushels of wheat, the *Star* from New York, 1160 sacks of Indian corn, 1672 sacks of wheat, and 7088 barrels of flour; the *James Town*, from New York 574 barrels of flour, 1125 sacks of wheat, 175 barrels of corn, and 1400 bushels of wheat, and 224 barrels and 220 barrels of lard; the *Columbian*, from New Orleans 5701 sacks and 1884 bags of corn, 1014 barrels of flour, 164 barrels of bacon, and 3 barrels of bread; the *Orpheus*, from Charleston 1160 sacks of Indian corn, 1125 sacks of wheat, 175 barrels of corn, and 1400 bushels of wheat, and 224 barrels and 220 barrels of lard; the *Columbian*, from New Orleans 5701 sacks and 1884 bags of corn, 1014 barrels of flour, 164 barrels of bacon, and 3 barrels of bread; the *Orpheus*, from Charleston 1160 sacks of Indian corn, 1125 sacks of wheat, 175 barrels of corn, and 1400 bushels of wheat, and 224 barrels and 220 barrels of lard; the *Columbian*, from New Orleans 5701 sacks and 1884 bags of corn, 1014 barrels of flour, 164 barrels of bacon, and 3 barrels of bread; the *Orpheus*, from Charleston 1160 sacks of Indian corn, 1125 sacks of wheat, 175 barrels of corn, and 1400 bushels of wheat, and 224 barrels and 220 barrels of lard; the *Columbian*, from New Orleans 5701 sacks and 1884 bags of corn, 1014 barrels of flour, 164 barrels of bacon, and 3 barrels of bread; the *Orpheus*, from Charleston 1160 sacks of Indian corn, 1125 sacks of wheat, 175 barrels of corn, and 1400 bushels of wheat, and 224 barrels and 220 barrels of lard; the *Columbian*, from New Orleans 5701 sacks and 1884 bags of corn, 1014 barrels of flour, 164 barrels of bacon, and 3 barrels of bread; the *Orpheus*, from Charleston 1160 sacks of Indian corn, 1125 sacks of wheat, 175 barrels of corn, and 1400 bushels of wheat, and 224 barrels and 220 barrels of lard; the *Columbian*, from New Orleans 5701 sacks and 1884 bags of corn, 1014 barrels of flour, 164 barrels of bacon, and 3 barrels of bread; the *Orpheus*, from Charleston 1160 sacks of Indian corn, 1125 sacks of wheat, 175 barrels of corn, and 1400 bushels of wheat, and 224 barrels and 220 barrels of lard; the *Columbian*, from New Orleans 5701 sacks and 1884 bags of corn, 1014 barrels of flour, 164 barrels of bacon, and 3 barrels of bread; the *Orpheus*, from Charleston 1160 sacks of Indian corn, 1125 sacks of wheat, 175 barrels of corn, and 1400 bushels of wheat, and 224 barrels and 220 barrels of lard; the *Columbian*,







