

FRIENDS.—Although leading articles are considered to have more weight than letters having the name of the writer, in consequence of the whimsical importance attached to the pronoun *we*, as if the editor was a corporation, yet, as one of my great works has been to expose the prostitution, the trickery, and whimsicality of the Press, I prefer submitting my thoughts to you in the first person singular, in order that in after time my dissertations upon the Labour Question—the question of questions—may not be attributed, whether wise or foolish, to others.

You know what pleasure it gives me to be able to refer to my old predictions, and to tell you the volume, the page, and the column in which you will find them. I have laboured studiously, zealously, and continuously, to take this Labour Question out of the nutshell in which it has been hitherto confined. I have not limited my strictures upon the subject to Land alone, and its capabilities, or to the application of the mere labour of the agriculturist to the cultivation of the Land, but I have shown you how every grievance, injustice, and hardship you bear, is consequent upon the misuse made of the Land; and I have shown you that every paltry remedy suggested for the correction and mitigation of those several abuses, is consequent upon the misapplication of the Land. No matter whether bastilles at home, or convict ships to transport you abroad; no matter whether punishment for vice, which is a consequence of oppression and misrule; or royal bounty distributed in the shape of prizes, for the best essays upon morality and religion; no matter whether the political remedy be, the Charter or Repeal, Free Trade or Financial Reform; no matter whether the Constitution is to be severely or mildly construed; no matter whether the laws are to be mercifully or tyrannically administered; no matter whether the National Debt, tithes, and taxes are a greater burden in one year than another; no matter what casualties, calamities, and sudden changes come upon you when you are not prepared to meet or resist their approach—I tell you that it matters not the reason, nay, the thousand and one reasons, which metaphysicians and economists would assign for those several vicissitudes, they, one and all, spring from the non-application, and the just and profitable application, of the industry of the country to the resources of the country, and the inequitable distribution of the profits.

Now, pray bear this in mind, and from the picture which I am about to draw, you will at once understand the value of the Charter, and the cause of the deadly hostility manifested towards it by those who understand that labour is applied, the national resources cultivated, and the profits distributed by the rule of self-interest under class legislation; and, as I have a thousand times reminded you, those who possess this monopoly will, of all things, take care that labour, cultivation, and profit shall be measured by the standard of self-interest—that is, if the present expensive system will allow the monopolists of legislation to appropriate a larger proportion of five hundred millions a year, with a heavy debt, for the preservation of peace, the correction of vice, and the suppression of public opinion, than they could appropriate out of a thousand millions a year, with a reign of peace, with no such thing as vice, and with a free expression of opinion, which would but lead to virtue and the correction of evil; in such case the monopolists would much prefer the smaller annual return, with the power of appropriating the larger proportion to their own kindly use.

Now, do not lose sight of this fact, because from it you must come to the conclusion as to the real reason why the rights of Labour are denied by those who make profit of its dependents and destitution. In 1845, when I had made a tour through a large portion of the most important European countries, I told you, on my return in October of that year, that Prussia would be one of the first countries to declare a free Constitution, and Prussia was, at that time, an absolute despotism. Some few weeks ago, I gave you a brief outline of the Prussian Constitution, as it is to be; and I now submit for your perusal, the Address of the Chairman of the Conservative Central Committee of Berlin, the capital of Prussia. Here follows this address. It is printed in large type, as it deserves, and should be printed in letters of gold. I hope every working man will read it to his family—that he will preserve it, and get it by heart—and that it will be read aloud at the several meetings where the "Star" is read, and that it will be read distinctly. Mr. Harkort, in his address to the electors of Berlin, says:—

"Whatever falsehoods the evil-disposed may have circulated, the King has effected great changes for your benefit. I will enumerate some of them. A law has been published abolishing a number of dues and taxes; all processes and suits respecting the regulation of landed properties and peasant holders are suspended; hunting is no longer an exclusive privilege; a loan fund for making advances to the amount of 1,000,000 thalers has been formed; 370,000 thalers were distributed among the destitute inhabitants of Silesia; another million of thalers was appropriated to the employment of labourers out of work, and still more would have been done had not the disturbances in Berlin absorbed the funds reserved for the purpose. As soon as the leases of the farms on the Royal domains expire it is intended, according to circumstances, to divide them into smaller peasant holdings, so that, at a moderate rent, industrious cultivators will be enabled to earn a subsistence. The idle quarrels and disputes of the National Assembly cost the country 300,000 thalers, and these men, so ready to mark the mote in others' eyes with the beam of refusing the payment of taxes in their own, would have brought both the country and the people to ruin. But at last the King intervened, and, like a man who considers his word inviolable, gave as the free Constitution in Europe. This is not the place to dwell on all the Constitution contains, but some of the chief points I will bring under your notice.

