

William Hewitt, Publisher
16, St. Winecent Street, Haymarket, London

TO THE CHARTISTS.

MY FRIENDS,
You have no doubt read the conviction and sentence upon Dowling, Cuffey, Lacey, Ray, and Ritchie, with feelings of horror, disgust, and surprise; though I can scarcely presume to surprise, as the poor, the laborious, and unrepresented ought to be prepared for any injustice to which their order may be subjected. However, these five men are now doomed to perpetual banishment; they are to be sent from the land of their birth to God knows where, and there to remain for the term of their natural lives.

They are the victims of the National Assembly; an Assembly whose very constitution, from its numbers, was illegal, as I told you at the time: an Assembly which, from its mode of election, did not represent the feelings of the Chartist body; while, to show you the judgment, the prudence, and caution with which the affairs of the Chartist party were managed up to the meeting of that Assembly, I must call your attention to the law as laid down by Baron Rolfe, by the Chief Baron of the Exchequer, when defending Frost at Monmouth, and acquiesced in by all the Judges of the land. They have declared that there was nothing illegal in the constitution of the Chartist body, and that the Chartist had a perfect right to seek the accomplishment of their principles by all legal and constitutional means, and they defined and expounded those means, affixing extended scope for the denunciation of wrong, and the free expression of public opinion, as the means of asserting right; hence, under the old constitution of Chartist, its members were only individually responsible for their individual acts, and when an attempt was made during eight days at Lancaster to convict us of conspiracy, it failed, mainly because we were not an illegal association.

Under its then constitution Chartist had no class-leaders, generals, or other officers; there was one indivisible body, and but one actuating motive, and those who separated themselves from that body and became actuated by other and different motives, did not entail guilt or criminality upon the body, while Chartist; as at present constituted, has been declared by the Attorney General to be an illegal combination, its organisation emanating from an illegal source.

So ample were the rights of the people, as defined by Baron Rolfe at Lancaster, that the fifty-nine persons who were then tried and acquitted, solemnly accepted of the trial of the law by the "JUST JUDGE," and all declared that they would henceforth not own his construction of the law; and the consequence is, that not one of those fifty-nine have been entrapped by the National Assembly.

I shall now comment upon two portions of the Judge's charge to the Jury.

He commented upon the fact that, although it appeared clearly proved in the course of the case that the informers were not aware of each other's movements, and had no opportunity of consulting together, and that each of them several most important particulars; but, whatever opinion the jury might ultimately form of this testimony, he was insistent of opinion that the Government received information of the calamity that was intended to be effected, they would have neglected their duty, and not have detected the name of a Government, if they had hesitated for one moment in putting the criminal law into force, and vindicating the majesty of the law.

Now with the above I entirely concur, but my concurrence goes with the text to establish the criminality of the Government. The Judge says, that the Government would have been criminal if it had "HESITATED FOR ONE MOMENT IN PUTTING THE CRIMINAL LAW INTO FORCE AND VINDICATING THE MAJESTY OF THE LAW." Now it is not clear to the simplest mind, that Government was in full possession of all that was going on, and that was intended to go on, not FOR A MOMENT but for months; that the Government not only hesitated but neglected to vindicate the law until, as admitted by the Judge, the conspiracy became deeper and more formidable; Has not the villain Davis sworn that he gave information to the inspector of police within two hours after he had attended the several meetings, at which he was the prime instigator to rebellion and revolt? He has sworn that he secreted himself in a private room at Greenwich in order to hear a conversation that took place between members of the Confederates, and that he reported what their intentions were to a policeman but to Mr. Mallard, the superintendent of police, and that this Mr. Mallard not only HESITATED FOR A MOMENT, but counselled him that the meetings might go on, and that he would send a policeman to attend them, and the villain adds:—"AFTER THIS I ADVISED PEOPLE TO GO TO THESE MEETINGS, AND THE LANDLORD USED TO GIVE ME HALF-A-SOVEREIGN OR FIVE SHILLINGS, NOW AND THEN, IN RETURN FOR MY FRIENDSHIP."

The villain further adds:—
I won't be certain, but I suppose I did tell Ward that there was to be an attack on London, and I intended him to keep away. I did not say that I was going to London to reconnoitre, and see which were to be the points of attack; but I did say that I was going to London to see if I could see any likelihood of a riot taking place; and if there was, I would get out of danger as soon as I could. I remember Ward and Robinson making a proposition to dissolve the Greenwich Association, and I opposed it.

Mr. Ballantine.—Why did you oppose the dissolution of an association which you believed to be illegal?
Witness.—Because I thought it would injure the land-lords.

Cross examination continued.—I think I called them towards at the same time, but I did not pull out my pistols, and say that if they did not agree to arrest me, I would have blown their brains out. I don't think I made use of such an expression. I don't remember it. It is possible I used such an expression. If it did it was only to throw them off their guard, and I may have said so and forgotten it.

