

William Hodge, Publisher
16, Great Windmill Street, Haymarket London.

THE LAND COMPANY.

The following letter, relative to the transfer of Land by allottees, has been forwarded to me. This is the letter; and at foot will be found my answer.

From TANNER, occupant at Lowbands, to Mr. MORGAN, of Deptford:

Jan. 21st, 1849.

DEAR MORGAN.—I received your letter this morning, and wish you to send me the particulars respecting the allotment that is for sale. A party, who has left, has had no news of the Company but the Aid money, and the interest on the same, which is due to him. The allotment is to be given to all those who sell, and three years are allowed for those who buy to pay it to the Company. The Directors have nothing at all to do with it. If a man sells to his allotment, nobody can interfere with him.

REPLY.

My answer to the above letter is, that, as soon as the Company is completely registered, every man who has taken possession of an allotment, or rented, an allotment without paying the Aid money, and all amounts due to the Company, will be summarily ejected; and, therefore, those who purchase from the occupant, and pay to him any portion of money due to the Company, will have committed the wrong with his eyes open, and cannot blame the Directors. No doubt the occupant would be in a very fascinating situation who received £30 Aid money, besides the cultivation of his allotment, and also received a bonus from the purchasers, without returning the demands of the Company. The proposition in my letter, relative to the postponement of payment of rent, does not refer to transfers made since the Conference, or since the potato rot, nor does it refer to those who are able to pay their rent. Let it therefore be distinctly understood, that any allottee who has sold, from the commencement of the Company, without refunding all that was due to the Company, has committed a fraud upon the purchaser, who will be instantly ejected, and the allotment assigned to him.

All purchasers must return the Aid money; the Loan money (if had); the amount chargeable for cultivation; and the amount of rent due up to the day of transfer; and all those who have sold will be dealt with in precisely the same manner; as I am resolved, that, let the growth of the Land Company be slow or rapid, it never shall be converted into a society of Land sharks, allowing the most fortunate to rob the industrious, who is willing to purchase, and the unlocated members.

FEARGUS O'CONNOR.

P.S. It is but justice to TANNER to state, that the letter does not refer to his own allotment, and is written in ignorance of the facts; that the remainder of his letter is written in a very good spirit, stating that any distress that exists is consequent upon the witness of the weather, which the oldest inhabitant does not remember being equalled for twenty years; and, of course, MORGAN was quite right in forwarding the letter before he committed himself, in ignorance of the rules. F. O'C.

TO THE CHARTISTS.

I insert the following letter received from the solicitor who defended Mr. VERNON, and I entirely agree with it, that it is a hardship—nay, a scandal—that a professional gentleman, who paid money out of his own pocket, and conducted the defence of his client ably, should be placed in such a situation; and I assure you that it not only mortifies me, as a gentleman, but it considerably damages you, as a party, to be guilty of such real dishonesty.

Don't talk about the people's inability to discharge their just debts, while they will drink on Saturday night next ten thousand times as much as would pay all their liabilities, and leave thousands to carry on their cause. They know that their principles are my principles; they know that no power on earth would buy me, bribe me, frighten me, or induce me to give up those principles; and, therefore, they most ungenerously, unfairly, and dishonestly make me the scape-goat to bear all their sins.

Famine is raging in Ireland; the Irish people are derided and mocked at, but I will venture to say that the poorest Irishman has never been allowed to go to trial for a political offence without the best and ablest counsel; and that no Irish solicitor has ever been left without his costs. Perhaps you may say, that in Ireland they would have no one to appeal to; but my answer is, that no appeal is ever necessary: while you in England would saddle me with all your responsibility. However, I have the honour to remain,

A Chartist, though all should abandon the principles, and neglect the performance of their duties,

FEARGUS O'CONNOR.

Barnard's Inn, 24th January, 1849.
DEAR SIR.—It is with some satisfaction I read your letter addressed to the "Northern Star" of the 13th inst., in which you ask me to give an account of the professional man and legal advice to be had for the allottees, and to find out for the Chartist leaders, if all the time, labour, and expense is to be paid out of his own pocket. In the case of Mr. VERNON, who was selected to defend his client, he did not pay up his costs, and was left with about £80 out of pocket—my client being, in fact, nearer to £170 or £180, than £70 or £80, as mentioned in your letter—no doubt an error in the printing, as Mr. HILL, attorney, has paid £100 to Mr. VERNON, who, when I saw him, still had, and several claims have been sent to me, since on the part of witnesses, short-land writers, &c. In your letter you use the term "Grappling Solicitors." I presume that as my claim is still unpaid, and does not attain to £100,

I remain, dear Sir, your faithfully,

J. G. NIXON.

FEARGUS O'CONNOR, Esq., M.P.

TO THE WORKING CLASSES.