All Prussians are equal before the laws; the right of patronage in the Church is abolished, and you will elect your own pastors. Children will in future receive gratuitous instruction, and the communes will select the teachers. The privileged private jurisdictions and the domain police are abolished without recompense; all the rights of property in land are to be freely exercised. The communes will regulate the local affairs by their own representatives, and even have the control over local police. You delegates will have to be elected in the provincial and district councils, and in the First and Second Chambers. If your affairs do not improve now it is your own fault. Above all things choose honest and respectable electors and deputies. Have nothing to do with criers aloud in the market-place, or with breakers of the law, but with steady men who manage their own affairs well and quietly, who possess sound common sense, and who do not demand all things with injustice, and therefore obtain nothing. Take heart and courage, and put the following questions direct to the candidates:—Are you true to the King? Are you satisfied with the constitution, or would you renew the old unhappy contest? Can you conscientiously distinguish between 'mine' and 'thine,' and do you know the commandment, 'Thou shalt not covet or desire other men's goods?' Are you a tax refuser, or do you look at the tumbrels at Berlin. The training of the artillery foundry cost the country 2,000,000 thalers; the King paid to redeem pledges of small value 400,000 thalers; the savings-banks received an advance of 200,000 thalers; the establishment of the constabulary cost 200,000 thalers; 1,700,000 thalers were distributed among unemployed workmen; the calling out the Landwehr, and putting the army on a war footing, to protect life and property and uphold the authority of the laws, cost 2,000,000 thalers—in all a sum of six millions and half, to be paid by the honest and industrious classes, while worthless vagabonds and lawless under foot. For this amount 6,500 peasant holdings might have been purchased and apportioned

to hardworking occupiers. The Democrats make no such calculations as this, but they point out to you the destruction of all order, human and divine, and the establishment of an equality like that which exists among a band of thieves. My friends, make use of your reason for a moment; in the last National Assembly there were returned 121 advocates and judges, 53 clergymen, 25 teachers, 61 councillors, (not the) and officials, in all 260, while there were only 57 landed proprietors in the whole Assembly; for every cultivator of the land there were five who lived at his expense, and you wonder still that you are poorer than you were before the revolution. Just reverse this state of things; elect five landowners or farmers to one lawyer, and even then there will be more than enough of these hair-splitting to blow the alarm of fire at every act of the Government; but you will never find them stand in to work the engines. They are fit for nothing but candidates for livings, for presidencies, and other posts that may gain them a living; he who must take care of himself has no time to take care of you. A good choice at the election is the main thing; therefore chalk all prayers and speeches out of the list."

Let the reader understand that Prussia boasts of being the purest Protestant State in Europe—that the feudal system, up to the present time, has existed there in its fullest vigour—and let him glean the fact, from the above address, that these feudal barbarisms are not only to be totally destroyed, but that the royal domains are to be divided into PEASANT HOLDINGS. Let him further observe, how local power is to be locally distributed and exercised, and that the local mind is to flow into the great reservoir of representation; but, above all, and before all, let the revilers of the Land Plan see Prussia's future condition in the outline contained in the most spiced morsel with which the electioneering trap is baited.

The candidate tells us, that 6,500,000 thalers, uselessly expended upon excitement and unproductive labour, would have located 65,000 hard-working occupiers upon their PEASANT HOLDINGS. What will the reader say when he finds Prussia—despotic Prussia—not only adopting our Chartist creed, but also expounding its value by the proposed realisation of our social object—the location of the poor upon the land of their birth? Will not my dupes suppose that this Mr. Harkort has been taking a leaf from our book, and is about to base his social and political claim to support upon our Charter and our Land Plan? A thaler is a fraction less than three shillings, and 6,500,000 thalers is nine hundred and seventy-five thousand pounds; and if you divide 6,500—the number to be located—into that, you will find that it leaves one hundred and fifty pounds assigned to the location of each—while, with bonus, I estimate the average cost of two, three, and four-acre men at 200; so that, if you take the cheapness of Prussian labour and materials into consideration, you will find that Mr. Harkort, the Conservative Candidate, assumes as large a standard of expenditure as I.

Now, then, is this infant of ours longer to be confined within the narrow limits of Hertfordshire, Gloucestershire, Worestershire, and Oxfordshire, or is it not rather likely to extend its influence, and spread its growth over the whole face of earth—ay, even to the plains of Poland and the fields of Russia? for, depend upon it, that, before the year 1850 comes, upon us all the revolutions of the year 1848 will be but as child's play compared with the scenes that will take place in Russia, where the confiding Autocrat is now pompously marshalling his universal King-preserving army.

Thank God, I have been the first to exhibit this little baling, and, thank God that, ere long, all will be obliged to follow in its track, and it is the precursor, not to European, but to universal peace, prosperity, contentment, and virtue. Then again, think of the Prussian Constitution allowing the flock to elect its own shepherd, and administering education gratuitously to every child in the State! Give me that Constitution with a king—ay, any king—at its head, a thousand times—ay, a million times before the bag of French moonshine, with a special constable at its head. But after the account given by Mr. Harkort of the elements of which the recent Assembly was composed, you wonder at the disasters that followed? In describing the position of these candidates for livings, for presidencies, and other posts, the writer graphically describes their patriotism in the following words:—"HE WHO MUST TAKE CARE OF HIMSELF HAS NO TIME TO TAKE CARE OF YOU."

Now, was ever a more true, a more graphic, or a more powerful description given of their position, and of your position. What did these persons and their nest of LEGAL LOCUSTS care for the condition of the poor man? Does it not remind you of the exuberant enthusiasm of the Free Trade Methodist parsons, when they showed you the big loaf at the top of the pole? and will it not convince you of the truth of what I have often asserted—that the greatest pests, the greatest tools, and the greatest mercenaries in the House of Commons, were those of the legal profession?