Now, you will bear in mind that I am not using this evidence for the conviction of the self-convicted villain Davis, but that I am using it in support of the Judge's conviction of the HESITATING GOVERNMENT, because it is impossible to presume for a moment that Inspector Marks or Mr. Superintendent Mallard dared to act upon so important an occasion upon their own responsibility, and the legitimate and only conclusion is, that those second-hand spies acted upon the suggestion of the spy-general, who is convicted by the Judge of the crime of hesitation with a perfect knowledge, for months, of all that was going on, and that it was intended should go on. Can anything be more diabolical than the fact of this hired spy of the Government thus, at the instance of the Government, urging his confiding dupes to the commission of crime, which has ended in the transportation of some, and the misery of so many more?

Towards the close of his address to the Jury, the Judge says:—
In the first place the names of several persons had been mentioned as being present at some of the meetings, who ought to have been called to contradict the accomplices if they were not telling the truth, and yet not one of them had been examined.

Let me ask any professional man, undertaking the defence of the prisoners, whether he could, consistently with his duty, allow any party present at those secret meetings to offer himself as a witness to shake the evidence of an informer? Was not the Judge perfectly aware—let having occurred in innumerable cases—that the fate of such witness would be his identification by the jury of the person whom he then recognises as being one of the most violent at the meeting in question, and consequently, the result would be the removal of the witness from the witness-box to the dock? Some men may be philanthropic and devoted, but few are sufficiently so to jeopardise themselves upon the mere probability of serving others. Such was the language of Baron Rolfe on Saturday the 30th. Now hear mine, written on Thursday the 28th—you will find it in the third paragraph of my letter to the Chartist.

The Northern Star, AND NATIONAL TRADES' JOURNAL.

VOL. XI. No 572.

LONDON, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1848.

PRICE FIVEPENCE
Five Shillings and Sixpence per Quarter

TO THE QUEEN OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE,

RESPECTED SOVEREIGN,

The anarchy and involved state of the civilised world, arising from an unavoidable progress to a superior condition of human existence, compels me again to address your Majesty.

A large portion of your subjects have been, and are, cruelly suffering from causes which the statement of the world do not understand, or they are afraid to investigate.

Your Majesty, it is well known, desires the peace of the world, and the happiness of all, but more especially of the subjects of the British Empire.

The goodness of your Majesty's intentions, and the sound judgment which you have generally exhibited in those matters which depended upon your Majesty's own decision, are strong inducements to place before you truths, necessary for your safety, the prosperity of your Empire, and the peace of the world.

These results can be attained only by these truths being made known in language so explicit that the educated may, at length, fully comprehend them, for a partial knowledge of them would only still more confound the subject to be explained.

My intention is to injure none, but to permanently benefit all.

With this preliminary I proceed to explain the most important of all subjects at this crisis in the affairs of the civilised world.

The anarchy of Europe and the disordered mental state of those who are attempting to bring order out of confusion, are the necessary effects of all being involved in a system emanating, at an early period, from the ignorant imitations of our savage and inexperienced ancestors.

This system by which the world has been hitherto governed, has been based solely on falsehoods opposed to every known law of nature, and of humanity; a system which ever has been, and can only be, maintained by a complicated and most artificial institutions, and a wretched, demoralising, and a most injurious classification of society.

These institutions and this classification could be altered and supported only by a mystified mixed system of force, fear, and fraud, rendering falsehood, deception, injustice and oppression, everywhere unavoidable.

The world is now suffering so grievously under these evils, that it is in open rebellion against them.

Patronised as this system ever has been in all countries, there is not one now living who is not a martyr to its errors and consequent evils: even your Majesty, your Royal Consort, and your Children are deeply injured by its continuance; and now, the longer it shall be enforced by the authorities of the world, the more grievous will be its miseries to all, and the greater will be the danger of elevated positions in every country.

In ignorance, injustice, and oppression has arisen against it ever the most docile and dominant feelings of humanity, in all the nations of the civilised world.

This statement requires further explanation, has been founded through past time on a falsehood opposed by every known fact.

It has been based on the presumed belief that each one of the human race forms himself to be what he is, and in consequence that it is just to make each one responsible to the accidental authorities of the world, for his belief and actions.

This ignorance of the unchanging laws of nature is the origin of the erroneous idea, "that man is by nature"—a nature given to him by the Great Creating Power of the Universe.

From this original error emanates all sin and crime, and the irrationality of mankind.

It is to-day the true cause of the anarchy of Europe, and of the insane conduct of all nations and people. Hence the present complicated and involved condition of society, its poverty and disunion, with all the inconsistent and absurd remedies proposed by the Statesmen who are attempting to legislate on a false base, against nature and common sense.

To support this fundamental falsehood, it became unavoidable that error should be added to error in principle and practice; and now the glaring inconsistencies arising from these insubstantial assumptions, are daily and hourly producing so much evil to every class in every country, that human nature is everywhere aroused against it, and will not longer be governed by it, or allow it longer to derange the mental faculties of every succeeding generation.

Public opinion, which governs the world, now declares that this insane system, so injurious to every one, shall be destroyed, root and branch, and through all its endless mischievous ramifications.

The decree has gone forth from nature, by the ministers of this world-out system of falsehood and evil; and no earthly power can retain it.