### Varieties.

Of all the plays of Shakespeare, Hamlet has excited the most general attention, being one of the chief efforts of that "philosophy of thought" which distinguishes his genius from those of his contemporaries. This drama is more suitable for the closet than the stage, and he who undertakes the character of the young Prince of Denmark has a task to perform of a very perplexing nature; the study of it requires that the actor should arrive at a correct conception of the brilliant imaginings, but an accurate knowledge of the facts of the plot is essential. The commentators upon Shakespeare are differed widely regarding Hamlet's character. There are some who have even maintained that the feigned madness which he assumes, is nothing less than insanity itself; criticism, however, which adopts such an opinion, cannot comprehend that the melancholy and morbid self-doubts of Hamlet are not insanity, but only that cast of disposition peculiar to all men of sombre and profound reflection. A melancholy, resulting from the contemplation of the vices and follies too prevalent in the world, may be deeply seated in the human heart, without indicating any of the symptoms of mental aberration. It is this morbid opinion of the nature of the world, that has exposed the actor to the most perplexing doubts; he falls back upon his own judgment, and hence we witness upon the stage the most varied representations of the Danish prince. At one time, we have an outline too deliberate and formal; at another we find the actor's manner and phrenology result in a wild and the acting is of the Kean. Hamlet throughout is full of deep reflection, and therefore, as it has been justly remarked, there should be no ambiguous appeals to the audience by a studied exaggeration of emphasis or manner; whilst there should be the deportment of the gentleman and scholar, and as little as possible of the clown. To contend with these difficulties and to overcome them will always form a desideratum in the delineation of Hamlet, in the attainment of which, the actor will never fail to elicit from the discerning few the highest estimation. Mr Kirkland, who has lately appeared in the metropolitan theatres, and who, in a walk of tragedy, performed this arduous task at the Strand Theatre, on Friday evening. His youth and figure give identity to the character in respect to external advantage, whilst the rich tones of his voice, modulated by a seeming discretion, exemplify him from the first in the character of Hamlet, in which the acting of some of the most potent tragedians of the day. The chasteness of his action, the good taste and great talent which he displayed, testify that his excellencies in the histrionic art have been the result of close observation. Without entering minutely into Mr Kirkland's merits, we may only say, that none of the scenes in which Hamlet with his mother; the closet scene was admirable; the strains of fervid eloquence; the just and severe reproaches on the conduct of the Queen, with the denunciations of the foul villainy of the murderer of her husband, were delivered with a grand energy, which was seemingly repeated in the feelings of the audience, and which loudly deserved, thunders of applause. The character in all its trying positions was, upon the whole, well sustained; and if Mr Kirkland in the early part of the drama, had exhibited more energy, where Hamlet is agitated by all the conflicting passions which these scenes excite, he would have been more successful. We would have considered his performance a highly finished piece of acting. A deficiency in this respect was evident; and it would have been well had the young aspirant, keeping in view, as he generally did, the excellent advice to the players, not overlooked the words of the poet, "let the actor be as nature," and by so far exceeding a passion to tatter. Let Mr Kirkland, in future, evince by his art those deep emotions of the soul under which Hamlet is contending, even amidst those brilliant effusions of wit and humour in which he indulges, and we shall estimate the performance as an excellent operation of one of the most inimitable of the gods, which the graphic pen of Shakespeare has drawn.

**GOOSEBERRIES AT CHRISTMAS.**—Mr Ralph Main, of North Sunderland, has gooseberries growing in his garden at the present time, the fruit being healthy in appearance and well formed.

**PAUPERISM.**—The total number now in Skibbereen Poor-house and in auxiliary houses, is about 4,230. The house was intended when first built to accom-

supplying them with tins

SONG FOR A CHEAFENER,

The ploughman he follows behind his plough,  
Thinking of his wife and child,  
His wife and his little ones they are now  
All that his heart engage:  
How that his labour may furnish them bread  
He ponders with heavy will;  
When his master behind him follow'd and said,  
'You must work for me cheafener still,'  
'Cheafener is the name of the day,  
No matter how workers are fed;  
They will have cheap things, the people say,  
Though Labour may want his bread.'

The weaver he sat at his dismal loom,  
With working his eyes were red;  
All that he earn'd but paid for his room,  
And his daily bread and bed,  
No clothes could he give his wife and child,  
And his eyeset fall a tear:  
His master came in with an aspect wild,  
'Your wages are all too dear,'  
Cheapsness, &c.

The faw'ry child work'd ten hours a day,  
Straining each weary limb;  
Seldom has he any time to play,  
Childhood is told to him:  
Though his ten hours' work may net him good  
He can eat in the other two,  
The factor he says, in a desperate mood,  
'Those wages will never do,'  
Cheapsness, &c.

The tradesman at back of his counter stands,  
Twisting and turning his hands,  
Disputelling culpable his hands.

He tries, but gains no pill,  
A customer comes and he would look gay,  
Spite of his inward fears ;  
The whole of his profit is chespen'd away,  
His spirit sinks in tears,  
Chespeness, &c.