So much at present for the Prussian view, or rather adoption of the Charter and Land Plan; and as I have often told you, that the folly of to-day is the wisdom of to-morrow, I shall now call your attention to the condition of Ireland, and the simple remedy that I proposed in Parliament in the year 1833, and have since impressed upon the public mind for the correction of every Irish abuse.

My friends, you must understand, and you must think, too, and reflect—that the newspaper, whatever politics it professes to advocate, has ever published one single comment of mine upon the Labour Question, while one and all will greedily grasp at the ridiculous romance and Utopian schemes of N.Y., G.N., &c., &c., all the while that the slightest fact can furnish to the scribbling corps of fools.

Travelers ride or drive through a country, and they draw their notions of its capabilities from the landscape or marine view, and they imbibe their national notions from the champagne, the claret, and whisky punch of their host; while their religious crochets are supplied by the spiritual staff officer of the conquering army. They do not converse with the farmer—sit in the hovel of the peasant—or gather their knowledge from the labourer in the field; whereas, I have gleaned my knowledge of Labour and of society from all classes from the tinselled peer to the ragged beggar. You may rest assured that the "Times" Commissioner, who slept with the calf at Cahirslee, did not demean himself by scraping an acquaintance with the peasant class. His object was either to justify Ministerial neglect, or to establish Ministerial, or, indeed, human incapacity to deal with the great Irish difficulty; and his reward was to be what it has been—a lucrative situation. With so much of a reward I now invite your closest attention to the following disclosures made by Mr. Chas. Colthurst, not as to the possibilities or probabilities, but as to the facility of regenerating Ireland; and then I shall proudly call your attention, not to a single volume, a single page, or a single column of the old book of prophecies—the much-reviled "Star"—but I shall call your attention to nearly every number of that paper in which the state of Ireland has been discussed—to the "Labourer"—to my work on "Small Farms"—to my "Letters to

the Irish Landlords," and to my motions and speeches in the House of Commons.

My dear friends, read every word of the following admirable letter, not predicting what may be, but faithfully narrating what has been; and mind, it treats of Ireland; and that Irish poverty and destitution is, not only the English minister's great difficulty, but is likewise the English toilers' great enemy. Here follows the correspondence:—

In the year 1816, the late Sir Nicholas Colthurst, of Ardrara, got possession of his Kerry estate, (the lease to Mr. Yielding having expired), I, as agent, got directions from Sir Nicholas not to make any permanent letting of the estate, and you wonder still that you are poorer than you were before the revolution. Just reverse this state of things; elect five landowners or farmers to one lawyer, and even then there will be more than enough of these hair-splitting to blow the alarm of fire at every act of the Government; but you will never find them stand in to work the engines. They are fit for nothing but candidates for livings, for presidencies, and other posts that may gain them a living; he who must take care of himself has no time to take care of you. A good choice at the election is the main thing; therefore chalk all prayers and speeches out of the list."

I proceeded at once to Kerry with Mr. Forster, a surveyor, divided the estate into convenient lots, marking roads, &c., &c., upon a map, put up an advertisement, and the consequence was, that in a fortnight I let the entire estate for £1,350 Irish currency, binding each tenant to lay out a certain sum in permanent improvements, and the consequence has been, that from the year 1816 to this year, 1848, this rental has been paid by tenants; a half has never distended a tenant, an agent has never had occasion to visit the property, except to admire the vast improvement that has taken place, and that without one shilling loss to the proprietor, Sir Nicholas, by his merely having given a lease in perpetuity, and the great result as regards the country at large, is that a sum of at least £40,000 has been laid out in affording vast employment, and of course lessening the pauper-rate. Now I come to the great advantage to the proprietor:—

Upon an ordinary lease, say of thirty-one years, he would not have got out of the estate more than £200 Irish currency a year; upon a perpetuity he receives at least £200 a year more, and if any man will take the trouble to calculate this additional sum of £200 for thirty-one years, he will find the case stands thus:—

Suppose you calculate the £500 a year Sir Nicholas and Sir George Colthurst have got from March, 1816, to the year 1848 (32 years), the gross sum would be £16,000, but if you add interest and compound interest, it would be £25,000; and if you add the £200 a year, which it is invested at 5 per cent., the gross sum made by this perpetuity lease over and above a thirty-one years' lease would be over £30,000—in fact, a sum that would nearly purchase the fee simple of the estate; and the most glaring fact of all, that a law agent is unnecessary, and if you add interest and compound interest, it would be £25,000; and if you add the £200 a year, which it is invested at 5 per cent., the gross sum made by this perpetuity lease over and above a thirty-one years' lease would be over £30,000—in fact, a sum that would nearly purchase the fee simple of the estate; and the most glaring fact of all, that a law agent is unnecessary, and if you add interest and compound interest, it would be £25,000; and if you add the £200 a year, which it is invested at 5 per cent., the gross sum made by this perpetuity lease over and above a thirty-one years' lease would be over £30,000—in fact, a sum that would nearly purchase the fee simple of the estate; 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TO THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND

I must imagine that the people of all other nations have become worshippers of the same idol, and have insanely abandoned the wise and Christian system of endeavouring, as far as possible, to supply their wants with their own productions, exchanging only their surplus produce for that which they most required; of

other nations.