Seeing that the change is inevitable, that it will be for the high advantage and permanent good of all nations and people, it will prove to be true wisdom in the existing authorities in all countries not to oppose this great revolution of humanity; but, on the contrary, seeing that it is a revolution from an entire system of falsehood and oppression of the weak by the strong to another of entire truth and justice, to which the weak will be sustained by the strong, it will be for their permanent benefit to direct it wisely, and with foresight, so that they will have equal education and conditions, peace, order, and superior external arrangements may everywhere supersede disunion, war, anarchy, and inferior external arrangements.

This change should immediately commence, that in the next generation the pure principles of charity and kindness, co-extensive with the human race, may be made to pervade all minds, and gradually to prepare all nations to acquire such habits and knowledge, as will qualify them to live harmoniously in a state of real liberty, equality, and fraternity, or, in other words, in a new state based on truth and justice in which all will be so rationally placed, that, according to age and natural capacity, they will have equal education and conditions far superior to any yet given, and the condition far more to be desired than your Majesty's, or any yet experienced by sovereign or subject at any time in any part of the world, or that could be created under the present insane system of falsehood, disunion, deception, and cruel injustice.

This revolution in human existence, wonderful and impracticable as it must appear to the children of the old system of error, sin, and misery, will, like the far more wonderful effects of the electro-magnetic telegraph, be accomplished by very simple means, now everywhere at the command of all governments and people.

This, the most mighty, magnificent, glorious revolution in the history of man, will be attained as soon as its advantages can be made known to the public, in peace, and with pleasure to all, merely by the adoption of a most beneficent law of nature, to supersede an eternal falsehood, which, through past time, has proved to be the demon of the human race—the firebrand, which has severed man from man, and nation from nation. The natural principles which will arise from this change of principle will be to separate the dense populations of cities and towns, and unite them in a superior manner, to accomplish, in a superior manner, all the business of life, which, under these arrangements, may be to be so arranged in new situations, that every inferior and hurtful circumstance shall be carefully excluded, and those only be combined which experience has proved to be superior.

This is the system, in principle and practice, which your Majesty's Royal Father—if he had pledged himself to the throne of these realms—to introduce into these islands, and through the British Empire. This would have been a far better measure than through the violence and defective measures by which various parties are now vainly attempting to gain the same results.

I hope it is destined that his daughter, in the person of the Queen of the British Empire—the most extended and powerful of all empires—shall reign over it when this change—the greatest physical and mental change that the world has yet known or humanity imagined—shall be accomplished, and all the old prophecies and predictions be fulfilled to the very letter of their sayings.

This will be the greatest of all miracles ever wrought for man, and which nature, of the God of nature, is now, in the fulness of time, forcing upon humanity for its permanent good and happiness.

By this change the ignorance, crimes, disunion, and misery, produced by the various contending superstitions of the world, by private property, ill-divided family arrangements, and a wretchedly ignorant classification of society—all destructive of rationality—will be superseded by other arrangements, based on truth, that will ensure permanent progressive prosperity to all nations and people, with ever increasing intelligence, goodness, and happiness.

Were the subject at this crisis not all-important, it would be necessary to apologise for the length of this letter—but even another letter will scarcely suffice to explain the full import of the last paragraph, denouncing the cause of the ignorance, disunion, and crimes, so prevalent in all countries, with the total want of charity and goodness among every set of religion over the world.

The institutions of sectarian religions united with a most ignorant and injurious classification of society and ill-advised family arrangements, including private property, have been insidiously taught to the world, as being the foundation of all virtue and goodness, and without which the earth would be filled with robbers and murderers, and all manner of wickedness.

This instruction has been a gross imposition upon human weakness.

Man may be taught, most conscientiously, to believe any absurdity most true, or the most valuable truths to be abominable falsehoods; and thus has he been hitherto instructed, and made to become irrational in his feelings, thoughts, and actions.

And, at this day, he has been taught to call good evil, and evil good—and hence, the confusion of all nations, and the cause of all asking, "Who will show us any good?"

These profound, yet all-important subjects, have been hitherto laboured by the ignorance and prejudice of the human race. Their value for the creation of universal goodness, intelligence, and happiness, shall be explained in the succeeding communication.

With respect for the high, and, at this crisis, most important, station in which an extraordinary combination of circumstances has placed your Majesty,

I remain,
Your Majesty's faithful subject,
ROBERT OWEN.

London, 28th Sept., 1848.

PRESENT AND FUTURE STATE OF EUROPE.

PART V.

The anarchy of Europe, and the confusion and violence of all parties are daily increasing.

The transition state is urgently required to calm men's minds, and to prepare them to become rational. This change, however, can never be effected until the falsehood on which society has been based, shall be openly and for ever abandoned, and the true fundamental principles shall be adopted.

The transition state is to lead to this change of principle, and to a practice in conformity; that is, to an entire new arrangement of circumstances for producing and distributing wealth, forming character from birth, and local, and general governing, and to effect these in a manner greatly superior to any practiced in these departments even in any part of the world.

This transition state will gradually lead to a long permanent and very superior condition of society; a state in which all will be trained from their birth to feel, think, and act rationally, or in accordance with the laws of humanity. The language of all will be that of truth only, no motive being created or existing to express a falsehood in look, word, or action.