The wholesale dealer and merchant pursue,  
Their looks are full of care,  
They cast about to discover the cause,  
They have so little to spare ;  
The men who purchase their wares come in :—  
' What have ye cheap to sell ?'  
' Such prices as these are a shame and a sin ;—'  
Their heartiness who can tell  
Chespeness, &c.

All ye who are idle and nought produce,  
It is very well for you,  
To cry ' Chespen the better for every one's use,  
And most of all for me ;'  
But toll and care, for labour and thought,

Slacken and drop and fade,  
If after all they have faithfully wrought,  
They cannot be simply paid,  
Cheapsides, &c.

Men are beginning to slacken this,  
And to look on the other side;  
The general blessing comes to us, alas,  
Which cheapside promised—and was lied;  
The union houses with crowds are stowed;  
For thick and full they stand,  
And Cheapsides lives on the marrow and blood  
Of thousands throughout the land,  
Yet Cheapsides, &c.

Farewell—long and last farewell to 1848. Fare  
well, though a year of heroic deeds and terrible calamities  
—bright hopes and bitter disappointments! The  
seasons have witnessed many a battle for man  
rights 'lost and won'—many a glorious victory suc-  
ceeded by a death-dealing defeat of freedom's cause

less catchers.  
 May the new year be fruitful of happier issues.  
 May the year 1849 witness the completion of the good work commenced in 1848—the good work of mankind's political and social regeneration.  
 To each and to all of our readers we earnestly wish

**BETTER TIMES.**

'Better Times!' said the desolate chieft, as he drained  
 From the clear glowing spring of the cliff.  
 Onward to the future he strode his way remained,  
 And the friends whom his fortunes had left.  
 'Better Times!' — 'tis the hold of each storm-beaten  
 heart,  
 That hopes against hope as it clings;  
 Though the signs of their coming grow faint and dispar-  
 Use the watchword is still—'Better Times!'  
 The young and the fearless, what temples of trust  
 They build on the promise of years!

It may bring them but wrecks—it will bear them  
 dust,  
 As to read the prospect! appears!  
 There are honours to win—the are tones to hear—  
 There are homes beneath leafless lime trees;  
 And some in the future may find them—but ne'er  
 What they dreamed of in those 'better times'!  
 The patriot believes—though the land of his pride,  
 In whose triumphs he trusted, hath found  
 How wisdom grows feeble, and brothers divide,  
 When days of disaster abound;  
 But concord and victory rise to his sight  
 Though the shadows of danger are before,  
 And he to his home his way will find in the light  
 Of those future and far 'better times'!  
 Our friends—have their love grown forgetful and far  
 From the hearts that remember them thus!  
 Let us hear of their well—it will shine like a star  
 Through the clouds that close darker o'er us;  
 We speak of them often; and yet there are names

Never uttered, though heard like fair chimées,  
Of voices that come in the silence of dreams;  
To our love, and their faith, 'better times!'  
Our foes, we have found them, whose fortunes or fears  
Met ours, in the struggle of life;  
And tasted the wormwood, it might be the tears  
That blend with those waters of strife!  
Was the hand armed with hate grasped in friendship of  
old,  
Against tried and true love its crimes—  
Let the olive grow green where the lava hath rolled,  
To our memory and theirs, 'better times,'  
'Better times!'—we have watched for their march to  
begin,  
When the skies were as wintry as now;  
But it may be the world was less weary within,  
And the toll-marks less deep on the brow,  
'Better times!'—we have sought them by wisdom's calm ray;  
We have called them with faith's rav'ning cries:

But they came not, and hope by the watch fire grown grey,  
Yet to each and to all—"better times!"

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HANSARD'S PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES.—Mr. Pennington, in his auction room on Saturday evening, offered for sale *Hansard's Debates*, but no person seemed inclined to purchase them. "Gentlemen," said he, "I'll sell them to you as a horse was sold the other day in England, by the pound." The offer was accepted, and the debates were knocked down at 13s. per lb. "What will they weigh, do you think," said the unfortunate purchaser to the auctioneer. The weight, they guessed, was a considerable amount, was "Ours, too and a half, about 45s. will pay for them."

—Cork Constitution.