I must also suppose that each Government has determined to abandon every tax on imports and exports, together with all excise and other duties, and, in fact, in any way, between the buyer and the seller.

I am, in fact, to assume, that 'free selling, as well as free buying, or Free Trade, fully and fairly carried out,' is in universal operation; it being now the avowed object of the people of every nation to make themselves rich by the sale of their productions to other people;—and, by this means, to be enabled to buy of others, and to have every interference between buyer and seller is madness, and that the only safe and sure method of 'protecting native industry' is everywhere subjecting it to the keenest foreign competition.

While those whose duty it is are devising new and

better modes of supplying their common needs, for the expenses of their different governments. I am, if I can, to ascertain the effects that will follow from universal control on 'a class state,' where there is 'no favoritism to discover, if possible, how by such means, profitable and constant employment can be found for all the people.

The whole truth is the stage on which this tragedy will be performed. The seal or woe of the whole race of mankind is the stake in this game!

The contemplation of the immense and universal changes that must, for many years, pass over the prospects and conditions of every class of people and nation is perplexing and distracting.

Corruption is no longer curbed! He is emanci-

patet; and, unrestrained, ascends his triumphal car, to propagate throughout the globe the worship of 'the god 'Chesnepest'!'—to sacrifice life, honour, truth, at his shrine! Under his banner are ranged the greedy; thirsty, worshippers of wealth, resolved at all hazards, by cheapening labour everywhere, to enrich themselves!

Emulation and strife—the destroyers of peace and happiness—are let loose upon mankind! The universal contest for pre-eminence is unceasingly maintained! Wealth and power are sought for, cheap-

I will not assy to describe the horrors of that field of universal waste and slaughter; nor will I pretend to name the conqueror:

I am content to ask—Who will reap the benefit of

those incalculable losses and innumerable human sacrifices? Will the labourers be the gainers in that victory? Will the masses of necessity be forced to a starvation limit? Will the farmers gain by that conquest? Their produce must be at the lowest point. Will the landlords be the reapers in that harvest? When 'Chapeens' has done her work, rents will be nominal. The wages of the workmen will be nominal. The wages of the work-keepers, must, under that pressure, be reduced to the bankrupt standard!

Fellow-Countrymen!—In that war none can gain, save a very few merchants of enormous wealth, and those persons will not multiply in income. But it is to be imagined that the masses will undergo devastation, security can be maintained! What then? Should nature rebel against the tyranny of 'Chapeens,' those few who fancy that they are secured from every risk would be overwhelmed as nations are by a terrible reaction, the natural result of their extortion!

What boots it, then, should England prove the cen-

queror ? Her sons would be enfeebled and impoverished ! She would become a land of sterile barrenness !

She could not maintain her ascendancy, both in agriculture and manufacture. Where, then, would be the promised increase in the produce of her fields ? Her soil would be uncultivated, because, from foreign lands, the food of man could be procured at a 'cheaper' rate. The surface of our country would be dotted and blackened with manufactories ! And

you, my fellow countrymen, would universally seek employment in mines, and pits, and furnaces, and mills, subject to the endless changes wrought by unceasing competition—now one trade being 'all the go', and then another—forcing you to change your home and crafts, and migrate from district to district as 'Cheapness' led the way! You would depend for food on foreigners, consoled by the reflection, 'Egg-

Should England chance to lose the game, how then? Her wealth would be destroyed, her fields neglected, her mills and warehouses dismantled! She would be reduced to second childhood—imbecile and weak—an easy prey to her successful rivals! Soon she would be numbered one of their tributaries!

In sober seriousness I ask my fellow-countrymen, Is it wise or safe to enter on a game where gain is

Have I mistaken the progress and effects of rampant competition? Let it be shown. Words, in my opinion, are too weak to give the full description of the deaths, disorders, losses, and derangements that must universally follow when the greedy worshippers of 'Cheapsness' are let loose upon mankind. Language cannot describe the fall of those mighty and multitudinous interests that will be engaged in mortal conflict for existence when 'free selling as well as free buying' is made the law.

In England, as elsewhere, every branch of manufacture and agriculture, with the hundreds of millions of persons and the thousands of millions of capital engaged therein, must be subjected to perpetual fluctuation. Each counting house would imbibе the restless, agonising spirit of the Stock Exchange! The breasts of employers and shopkeepers would be tortured and racked between the

perpetual flickerings of hope, fear, and despair! The workpeople could never calculate their earnings or the certainty or nature of their employments—they would necessarily become reckless and imprudent—uncertainty and anxiety would drive them to distraction! In fact, the minds of all would be as 'stretched on tenter hooks'—life would become a burden—the grave, man's sole repose. But, 'in those days shall men seek death, and shall not find it; and shall desire to die, and death shall flee from them.'