Then will real goodness become universal, and every inferior circumstance of man's creation, which can influence the formation of one inferior quality in one individual, be most carefully excluded from every department in the business or enjoyment of life. In fact, the business of life, by these means, will be made a source of perpetual pleasure and happiness.

Under this change, it may be now asked, what will be the future state of Europe to which this transition will lead?

To answer this question with knowledge, it is necessary only to consider what will be permanently the best for all the inhabitants of Europe, and to remember that until all shall be justly treated, no one can be permanently happy.

It will be, beyond doubt, for the permanent happiness of every inhabitant of Europe—1st. That it should, as speedily as practicable, without violence, become one people, with one language and one interest, having one general government, emanating from independent federative governments, in which local self-government will be attained in perfection without any of the inherent evils of elections.

2nd. That the best arrangements for permanently producing the greatest amount of the best qualities of wealth, should be made, and also for its just distribution.

3rd. That permanent arrangements should be formed to create a superior physical, mental, moral, and practical character, from and before birth, for every one.

4th. That these arrangements should be united, to be the most convenient for forming societies of such numbers as will, in the best manner, accomplish the preceding results.

Arrangements thus constituted will injure no one, but benefit all; and as soon as the irrationality, which has hitherto pervaded all minds of every class, in every country, shall be overcome by the introduction of truth to su-

persede falsehood, all will see the immense advantages of this change, and desire to effect it. When this veil of ignorance can be removed, then will be evident the folly and wickedness arising from the present insane divisions of Europe into different languages and opposing interests, with contending armies for destroying life and property, and wasting the labour of all.

Then there will be no Germany, France, Italy, Prussia, Russia, Denmark, Sweden, Belgium, Spain, Portugal, Switzerland, &c., or Persia, without an absurd opposing division—without the slightest necessity for standing armies or ecclesiastical establishments, now the force and fraud by which all are trained, from birth, in falsehood, fear, and crime, and in a system of universal deception. Nor yet will there be custom-houses or passports, or any such arrangements of slavery.

What miseries, what crimes, what waste of human faculties and means, have these insane divisions of languages and names produced? What divisions, crimes, and miseries are they now producing throughout Europe?

Of what real benefit have these divisions ever been to any individual? Who is, to-day, benefited by them? Is not every inhabitant of Europe now a grievous sufferer by these useless, insane, disuniting, artificial causes of dislike, opposition, and contests?

Talk of German unity—of Italy being united—of peace between these opposing names—when all from birth are trained in principles of disunion;—as well may men talk of the earth remaining dry when the clouds pour continued rain upon it. Remove the universal cause of disunion, and all minor causes—as those of language, artificial names, and localities, are made to be—will soon cease, and be no more remembered, except as the period of the past follies of the irrational existence of humanity.

Well-meaning men and women may hold a Congress in favour of universal peace, in Brussels, or elsewhere; but such meetings will be for ever in vain until the primary cause of disunion among the human race shall be eradicated; root and branch, out of society. When this shall be done, universal peace will be a necessary consequence. It will be then easily attained, and as easily maintained.

Let then, all intelligent and good men and women, as far as the present irrational system of falsehood can admit of intelligence and goodness being formed—now exert all their influence to remove out of society the great evil of the world, the sole cause of all falsehood, hypocrisy, disunion, and crime, with all their endless miseries. Remove this cause, and wars will cease—poverty will nowhere exist—ignorance will rapidly disappear—crimes will be unknown—truth alone will be the language of the world—charity will be pure and universal—class, and sect, and party, and country, with all their criminal disuniting influences, will die their natural death, and men will be known only as members of the same family, wherever they may be, cordially united in all sincerity, to promote each other's knowledge, excellence, and happiness.

All attempts, with the present ill-formed mind based on falsehood and error, to remove, to unite Germany, or Italy, or France, or Great Britain and Ireland, are as vain as to attempt to empty the sea with a sieve.

Before nations can be united, the cause of disunion between individuals must be removed, and then the otherwise eternal difference between aristocracy and democracy, between language, and local names, will cease. Then will Lord John Russell and Sir Robert Peel, the Earl of Aberdeen and Lord Palmerston, Mr. Cobden and Mr. Disraeli, Mr. Thiers and M. Louis Blanc, General Cavaignac and Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, and the other innumerable opposing individuals over Europe and America, become united and advocate the same simple principles and practices which can only make all good, intelligent, truthful, prosperous, united, and happy.

But until society shall descend to the root of the evil and utterly destroy it, the talk of these statesmen will have as much effect, and no more, towards ameliorating the permanent condition of nations, as the cawing of rooks in a rookery.

It is time that the population of the world should now know the truth, and be no longer deceived by vain talking, calculated only to mystify. All men should be engaged in the true business of life; that is—to create and distribute wealth, form character, and govern in the best manner, a practice which can be accomplished only by gradually abandoning all the existing inferior arrangements which falsehood and ignorance have everywhere created both in town and country, and superseding them by a gradual new creation of superior circumstances, which may now be effected with incalculable advantages to all in every country, and with less than a tenth of the capital and labour required to continue the present insane system of gross falsehood, and its necessary oppressions and crimes.