RESPECTABLE COMMUNISM.—A HOUSEKEEPING CLUB.—An association of individuals, consisting chiefly of attorney's clerks in government offices, pro-

Professional men, officers on half-pay, &c., is now being effected in the metropolis, to obviate the necessity of purchasing articles of food or other domestic necessaries from the stores. They propose to establish a large and smaller store, managed by servants, on a similar way to the large club houses, with a manager to purchase for the common stock at asaleable and wholesale houses, each member to be supplied at the lowest price. It is calculated that in addition to a large and wholesale article members will effect a saving of 250 per cent. in household expenses. Several numbers of persons have already joined this great club.

At last, North Carolina David Elder was tried on a charge of murder and acquitted by loaded firearms. He was sentenced to fourteen years transportation. Sir George Grey, under all the circumstances of the case, was felt warranted in advising Her Majesty to commute the prisoner's sentence to imprisonment for six months.

On Tuesday the Board of Health received reports of the following new cases which occurred on the 25th and 26th inst. It will be seen that the disease is very active and fatal in Scotland—Linneholm, 1 fatal; St George's, 1 fatal; East, 1; Stamford Hill, 1; Church, 1; Whitechapel, 3; Bowley St Leonard's, 1; Monkswearmouth, 3 fatal; Hamlet Hempstead, 7, 3 fatal; Berwick-upon-Tweed, 1 fatal; Cambridge, 2 fatal; Stowbridge, Downham Market, 1 fatal; Southey, 8 fatal; Edinburgh, 13, 9 fatal; Glasgow, 275, 130 fatal; Maxwellton, and Dumfries, 1 fatal; Glasgow, 1 fatal; Manchester, 7, 1 fatal; Coatbridge, 39, 30 fatal; Kelso, 8, 1 fatal; Renton, Cardross, 2, 1 fatal; Rochester, 1 fatal; Hamilton 1; Clarendonfield, Ruthwell, 2 fatal; Trent 1, fatal. Total new cases, 451. Deaths 258 out of recoveries 203.

On Wednesday the Board of Health made the following report of new cases—Brighton, 1 fatal; Wandsworth, 1 fatal; Bromley, St Leonard's, 1 fatal; Holyhead, 1; Berwick-upon-Tweed, 10, 2 fatal; Haddington (from 18th Nov. to 23rd Dec.) 10 fatal; Moffatt, 2, 1 fatal; Jedburgh, 1; Boness 1 fatal; Dumfries, 1 fatal; Campbellsnort, 1; East Wood (23rd and 26th); 3; Maxwellton, 3 fatal; Oldham (23rd and 26th), 3 fatal; Glasgow, 24, 45 fatal; Huddam (by Ecclefechan), 1 fatal. Total, 169 new cases, 92 deaths.

The deaths in London during last week numbered 1,118, the average being 1,164. The mortality would have been still more under the average but for the comparatively small number of cases in which convalescence during the seven days 110 persons, the average being only 47. The mean temperature was 37°5, or nearly 13 degrees colder than during the previous week. The births were 1,621.

gally. The 12 feet first explosion produced a crater of 14 feet diameter, and the second explosion, which was fired at once from below the attacking force, who rushed to the spot, and with their gabions commenced filling them with earth, for protection from the firing of their foe, whilst a party of sappers and miners were engaged in making an entry for another gallery. The second explosion was scarcely perceptible at the surface. The third explosion, which was fired from the surface, was the most powerful. The mine was fired by Lt.-Col. Stopford for the purpose of destroying the enemy's works. The charge consisted of 80lbs. of powder; the appearance of the column of earth thrown up by this explosion was magnificent, and the vanage ground on the other side of a ditch of 50 feet in width, trembling to the very centre. It is but little to be wondered at that the mine should have been made of 17 by 17 feet, and 3 feet in depth, was quickly taken possession of by the assailants. During the afternoon two other mines of equal magnitude were sprung, neither of which did any material harm to the attacking force, but gave them an advantage in advancing towards the ravine. The attacking force, however, did not stop to take advantage of this, although they had four charged. The operations are kept strictly secret, and one party has not the least knowledge of the others' movements. The works are to be carried on for some time.