Our manufacturing towns—Birmingham, Bradford, Coventry, Glasgow, Hanley, Huddersfield, Leeds, Leicester, Manchester, Northampton, Norwich, Nottingham, Sheffield, Worcester, and other places, would change their manufactures, inhabitants, prices, and wages, at the bidding of their foreign rivals. Those, again, being, in their turn, depressed and changed by the spirit of English mastership, desperately struggling for ascendancy; each, weak-

Do you imagine that manufacturers and tradesmen will cease to operate when losses overbalance profits? Then are you ignorant of the effects upon the human mind of unrestrained competition. Thereby man is goaded to madness; he forgets the tradesman's feelings and habits, and unconsciously becomes a reckless gambler, willing to risk his

Hitherto I have failed to discover the benefits promised as the result of Mr W. Rand's third and last remedy. In my next, for want of room in this, I will resume my search.

Meantime, fellow-countrymen, try to solve this problem. "Buy at the cheapest market," say our Free-trade wisecracks. Ireland has done her labour is surely as cheap as Midas himself could wish to buy it. "Sell at the dearest."

Free-trade philosophers. Ireland has done so; England is her nearest market, and has been the 'dearest' in the world. 'And you will be rich!' cry our Free-trade prophets. Ireland is poor! How so! Let the Free-traders tell.

I remain, Fellow-Countrymen,
A friend of fair wages and profits all over the world,
Fulham, Middlesex.

RICHARD CASTLE.

A LUCKY PURCHASE.—At the recent sale of the effects of the late Rev. Miles Barton, of Hoole among other articles, an antique chest was purchased by the Rev. Mr Price, of Longton, to whose residence it was removed. On examining the interior narrowly, Mr Price was surprised by finding secrets therein, the sum of £240 which had evidently reposed in security for a long series of years. The treasure was immediately returned to the heirs.

CAMPBELL'S CHOP-HOUSE SCHEME.—'I once projected a club (said Campbell, the poet, to a friend on the most frugal plan that could be devised consistent with respectability. I made a round of the London eating-houses—not as an amateur of eatir but as a student of prandiary statistics. I speak of these places as confidently as the Indian could speak of the Bishop. 'Had he known'

But how did you happen to know him? 'I ate
pieces of him—' en ai manao!

Poetry.

BEAUTIES OF BYRON.

SECOND SERIES.

We commence our second series of selections from the writings of BYRON, by reprinting the following extracts from the beautiful

"ODE TO NAPOLEON BONAPARTE," (1)
(Recommended to the serious consideration of hero-worshippers, glory-mongers, and would-be imitators of the "battered Cæsar," particularly Monsieur, the Prince-President of the French Republic.)

"This done—yesterday a King!
And am I with the world to strive—
And now thou art a thousand things:
So object—yet alive!
Is this the man of countless thrones,
Who strew'd our earth with hostile bones,
And can he thus survive?
Since he, amidst the Morning Star,
Nor man nor fiend hath fallen so far.

Ill-mind'd man! why choose thy kind
Who bow'd so low the knee?
By gazing on thyself, grow blind,
Thou taught'st the rest to do so;
With might unquestion'd—power to save—
Thine only gift hath been the grave,
To those that worshipp'd thee;
Nor wilt thy fall could mortals grieve
Ambition's less than littleness!

Thanks for that lesson—it will teach
To other warriors more,
Than high Philosophy can preach,
And vainly preach'd before,
That spell upon the minds of men
Breaks never to unite again,
That led them to adore
Those Pagod things of sabre-swept,
With fronts of brass, and feet of clay." (2)

The triumph, and the vanity,
The capture of the strife
The earthquake voice of Victory,
To thee the breath of life,
The sword, the sceptre, and that sway
Which man seem'd to feel to obey,
Wherewith ruin was his life—
All quell'd! Dark Spirit! what must be
Thine madness of thy memory!

The Desolator desolate!
The Victor overthrown!
The Arbitrator of fate!
A Suppliant for his own!
In some yet imperious hope,
That with such change can calmly cope?
Or dread of death alone!
To die a prince—or live a slave—
Thy choice to most ignominious slave!

He who of old would rend the oak,
Dream'd not of the rebound;
Chas'd by the trunk he vainly broke—
Alone—how look'd he round?
Thou, in the sternness of thy strength,
An equal deed has done as length,
But darker doom than death was thine;
He fell, the forest prowl'd his prey;
But thou must eat thy heart away!

The Roman, (3) when his burning heart
Was slaked with blood of Rome,
Threw down the dagger—dared depart,
In savage grandeur, home—
He dared depart in utter scorn
Of men that such a yoke had borne,
Yet left him such a doom!
Only glory and the sword
Of self-achieved abandoned power.

The Spaniard when the last of away
He lost his life in the last of away,
Cast roars for roars away,
An empire for a cell;
A strict accountant of his beads
A subtle disputant on creeds,
His dotage trifled with; (4)
Yet better had he neither known
A bigot's shrine, nor despoil'd throne.