With the discoveries—physical and mental—which have been latterly perfected, it will be downright madness and insanity in governments or people longer to attempt to prop a worn-out system, based solely on falsehood, and constructed to produce, in practice, vice and misery, through all its ramifications.

It will be now true wisdom, in all parties, in all countries, quietly and with foresight, to all which exceeds this system, producing and re-producing evil continually, for another based solely on truth, and constructed to continually produce and re-produce good to all of the human race, as hereafter shall be more fully explained.

ROBERT OWEN.

London, 3rd Oct., 1848.

National Land Company.

BAZELON.—The quarterly meeting of the Bristol branch of the National Land Company was held at Mr. Richard Castle, Mill-street, on Monday, October 2nd. Mr. Thomas Hall in the chair. After some preliminary business, the following persons were elected officers of the locality:—W. H. Hyatt, treasurer; C. J. Clark, secretary; J. Dyer, scrutineer; H. Fink, Thomas Hall, A. L. Browning, J. Fowler, and J. Marks, committee. The following was then agreed to:—That this branch meet every Monday evening, at half-past seven o'clock.

MAZON.—At the usual weekly meeting of this branch, Mr. Richard Castingsham was elected to represent the members of the several branches comprising the district to which Maidstone may belong at the forthcoming Convention.

Chartist Intelligence.

METROPOLITAN CENTRAL VICTIM AND DEFENDER.—Receipts from September 24th, to October 1st:—83, Dean-street, Soho, 4s. 9d.; from Leigh and Astley, per Mr. Daly, £1 0s.; Nottingham, per James Sweet, £1 4s.; St. Helier, per Mr. Moss, 2s.; Mr. Rider, as per Stan, September 30th, £2 1s. 2d.; Ernest Jones locality, per Mr. Ishington, £1 2s.; Brunswick Hall, per Mr. Bailey, 6s.; Globe and Friends, per Mr. Knowles, 8s. 6d.; Keston Town, per Mr. Cox, 6s.; Clarendon, 2s. 6d.; St. Mary's, per Mr. Smith, 6s.; Mr. Harris, 6s.; Mr. Jarvis, 6s.; O. O. City, 1s.; Mr. Roberts, per Defence, 1s.—Total, £5 10s. 6d.—JAMES GRASSY, Secretary.

NATIONAL LAND COMPANY. CONFERENCE OF DELEGATES.

The Board of Directors having decided upon holding a Conference at Birmingham, on Monday, October 30th, they have to call the attention of the various branches to the following rules in the nomination and election of delegates:—

1st.—That meetings of branches shall be held between Monday next, the 19th inst., and Monday, 16th, for the purpose of nominating candidates.

2nd.—That it shall be competent for any two members to propose a candidate at a branch meeting, but the name of the candidate who receives the highest number of votes at the branch meeting only, shall be sent to the district secretary.

3rd.—That all such nominations shall be sent by branch secretaries to district secretaries, on or before Thursday, 19th inst. Any nomination received by any district secretary after that date, shall not be considered valid.

4th.—That it shall be imperative upon each district secretary, to notify to the several branch secretaries in his district, on or before Monday, the 23rd inst., the names of all candidates whose nominations may have been received by him, in accordance with rule 3rd.

5th.—That meetings of branches shall be held on Monday, the 23rd inst., for the purpose of making an election from the list of candidates, which will have been by that time forwarded, by district branch secretaries for such purpose.

6th.—That branch secretaries shall communicate to district secretaries the result of the decisions at the meetings on the 23rd inst., on or before the 28th, so that district secretaries shall have time to notify elections to successful candidates.

7th.—That in case any district or branch secretaries should be themselves candidates, it will then be the duty of the members to appoint other and disinterested persons to perform the duty of returning officers.

8th.—That each district shall bear the expense of its own delegate to the Conference, as well as all expenses of its election.

9th.—Branches not enumerated in the following list of districts will vote in that district, the district of towns of which may be nearest to them.

10th.—Where districts have to return two delegates, branches can nominate two candidates.

NORTHAMPTON DISTRICT.
Secretary: William Mundy, Silver-street, Peterborough, Wellingborough, Kettering, Thrapston.

COVENTRY DISTRICT.
Secretary: William Hooper, Coach and Horse Yard, Much Park-street—Warwick, Leamington, Daventry, Long Buckby, Storey Stratford, Newport Pagnell.

OXFORD DISTRICT.
Secretary: John Bridgewater, Paradise-square—Banbury, Madder Lovel, Witney, High Wycombe, O'Connorville.

SWINDON DISTRICT.
Secretary: David Morrison, 2, Bath street, New Town—Newbury, Reading, Wootton Bassett, Devizes, Bradford (Wilts), Trowbridge, Garsington, Salisbury, Market Lavington.

SHEFFIELD DISTRICT.
Secretary: George O'Neill, 32, Queen-street—Sheffield, Kibblesworth, Doncaster, Barnsley, Wrother's Common.

NOTTINGHAM DISTRICT.
Secretary: James Swett, Goose-gate—Nottingham, Newark, Mansfield, Sutton in Ashfield, Carrington, New Radford, East Retford.