A REALLY INDEPENDENT LABOURER.—At a recent meeting of the guardians of the Clebury Workhouse, Haverhill, a report was made by the clerk, that a labourer named Smith had paid £1 6s. 11d. the amount of relief advanced to him whilst unable to work from the dislocation of his arm. The guardians present immediately subscribed the amount and returned it to Tudor, and expressed their admiration of his sterling honesty.

the advocate of Conservatism, and to be called the WIGAN TIMES. A Radical paper is announced for publication at Wakefield, at the commencement of the year, to be called the WAKEFIELD EXAMINER. A journal is announced for publication at Shields; early in January, to be called the NORTH AND SOUTH

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Such is the working of the admirable social 'machine.' The 'Government' is 'a wheel within a wheel' necessary to keep the larger machine going.

The fundamental law of Chartism is to 'Do unto thy fellow-man as thou wouldst he should do unto thee,' that 'Law must be vindicated!'

L'AMI DU PEUPLE.

changes shall be made, and such measures introduced as to enable the working man to live by honest industry instead of becoming a pauper. I believe that the gentlemen in power have done the

let no man put asunder.' Two only, the Bishop Exeter and another, stood against the measure. It is then their conduct—their work—not their religion that I look at. I believe there are some good

and ~~sovere~~ be held, and that Mr Kydd be commu-  
nicated with requesting his attendance; after which  
the meeting was adjourned to Sunday evening  
December 31st.

End who love the Band, but from want of means  
incapable of giving it fair play; the amount spent  
cropping would, I am confident, place them in a fa-  
vourable position to toil on.



missed her pocket-book, w  
Her purse, however, was still

[illegible]

**RETURN OF IRISH POLITICAL REFUGEES.**  
THE LIMERICK CHRONICLE says:—"Mr Daniel Dooley, at present in Constantinople, and who left the country in 1848, has just returned, and is in connexion with some of the political offenders, late returning to the native country, his friends having obtained indication that he will not be amenable to the Hebrew Gergan Act. Mr John O'Donnell, of this city, who for some time past has been endeavouring to have the apprehension a warrant was out, is also expected to be in the country."

**THE POOR LAW AND THE LANDLORDS.**  
The modification of the poor law now engrosses the attention of all classes, especially of the gentry. The ultra section, who had been clamouring for "the repeal of the law, finding no sympathy in the country, has abandoned its attempt to get up an agitation for the repeal of the law, and has been reduced to the position of guardians—those dismissed as well as those in office. It is to take place this day, in Dublin. It has been convened by the guardians of the Kells union, who first declared for a "total change;" but they have since modified their proposal to such alterations in the system as would take the form of taxation, equalise the burden on all, and prevent the ruinous consequences of the present mode of rating.

In the county of Wexford the resident gentry making a struggle to overcome the difficulties of their position, by cutting, in various districts, to extend the influence of their power upon the poorer classes, prisoners and convicts, in order to lessen the burden upon the poor. They are also exerting themselves to procure the system of agricultural improvement and instruction, as introduced by Lord Clarendon. But whilst engaging themselves in these efforts, the Wexford gentry call loudly for amendments in the poor-law.

**THE HOUSE OF PARLIAMENT INQUIRY.**

On Thursday last the usual annual dinner of Queen's County tenantry of the Margaryborough took place at the Court House, at Margaryborough. Mr. R. Price, the agent of the noble marquis, who presided in referring to the operation of the poor-law, made the following statement:—“I have heard, from the highest authority, that the County of Wexford Ministers are determined to appoint a committee; a committee appointed by the House, and that this committee is quite different. That of the House would be a mixed committee of English and Irish representatives, whilst the member could fix upon his own choice of persons to constitute the committee. The result for the revision of the poor-law, has also for the benefit of the country tenantry.”

On the same subject, the DUBLIN EVENING POST writes:—  
“A London correspondent informs us that early in the next session, probably on the first day, Mr. Stansfeld will give notice for the appointment of a committee to inquire into the state of the law relating to the Poor-law Guardians.”