But thou—from thy reluctant hand
The thunderbolt is wrung—
Too late thou leav'st the high command
To which thy weakness would be strong;
All that is left is to be strong;
It is enough to give the heart
To see thee own unstrung;
To think that God's fair world hath been
The footstool of a thing so mean;

And Earth hath spill'd her blood for him,
Who thus can hoard his own!
And monarchs bow'd the trembling limb,
And thank'd him for a throne;
Yet Freedom! was it not his dear,
When thus thy mightiest foes their fear
In humblest guise have shown,
Oh! never may tyrant leave behind
A brighter name to lure mankind! (5)

Thine evil deeds are writ in fire—
Nor written thus in vain—
Thy trophies tell of fate no more,
Or deepen every stain:
If thou hadst died as honour dies
Some new Napoleon might arise,
To shame the world again,
But who would soar the solar height,
To set such a starless night?

Weight'd in the balance here dust,
In vile as vulgar gear;
Thy soul, Mortality! is just
To all that pass away:
But yet thou thought'st the living great
Some higher spark should animate,
To dazzle and dismay:
Thine doom! Contented couldst thou make
With the conquerors of the earth.

There was a day—there was an hour,
While earth was Gaul's—Gaul thine—
When that immeasurable power
Unstated to reign
Had been an act of pure fame,
Then gather round the conqueror's name,
And glided the decline,
Through the long twilight of all time,
Despite some passing clouds of crime,
But don't thou deem that to be a king,
And don't thou deem that to be a king,
As if that foolish robe could bring
Remembrance from thy breast,
Where is that faded garment? where
The gawds that wert fond to wear,
The stars—where are the stars?
Yield toward child of empire! say
Are all thy playthings snatched away?

Where may the weary eye repose,
When gazing on the great;
Where neither guilty glory glows,
Nor deplorable state?
Yes—once—the first—the last—the best—
The Cincinnatus of the West,
Whom envy dare not hate,
Dreaded the name of Washington,
To make men blush their own best!

(1) Written on the occasion of the abdication of the Emperor Napoleon at Fontainebleau, in April, 1814.
(2) Byron was present at the proclamation of the restoration of popular rule; witness the recent election of the nephew of my uncle to the presidency of the French Republic.—Ed. N. S.

(3) SYLLA. (4) Charles the Fifth.
(5) The name of the "battered Cæsar" is yet a lure for too many fools.—Ed. N. S.

Reviews.

Corindale, a Poem, in Six Cantos; and other Poems. By William Comyn. London: Simpkin and Marshall.

This is the production of a working man, one of the toilers at the last and not a trade so fertile in examples of genius. The author is young, and his volume is his first essay: perfection in the structure of his verse, therefore, cannot be expected. His rhymes are chiefly estimable on account of the liberty that they breathe, and in proof thereof give that the spirit of freedom is abroad with them in an increasing number among the children of Adam. We extract three stanzas from one of his best poems, as a specimen of his powers.

THE FAULKNER.
See! who is this? unfeeling, slow,
A staff supports his frame;
His silver locks lie flat and fro,
A paper is his name.

With features wan, and palid gait,
What cares does he endure;
See he enters yonder gate—
Taps at the porter's door.

As through the streets the paper goes,
Athwart the busy throng,
Zest will the subject paper know,
For every is a dog.

The coat he wears, all fly the loath,
As pregnant with disease;
Alas! this human nature's snare,
But glittering gold can please.

A burden to his race he is,
And to himself his life;
His fondness with the world he might be
Buried by his wife.

But even that will be denied,
His useful days are o'er,
If he but lives, that is enough,
He must expect no more.

The History of Ireland. By Thomas Wright, M.A., F.R.S., &c. Part V. London: J. and T. Talbot, 100, St. John Street.

The fifth part of this ably-written work brings the history of Ireland down to the commencement of the reign of Henry V. The leading features of the sad story are still the same—oppression on the part of the strong, division on the part of the weak. The details of slaughter, rapine, treachery, and every possible crime are painfully overwhelming. The feuds of the Anglo-Irish barons added to the horrors of the times, and the Geraldines, the De Burghs, the De Lacys, and the other lords of the Pale, appear to have acted with a degree of villany towards each other not at all inferior to the atrocity of their common conduct towards the original Irish. Plunder, massacre, assassination, and violence of every kind, appear to have been the unceasing pursuits of these voracious specimens of "the age of chivalry." These worthless were in the habit of even setting the English government at defiance, and usually with impunity. Not always so, however, for in 1331 the Lord William de Bermingham, "was publicly hanged at Dublin." It is to be regretted that one monopolised what was so well deserved by all—the gallows.

It affords us pleasure to testify to the impartial character of this history—so far as the work has yet progressed. We must not omit to add our testimony to the ability which the historian exhibits in every page of his striking narrative.

The Reformer. Parts XXXI., XXXII. London: J. Watson, 3, Queen's Head Passage, Paternoster Row.

These Parts of the Reformer contains a number of valuable articles—historical, political, polemical, and critical worthy the perusal and reflection of those who desire to read that they may think, and thinking be the better armed for acting in that great struggle which at present divides society into opposing forces—the struggle of progress against conservatism. A thinking people could never be enslaved—an enslaved people learning to think would soon terminate their bondage.

"His mind alone,
Worth steel and stone,
That keeps men free for ever
From the ordinary interesting." The Character of Robespierre, as drawn by Cabot, tempts quotation, but want of space forbids.

The Family Herald. Parts LXVI., LXVII., LXVIII. London: G. Biggs, 421, Strand.