DERBY DISTRICT.
Secretary: W. Crabtree, Rotten-row-street—Derby, Belper, Burwash, Loughborough.

LEICESTER DISTRICT.
Secretary: W. Astill, Church-gate—Leicester, Mount Sorrell, &c.

MANCHESTER DISTRICT (Two Members).
Secretary: William Foster, 12, Alce-street, Devonshire-street—Hulme, Newton Heath, Middleton, Eccles, Salford.

WIGAN DISTRICT.
Secretary: Thomas Stenier, Duke-street—Lancaster, head-green, Warrington, Birkenshead, Liverpool, Preston, Bolton.

PRESTON DISTRICT.
Secretary: James Brown, 71, Park-street—Preston, Chorley, Lancaster, Clitheroe.

BOLTON DISTRICT.
Secretary: William Pickens, 18, Duncan-street—Bolton, Bury, Heywood, Leigh, Rawley Bridge.

BLACKBURN DISTRICT.
Secretary: Mr. Newbigging, 54, Thrusell-street, Blackburn—Haslingden, Accrington, Oswaldtwistle.

TEIGNMOUTH DISTRICT.
Secretary: James Edwards, Hat manufacturer—Teignmouth, Truro, Plymouth, Totton, Newton Abbot, Exeter.

TIVERTON DISTRICT.
Secretary: Henry Land, Prospect place—Tiverton, Barnstaple, Bridgewater, South Molton, Colmington, Wellington, Taunton.

BRISTOL DISTRICT.
Secretary: The Secretary of the Bristol Branch—Bath, Metherly, Tyndall, Newport, Aberavenny, Monmouth.

CHELTENHAM DISTRICT.
Secretary: Charles Hyett, Park-end, Queen-street—Glossop, Chesham, Stow-on-the-Wold, Upton on Severn, Leominster, Salis, Edd.

WORCESTER DISTRICT.
Secretary: James Harding, City—Kidderminster, Pershore, Bromsgrove, Stourbridge, Malvern.

BRADFORD DISTRICT.
Secretary: John Smith, 2, Thomas-street, Manchester-road—Idle, Otley, Clayton West, Bramhope, Leeds.

LEEDS DISTRICT.
Secretary: William Hewitt, Chapel-street—Leeds, Arnsby, Holbeck.

HULL DISTRICT.
Secretary: George Barrow, 177, High-street—Selby, York, Scarborough, Grantham.

NEWCASTLE DISTRICT (Two Members).
Secretary: Mr. Nisbett, 10, Gibson-street—Newcastle-on-Tyne, Windy Nook, North and South Shields, Carlisle, Sunderland, Durham, Bishopwearmouth, Eastington, Jarrow, Thornaby, Hexham, Hartlepool, Cockerham.

BILSTON DISTRICT.
Secretary: William Kinnaird, Holloway's-buildings—Dudley, Wolverhampton, Walsall, Wednesbury, Smethwick.

BIRMINGHAM DISTRICT.
Secretary: Charles Goodwin, 10, Dursley-street, Staffordshire—POTTERIES DISTRICT.

Secretary: Henry Foster, Etruria—Hanley, Longton, Burslem, Crewe, Congleton.

STOCKPORT DISTRICT.
Secretary: Thomas Woodhouse, 4, Angel-street, Hildgate—Stockport, Cheshire, Marple, Macclesfield, Hyde.

ASHTON DISTRICT.
Secretary: James Taylor, Turner-lane—Ashton, Stalybridge, Mottram, Glossop, Duffield, Mossley, D. Joyden.

BURNLEY DISTRICT.
Secretary: Mr. Henry Smith, Curzon-street—Colne, Barrowford, Padiham, Bacup, Todmorden, Skipton, E. Monbridge.

ACQUADALE DISTRICT.
Secretary: Edward Mitchell, 55, Chesham-street—Rochdale, Oldham, Hollenwood.

HALIFAX DISTRICT.
Secretary: J. S. Anderson, Black Lodge, Kighley, Elland, Sowerby, Wakefield.

HUDDESFIELD DISTRICT.
Secretary: Mr. Stead, at Cook's and Co's.—Huddersfield, Dewsbury, Liddellton, Holmfirth.

WINCHESTER DISTRICT.
Secretary: George Sturz, 1, Half-acre, Upper Buck-street—Isle of Wight, Portsmouth, Jersey, Southampton, Gosport, Blandford.

BRIGHT

TO THE WORKING CLASSES.

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

THE 'POWELL' PLOT.

BROTHER PROLETARIANS,
The certain fact just fallen upon another set of that
dramas which commenced with the incarceration of
James Jones and his fellow sufferers, for the crime
of 'open and advised' denunciation of the oppression
committed by the rich upon the poor. A much more
terrible doom has been awarded the victims just
'disposed of.' Imprisonment for two years under the
existing penal regulations, is a severe punishment,
amounting, in fact, to a deprivation of life for that
term. Consider the position of a man of active body
habits, restless and striving, eager of speech,
and possessing ardent affections for home and friends,
—think of such a man condemned to solitary confinement,
or the horrors of 'the silent system,' denied the
privilege of writing materials, and restricted to merely
his family for half an hour once in three months.
This man, cut off from the life of the world and the
fire-side affections of his own home, is in reality de-
prived of two years of his existence, with the ad-
ditional punishment of being too fully conscious every
hour of each day, and every minute of each hour,
of the lingering living death to which 'the law' has
doomed him. Such is exactly the position of James
Jones and many others. Their prisoners and mis-
erics of not cease with their imprisonment. At the close
of each victim's term of incarceration he is to be gagged
for a number of years, to ensure his 'loyalty' and
obedience to the laws. A patent mode of making
men loyal and obedient.