The committee of Irish poor-law guardians appointed at the meeting on Tuesday have forwarded to the secretaries throughout the country propositions for the modification of the poor-law, in accordance with the views set forth in their petition, but more material than any of the suggestions of the Poor-law Commission, is that the workhouse staff and the medical charges should be supported by a national rate; and that the general expense of relief should be met by local rates.

THE IRISH LANDLORD SYSTEM.

A very remarkable statement appears in the EVENING POST, on the relations between the poor and the landlords in Ireland, and in the effect of the system on the whole framework of society. It is contended that no other system of the law can be either beneficial to the general interests of the country, or practical in its operation, which will not have a tendency “to get rid of the great causes of Irish poverty and wretchedness, namely, beggary and crime in the large towns, and pauperism in the remote and fertile good landings; and to place the Irish people in the regular and healthy condition to which they are entitled in the progress of the state, as well as to give them the opportunity of becoming a useful and

Improvement of the condition of the occupiers, requires a complete reform in the system of landlordism in Ireland. A search is drawn between England and Ireland, to show how both the landlord and the tenant have mutually done more to dealing between the landlord and tenant in the letting of farms, the comparison of farm buildings, the allowance for valuation improvements, and, in due, in the entire arrangement between the owner and occupier; the object being to encourage thrift and industry in the tenant, and to induce the landlord to improve his soil, all motive to exertion for independent life. In this system, it is contended, has been to reduce the occupiers to exist upon 'roots and water' and to receive free trade in corn, the poor-law, can be truly said to be designed as a cause for the times which the potato blight has aggravated, and which has been the cause of some present, in reference to the agitation for a change in the poor-laws, as many weeks without rest before this subject will be discussed in all its bearings in Parliament.

"Let us come into the present currency, and instigate a search into 'facts' and 'authorities,' and see if we cannot find a period at which a forcible change took place in the conduct of Irish landlords, but in the times of those of Munster. From 1830 to 1845 we

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"When, therefore, the representatives of a degraded and landless Irish lay their prayers before the Legislature, that they may be enabled to support the laborer from being demoralized, and all classes (that is, all classes) from being ruined, those members of the Legislature, who are really desirous of laying the foundation for the present salubrity and future prosperity of this country, will do all within their power to prevent the alterations in the poor law act of 1834, which would be the cause of the introduction of the same system on the real delinquents, regardless of what their antecedent delinquencies may be to them, and unless all the old prejudices which have blinded, up to this point, our legislators, and rendered them either incapable of recognizing unjust laws, or of opposing them, be destroyed, which the government of Great Britain is determined, are goid of, the good and virtuous members of this assembly, who are the real benefactors of the country, will be many among the Irish landed proprietors, who, along with those dependent on them, will fall victim to the effect of exterminating power tyrants, and, to the injury of all with its people, interests, &c., be sacredly bound to oppose, and pressing in upon the minds of the people, by all the laws of equity, justice and humanity, enforced, the worst examples to the poor and degraded."

**A MANUFACTORY OF GUANO.**—We are favored with the following amusing description extracted from the letter of an English gentleman who has been recently visited an extensive hacienda, in the district of Huano, Chili:—"On approaching the lower part of the estate, near the sea, I was struck by the appearance of a long grove of willow-willows, completely bare of leaves, and of all sorts, every fern in their branches containing snow, even the thick. I counted sixty-seven near the shore, and the complete guano manufactory home; and it is the life of the birds that kills and kills all vegetation for some rods on each side. We walked along the row of nest trees, on which were enclosed many thousands of huge blackish-brown, not moving an inch for us, but keeping a constant grunt, so that, shutting the eyes, you would fancy a crowd of black swans. The ground all along is strewed with bones, some surprisingly large; and on the left side of the plantation were seated a congregation of

vultures, sedately waiting the departure of the morante, to finish the refuse of the fish and of offal which should be left. It was really an extraordinary scene, and I could have watched it hours.'—*Liverpool News*.



TO THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND.

TO THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND.

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