MY FRIENDS, MY DEAR FRIENDS,
If ever you read any production with attention, I invite—nay, I implore—your strictest attention to the following communication, extracted from the "Times" newspaper. Do pray read it; and you mechanics, artificers, artisans, and perfumed Athenaeum gentlemen, who would be ashamed to eat a potato or cabbage if you knew they grew in dung, and were produced by vulgar agricultural labour—recollect, that if you turn up your noses at that labour, that nevertheless it is the labour—the only labour—which gives vitality and briskness to your several trades; as the vulgar agriculturist does not make his own spade, his own shovel, his own rake, his hoe, or his wheelbarrow; his hat, his breeches, or his breeches; his shirt, his flannel waistcoat, or his stockings; that he does not grind his own flour for which you make machinery—he is not his own butcher, his own baker, or his own mastiff, which trades you supply with the necessary implements; but, though he does none of those things, he coins his sweat into the exchangeable medium which enables manufacturers and tradesmen to deal more extensively with you, to supply his several wants.

Oh, how I think I see the perfumed engineer or millwright taking his Sunday walk, with his kid-skin gloves, cocking up his nose, at the bare idea of being in any way associated with the vulgar clogdog, who is, perhaps, at that moment cleaning out his pigsty. But, however, this Labour Question must be traced from its source, and that source is the Land; and it must be refreshing to my many dupes to find that, as I predicted, the Press, of all classes and factions, is now beginning to nibble at the Land. But here follows the extract from the "Times":

Mr. Palmerston is continuing, with increased vigour, his improvements on his property in the county of Sligo. He has made a great progress, and I have noticed the following. Some of the fields are dug up, and gathered out what they were. The quantity of stones dug up, and gathered out, is beyond conception. When the land is worth a pound, the work is completed it will make a pound and a half. The work is to be paid for in the value of it; but all the landlords in the country, as far as I am aware, are cast into the shade by the exertions of Mr. Hamilton of St. Erans's, near Donegal. Every year, for the last two or three years, I have marked, with the greatest care, the fields and roads, and gathered out what they were. The stones dug up, and gathered out, are in progress, and I have noticed the following. Some of the fields are dug up, and gathered out what they were. The quantity of stones dug up, and gathered out, is beyond conception. 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Foreign intelligence.

FRANCE.

APPROACHING TRIALS OF THE REPUBLICAN CHIEFS.

The Chambre des Mises en Accusation and the Chambre des Appels de Police Correctionnelle met on Wednesday, under the presidency of the First President, and gave a decision in the affair of the invasion of the National Assembly on the 15th of May. All the persons against whom warrants were issued have been formally placed in accusation, and sent before the Court of Assizes of the Seine. Blanqui, Flotot, Martin (known as Albert), Berbes Sobriès, Raspail, Quentin, Degre, Langer, Bourne, Thomas, Louis Blanc, Seigneur, Houeau, Huber, Lavirotte, and Napoleon Chancel are accused of having in May, 1848, made an attempt to destroy or change the Government, and of having at the same time excited to civil war, by causing the citizens to take arms against each other. Courtois, and Vilain, are accused of having been and accomplices in the affair. Louis Blanc, Seigneur, assisting the perpetrators. Louis Blanc, Seigneur, Huber, Caussidère, Lavirotte, Chancel, and Vilain, are not in custody.

In the National Assembly, on Thursday, M. O. Barrot, Minister of Justice, presented a project of decree, having for its object the sending before the "Haute Cour Nationale," the principals and accomplices in the attempt of the 15th of May. Much agitation was apparent at the mention of this project in the Assembly. The project proposed that the "Haute Cour" should sit at Bourges, in the month following the promulgation of the law for the convocation of such court. The minister de-masaded this project *d'urgence*. The Assembly decided, by a large majority, that a special report should be made by a committee, which was appointed the following day.

On Saturday a debate of some length took place, on the question of constituting a special tribunal, called the High National Court, under the terms of the constitution, for the trial of the offenders on the 15th of May. This tribunal would correspond in its functions to the court of peers under the monarchy, and is provided specially by the constitution, as the court of peers was formerly, for crimes of such a class as it was considered not conducive to the ends of public justice to send before a jury.

On Monday the debate on the trial of the accused for the attempt of the 15th of May was resumed, and after M. Dupont (Bussac), M. Bouyeau, M. Dupres, M. Rouchez, and M. Creuxieu had spoken, M. Odilon Barrot supported the project for sending the accused before the High Court. Finally the Assembly decided by a majority of 466 against 288, to send the offenders in the affair of the 15th of May, before the High National Court to be established under the conditions of the constitution.

THE GOVERNMENT—THE ASSEMBLY.

On Tuesday the Minister of the Interior mounted the tribune, and read a decree, signed by the President of the Republic, presenting to the Assembly the following list of names, from among whom the Assembly will have to select the Vice-President of the Republic—M. Boulay de la Meurthe, General Baragouy d'Ulliers, and M. Vivien.

THE VICE-PRESIDENT.