But how much more terrible is the doom of the un-
fortunate men who long premeditated sacrifice were
consummated on Saturday last! The weary days and
nights of two years' imprisonment will come to an
end, but poor CURRY and his fellow victims are
doomed to know no end to their sufferings but the
endless sentence of TRANSPORTATION FOR LIFE.
LIFE is a sentence of life-long misery, with no
prospect of alleviation of hope to sustain the sufferers.
I may be asked, is my pity lavished only upon
CURRY and his fellow 'conspirators'—have I none
for those who were to be the victims of that 'con-
spiracy' had the 'plot' succeeded—that is the police,
the soldiers, the government, &c.? I answer, no such
pity was possible. It is true the Attorney Gen-
eral has said:—'Were not eleven men found at the
Orange Tree armed with knives and with combusti-
ble balls in their possession?' 'Were not thirteen
men also found at the Angel with pikes, pistols, &c.?'
Eleven and thirteen make twenty-four men, who
—beginning with Seven in the hands of the govern-
ment agents. The 'plot' might have been
carried to its own ruin. The twenty-four men
were to 'levy war' against the police, the soldiers,
and the holy army of 'specials'—the much
vaunted '200,000 men' of the 'British Army'—the
'Brook'! The plan of campaign had been prepared
by government agents, and the hour of 'rising'
fixed by government spies. Even a child would see
that such a 'levying of war' is all fool.

The 'conspiracy' was manufactured by govern-
ment spies, and from the very outset the victims
designed were to be the victims of the 'plot'. The
sentence of TRANSPORTATION FOR LIFE, and
various terms of imprisonment. The chief
JUDAS was active from the very commencement of
the secret meetings: busy day by day, and night by
night, in instigating and dragging his victims to
their doom. Other 'conspirators' were employed
to do the same. The 'plot' was a device of the
Government, and every false and hellish device was
used by these self-confessed miscreants, to seduce, ensnare,
and guide their victims to destruction. No man's
life or property was perilled by the proceedings of
CURRY and his friends, nor was the peace of the
metropolis menaced for a single moment. The so-
called 'conspirators' were mere puppets in the hands
of the government agents. The 'plot' might have
been nipped in the bud three months ago, and would
have been, had the government really believed there
was any reason to apprehend danger to the peace,
property, or lives of the people; but nothing of the
kind was imagined. It is true the 'conspirators'
concocted of the 'plot' was to play away the personal
liberty of the honest-hearted but thoughtless men
whom they designed to victimise. The attempt
made by POWELL to entrap the honourable member
for Nottingham, shows that the real conspirators
aimed at the destruction of the Whigs, the 'Char-
list' leaders' were not to be cajoled by the blandishments,
nor awed by the threats of POWELL and his accomplices,
in a spirit of personal animosity, but to face the Whigs
there will not be wanting men to face the Whigs
upon the hustings, and bring them to account when
the day of reckoning arrives.

Although the Whigs were believed to be wise
enough for almost anything, it was hardly anti-
cipating that the Attorney General would unblushingly
defend the employment of such a horrible immorality
would have found common-
cannon on the judicial bench. On the trial of DOW-
LING, the Attorney General said:—'He hoped it
would be a lesson to persons who conspired together,
that they could not do it without having traitors
among them.' He said, and he was right, and it
was a wise disposition of Providence that this should
be the case. This will remind the reader of Wesp-
er's 'pretty prelude for murder.'—'Garnage is
God's daughter.' If there is any reality in the offices
of 'clerical' and 'clerk' it is too bad that the Attorney
General should escape its penalties. I am sure Pro-
vidence inspiring a set of wretches to earn each his
'thirty pieces of silver' by reducing innocent, and en-
trapping imprudent men to their destruction. Imagine
this done, too, for the special benefit of Sir John
Austen and his colleagues, who have been the great
public enemy of the 'Charlist' cause, has so well
earned by making a great show of 'vigour' in 'put-
ting down' a bubble plot, blown by their own dirty
feels and unscrupulous mercenary. 'Oh Liberty'
said Madame Roland 'what crimes are committed
in thy name.' Liberty has been the cause of many
and 'crimes' to 'blame' and 'blame' to 'blame' and
which too truly picture the mingled hypocrisy and
audacity of the Whig Attorney General.

The head of the bar having claimed for POWELL
the sanctity of divine patronage, Mr Justice Enay
followed up his policy by landing the civil vic-
tims of that mad plot upon the witness stand, and
thinks of the honest part of the community. The
judge said: POWELL's own explanation was that—
'He did not enter into this conspiracy for the purpose
of leading or entrapping any one, and that he was
acted only by a love of his country. If that were so,
he thought that instead of being called a traitor and
a spy, the honest part of the community should rather ex-
press their thanks to him.'