Our oft-expressed approval of the general contents of this publication we may conscientiously repeat, but we should be sorry to stand god-father to some of the queer notions set forth by the editorial oracle. For instance, in the "Answers to Correspondents" in No. 286, we see the London police lauded as efficient, brave, well-deserving their pay, and all the good that is said of them. All London is aware that the force in question is as renowned for its brutality, as for its bravery. Of course political scribes will deserve their pay!

Amongst the miscellaneous and selected matter of the numbers before us, we find the following, extracted from the Dublin University Magazine:—

AN ODE OF HAPIZ.
I can't but think you much in the wrong, prophet,
When you cursed the wine and the wine grape's juice;
Trust me, 'tis the short and the long of it—
"Beeching pleasant has its use."
This is as true as the Koran—
I will maintain it against a host;
The sage of Mecca, with all his lore, ran
Here his wife's head against a post.

Great, undoubtedly, was Mohammed's
Great in all his divine affairs,
But the man who banished god and man, said
More, believe me, than his prayers.
Both suit most tastes—I don't verily take on
To which you would have me run;
But I almost think to save my skin,
I'd go the whole hog, and give up to wine!

A History of Gloucester, and a Descriptive Account of the same City and its Suburbs. Gloucester: F. Bond, Exgate Street.

Visitors to the ancient and famous city of Gloucester will find this little book a useful companion. A brief sketch of the rise, progress, and vicissitudes of the city from the Roman invasion to the present time, precedes a description of the streets, public buildings, the cathedral, and other structures devoted to religious service, the port, railways, &c., &c. The work is embellished with two well-executed engravings, one giving a general view of the city, and the other a view of the magnificent cathedral.

THE NORTHERN COUNTRIES ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY YEARS SINCE.—A large part of the country beyond Trent was, down to the eighteenth century, in a state of barbarism. Physical and moral causes had occurred to prevent civilisation from spreading to that region. The soil was a great, the soil was generally such as required skill and industrious cultivation; and there could be little skill or industry in a tract which was often the theatre of war, and which, even when there was nominal peace, was constantly desolated by bands of Scottish marauders. Before the union of the two British crowns, and long after that union, there was no great, the soil was generally such as required skill and industrious cultivation; and there could be little skill or industry in a tract which was often the theatre of war, and which, even when there was nominal peace, was constantly desolated by bands of Scottish marauders.

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THE PRESIDENT OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC ON THE 'EXTINCTION OF PAUPERISM.'

Some time in the year 1847, we reviewed a small publication issued by Mr. Cleave, 1, Shoe Lane, Fleet Street, entitled 'Extinction of Pauperism, by Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte.' Although never failing to remember the injunction: 'put not your trust in princes,' we nevertheless felt ourselves constrained to express general approbation of the work in question. It was when a prisoner at Ham, that Louis Napoleon was down his thoughts on the condition of the people—their sufferings—and the remedy for those sufferings. 'Sweet are the uses of adversity!' When a prisoner, Louis Napoleon felt with and for the people. But does the same feeling move him now that he is President of the Republic? We shall see long soon. For ourselves we confess we have no faith in the intentions of the President. His choice of ministers and other officials, tells a tale not to be misunderstood by men possessing common sense. Moreover, has he not Trezars for his principal adviser behind the scenes? So rumour asserts, and neither himself nor his friends have contradicted the report. With such an arkive at his elbow it will be impossible for him to act well, if ever so well-intended. But after all we may find ourselves mistaken. Time will tell.

In the meantime, it will be well to recall the published views of Louis Napoleon on the Labour Question. With this view we reprint the following extracts from the work above named, at the same time recommending our readers to purchase the work itself.

THE EXISTING SYSTEM CONDEMNED.
The wealth of a country depends upon the property of agriculture and industry, the development of commerce at home and abroad, and a just and equitable distribution of the revenue. There is not one of these different elements of prosperity which is not undermined in France by an organic defect, the source of which is acknowledged to be the law only in regard to the remedy to be applied.

Labour, the source of all wealth, has neither system, organisation, nor aim. It is like a machine working without a regulator, and totally unconcerned about its moving power. Cruising between its wheels alike men and matter, it deplores the poverty, crowds the population into narrow spaces without air, enfeebles both mind and body, and finally, casts into the street, when it no longer requires them, those men who, to gain something, have sacrificed strength, youth, and existence. Like a veritable Saturn, manufacturing industry devours its children, and lives but upon their destruction.

Home commerce suffers, because industry produces too much in comparison with the slender requital it gives to the producers; whilst agriculture does not produce sufficient. The nation is thus composed of producers who cannot sell, and of famished consumers who cannot buy. This loss of balance causes the government to be a government of debt, and to be in search of some thousands of consumers, whilst there are millions of French, or English, who are stripped of everything, and who, if they could purchase sufficient food and clothing, would create a vast and useful movement much more considerable than that caused by the manufacturing trades.

What should be done? Here it is. Our law of equality relative to the division of property ruins agriculture. This inconviction must be remedied by association, which, by employing every idle arm, shall create great wealth, and increase cultivation, without causing any disadvantage to the political principles. Manufacturing industry, on the other hand, draws the population into towns, and enervates them. We must recall those into fields, who are too numerous in towns, and invigorate their minds and bodies in the country.

To accomplish a project so worthy of the democratic and philanthropic spirit of our age, so necessary for the general well-being, and so useful to the repose of society, three things are necessary:—1st, a law. 2nd, The advancement of funds from the budget. 3rd, Organisation.

1st. Law.—There are in France, according to official agricultural statistics, 1,500,000 acres of uncultivated lands belonging to government, to boroughs, or individuals. These heaths, commons, or pastures lands, yield a very small rent of eight francs an acre. They are like sunk capital benefiting no one. Let the Chambers decree that all these uncultivated lands shall belong in right to the working association, proprietors the same, and the land to be cultivated.

Let them then be divided into lots, and let the lots be sold to the working association, proprietors the same, and the land to be cultivated. Let them then be divided into lots, and let the lots be sold to the working association, proprietors the same, and the land to be cultivated.

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they had to perform, they would be compelled to set an example of good conduct. According to this plan, every ten of the workmen would contain within themselves the germ of perfection.

The question of giving an impulse to the mass, of enlightening them of appealing to them, and of causing them to act, is found to rest simply in the relation which one bears to ten.

Suppose there are twenty-five millions of men, who exist by labour alone, there would be two millions of managers or intermediaries agents, to whom they could appeal with greater confidence, because they participate at once in the interests of those who obey, as well as of those who command.

These managers would be divided into two classes. The first would belong to private industry; the second would belong to the agricultural establishments. And, we repeat, this different mission would be the result of the right of direct election by all the working classes.

Let us suppose that the three preceding measures have been adopted. The twenty-five millions of actual workmen have their representatives, and the four millions of agricultural agents of France in their property, supporting way did, as they most assuredly would in the end, purchase the actual proprietorship.

In each department of France, and in the first instance, wherever the uncultivated lands were, agricultural colonies would be established, offering food, education, religious instruction, and work to all who required them; and God knows the number is great in France.

The managers of these colonies would be in proportion of one to ten, as in private business. Above the managers there would be directors, whose duties would be to teach agriculture. These directors would be elected by the workmen and managers combined.

Before they were eligible they would require to produce proof of a practical knowledge of agriculture. Finally, above the directors, managers, and workers, there would be a governing body, and this would be nominated by the united directors and managers.

The administration would be composed of the governor, one-third of the directors, and two-thirds of the managers. A severe discipline would reign over these colonies. Life would there be salutary but rough, for their object is not to hatch idlers, but to ennoble men by

THE CHARGE OF ARSON AT LIVERPOOL.—On Friday week W. C. Doyle—who had been remanded on

penetrating the grating from a back window, to secure a glimpse which two strong bars of wood were employed to prevent. The name of the man found in the shop is Peter Doherty. He is well known to the police.

THE LATE MURDER AT TAPHOUSE.—The adjourned inquest on Mrs. Holman, was held on Tuesday last at the merchant's Red Lion Inn, before Mr. F. Leigh. No more evidence was produced, except that a sum of money, much larger than it was believed by her friends Mrs. Holman ever kept in her house was discovered some

the court would deal leniently with him. — The record after referring to the systematic manner of the robberies, and the station the prisoner held in society, was an aggravation of the offense, then sentenced him one week's imprisonment for the first offense, and for the second, transportation for seven years. — The prisoner was very much affected on hearing the last sentence.

MANCHESTER. — SHOCKING MURDER OF A WIFE BY HER HUSBAND. — Shortly before ten o'clock on Tuesday morning a man, habited in the livery of a gentleman's servant, called at the Town Hall, and requested to see the mayor.

Monday. (Kashan).
Alderman Koshan: Instead of being buried in the tomb of the Capulets, it is not dead at all—(laughter). It is not even sleeping; but we had to attend to the funeral of our country with the beginning of the year. (Laughter).
BARBAROUS ASSASSINATION.—Yesterday morning a man named Fitzgerald, steward to Sir David Borthwick, was shot dead whilst on duty at Barmick. A few miles of this town, by a person who was waiting for the purpose. The perpetrator of this crime has not yet been discovered, but diligent enquiries are being made by the constabulary. We have no doubt that satisfaction will be given to any person for the death of that suspicious and worthy citizen, and that a reward will be offered and no cause can be neglected. The assassin was much esteemed in the neighbourhood.
We likewise to Barmick about seven months ago, intended the drainage works in progress on the

THE DUFFY'S TRIAL

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Roche's property in that place, and had been yesterday, previous to his murder, in paying me, about fifty of whom are constantly engaged in the land. He was standing on the steps to his house when the fatal shot was fired, which took effect in his left side; he instantly fell, and was only able to call the persons who came to the door on hearing "Take me in, I am shot through the heart," a few minutes afterwards he expired. Deceased was about 35 years married. Thomas Whitestone, Esq.,

phreys, severely cross-examined the prosecution view to show that the misconduct attributed to defendants was nothing more than what, in their view, was a just retaliation for his own misconduct, having, as they supposed, enticed a young girl, daughter of the defendant Louis, from her house, without his knowledge, for the purpose of having an immoral intimacy with her; but, notwithstanding