The reports of the judge's address vary in words
through the various newspapers. Does Mr Justice
Enay really admire traitors and love of country
such as POWELL, confessed to in the following admis-
sions when under cross-examination?—
'I did not press myself forward. I was desirous to be
into their confidence gradually in order that I might be-
tray them more securely.'

Gurney told me to get some paper and powder in order
to make cartridges. I expected they were to be used
against the Queen's troops and the police, but yet I
assisted him to obtain them. I do not know whether
this was patriotic or not.

I always indignantly repudiated the charge of being a
spy. I spoke to two men about 'firing' the houses and
premises, and one of them agreed to do as desired, but
the other did not appear willing. I thought I was
bound to carry out the resolution of the committee, that
each delegate should engage some men for the purpose
of firing houses, or else a house should have been
inspected.

I know James Bennett, a shoemaker. * * *
I believe I have said to him that I had been making some
band-grenades that would go half way through an inch
board. * * * It was not true that I had been
making band-grenades. I only said so for talking sake.

* * * I also told them how I made the grenades,
that was a lie too. Mr Ballantine: And you not called
a lying Tom?—Not to my face. Mr Ballantine: How
were these grenades made, did you say?—Witness:
Why, I told them that gunpowder must be put into an
ink-bottle with an explosive cap, and I dare say I did say
that it would be a capital thing to throw among the
police. If it had some balls in it.

I believe I did say to a man named Carter that I
wanted four desperate men who would do any kind of
work. (Mr Ballantine: Here handed a small iron instrument,
with a spike in it, calculated to make a horse if thrown
on the rider's payment, and he asked the witness if he
had ever seen such an one, and he admitted he had, and
that he had made it.) Here is another made on a simi-
lar plan, expecting this would be produced. These are
the only two I made. I made them to ascertain that they
were making those things at Cartwright's. I threw it
down on the ground and the table. I expected that they
would be produced at Cartwright's like this. Mr Ballan-
tine: You did it for a trap I—I did it to detect the
parties. Mr Platt: Did you do it for a trap, to dis-
cover the parties who were making them?—I did so, I
said; that is the solemn position I am placed in. (A
laugh.) * * * I said at the same time that I had a
large quantity at home. Mr Ballantine: Was that true or
false?—False. Mr Ballantine: You seem proud of it?—
I wish to speak the truth, and say what I have done.
Mr Ballantine: And that was another falsehood?—It was.

Mr Ballantine: Have you formed an idea of the number
of falsehoods you have told in the course of these pro-
ceedings?—I dare say I have told several.

These are but a few of the 'guises' that abound in
the confessions of the patriot POWELL, who Mr Jus-
tice Enay says, deserve the thanks of the honest part
of the community. I hear Mr Justice Enay gave evidence
on the Kennington Common meeting. Mark what
follows:—'I said I had no arms. I said I had no
grind a knife up sharp, and if a policeman came to
me to stick it into his belly, and he would not
want a second stab.' Had Watson acted on POWELL's
advice he would have been hanged, and the Attorney
General and the Times would have gloated over the
case. Mr Justice Enay would doubtless have cele-
brated a civic crown for POWELL. That precious
sample of English law—the greater the truth, the
greater the libel—is now outwitted by the new re-
velation of judicial wisdom—the greater the villain, the
greater the patriot!

It appears that such patriots abound at the present
time. The Attorney General, in his reply to the
counsel for the defence said: 'There were hundreds
men—and it was right that those who entered into
illegal combinations should know it—there were
hundreds of men who would give information in the
case of any man who had done so. If this statement is
not a horrible falsehood, if it is in reality true that
there are hundreds of spies prowling about, or it is to
believe that there are even hundreds of wretches whom
the Attorney General can calculate upon as ready to
betray their fellow men (query with JUDAS or La-
zarus) 'kiss of life' to a state of society
degraded and a fact—if it is a fact—it is a fact!

'We're foundation safety, unity, nor peace,
For the foundation's lost of common good.'

And what an unprincipled, disreputable, rotten sys-
tem must that be which props itself up with such
instruments!

Here I may remark, that if POWELL, DAVIS, and
Co., are such good patriots, it is passing strange that
they should not be one to do homage to their
patriotism. On the contrary, they are patriots
confessing they have to be guarded by the police,
kept out of the way to protect their lives. DAVIS
owns that on the mere suspicion of being a spy he
had lost his trade, the people of Greenwich refusing
to do business with him. Further proof is not neces-
sary to show that he is a hypocrite. The English
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the representative of a club I went to have my
b called over, but it was not called.—Mr White
e : I find that at that meeting the following gen
men were elected representatives of clubs: Mr T
M'Gee, Mr Richard O'Gorman, jun., Mr J
Smith, Mr Stephen Meaney, Mr J. Darcey, M

of the detectives had proved—no (Mr Whiteside) could never forget it—where 400 documents were found in an open press, a place where they had evidently been for detection. Who was to assure him that some of those papers had not been put into Mr O'Brien's