M. Boulay de la Meurthe was on Saturday named in the Assembly Vice-President of the French Republic, by a majority of 417 against 27.

THE REPUBLICAN VICTIMS.

La Reforme complains bitterly that the amnesty expected from the President Louis Napoleon has not been granted, but that, on the contrary, a number of persons detained for political offences were sent from Paris on Tuesday night last to the prisons of Melun, St. Michel, and Doullens. Other political prisoners have been sent in chains to work at Brest, Toulon, and Rochefort.

The Moniteur of Saturday contains a notice that sixty-three women confined in St. Lazare for the insurrection of June, had been liberated by the Minister of the Interior, at the instance of the President of the Republic.

GUIZOT AHD TO "CATCH IT."

M. de Cornemin (Timon) is said to be preparing a reply to M. Guizot's work on democracy. M. Proudhon has also entered the lists, and it is likewise said, is busily engaged in a similar task.

MORE PERSECUTION.

M. Gaisne, President of the Club St. Antoine, was on Saturday condemned by the tribunal of Correctional Police to 100 francs for a contravention of the law on clubs, by restricting the admission of the public. M. Levy, president, and M. Thomas, member of the bureau of the Club de la Redoute, were severally sentenced to 200 francs for the same offence.

THE RED REPUBLIC.

A banquet of the United Socialists took place on Sunday evening last, in the Salle de la Fraternité, Rue Martel. The tickets were 1 franc for each man and women, and 50c. for children, and, when the speeches commenced, the public were admitted at 25c. per head. There were about 1,200 guests, and many spectators.

The clubs of the provinces are in active movement in the principal towns. At Macon, the ultra-Republican electoral club has re-opened its sittings and has been joined by large numbers of *ouvriers*.

The party of the Mountain, as well as the Socialists and Communists, are getting alive again. The clubs are the highest activity; there are ten or twelve which meet nightly in different parts of Paris, and which are regularly organised with bureaux of correspondence and local committees. The principal of these are the club of the Revolution and the Arabe. M. Pierre Leroux delivered on Thursday evening a long discourse at the Arabe upon the religion of Socialism.

GERMANY.

THE FRANKFURT PARLIAMENT.

On the 13th the National Assembly commenced the discussion respecting the chief head of the German empire.

The main questions immediately before the Assembly being whether the chief head of the German empire shall be an emperor (if so, whether or not an hereditary one, or one for a certain time), or a directory, or a responsible president. Sixty-three members had inscribed their names as speakers. On a division the original proposal of the committee, viz., "The dignity of the Supreme Head of the empire is vested in one of the reigning German Princes," was adopted. Ayes, 258; noes, 211. Rotenhan's motion for a Directory was rejected. Votes, 361; ayes, 97.

The motion of Schuler, Wizard, and others, which would make every German eligible to the supreme dignity, was also rejected. Noses, 339; ayes, 122.

Baron Welden has again issued a proclamation calling upon the inhabitants to deliver up their arms; the afternoon of the 11th, three shots were fired upon the military from the so-called red house; which being searched a packet of sharp cartridges was discovered.

ROYAL RUFFIANS.—Lately a number of soldiers entered the residence of the editor of the local paper of Liegnitz (Silesia), dragged him out of his house, along a number of streets, and, after having grossly ill-treated him, left him senseless on the pavement. His offence was that he commented in rather severe terms on the army order lately issued by the king.

THE REACTIONISTS are hard at work colonizing and persecuting the democrats. Trials for political offences are continually going on and numbers of the proscribed are being continually sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

A POLITICAL FAIR.—General Wrangel has issued a proclamation threatening to prohibit all assemblies of the electors in which political subjects not referring to the elections, are introduced. With such a threat the liberty of election is a mere farce, so far as Berlin is concerned.

THE WAR IN HUNGARY.

The *Steiermark Journal* (one in the Austrian interest) is compelled to admit the success of the Szeklers, who are partisans of the Magyars. It appears that the former, after being partially defeated, rallied in greater numbers, took possession of Hossu-fal, Turku, and two other places.

THE BRIGAND WINDISCHGRATZ.

The following proclamation exhibits the sanguinary ruffianism of the butcher Windischgratz—*"Any inhabitant who is taken with a weapon of any description in his hand will be immediately hanged."*

or to injure them in any way soever, such place shall be made level with the earth.

The authorities of the different places shall answer with their heads for the preservation of the public peace.

HEAD QUARTERS, NICOLA, DEC. 26, 1848.

Many of the first families here are plunged in despair on account of the recent events in Hungary, such names as Paffy, Bathyani, Hunyadi, Szecsenyi, Szapary, and Zichy, figure on the lists of those most deeply implicated.

General Bem is gone to the Bukowina from Transylvania by way of Bistritz, with the probable intention of getting up a revolution in Poland, which is at present naturally comparatively unprotected, all troops having marched under Field-Marshal Lieutenant Schlich into Hungary. It also appears that Kosssut entertains the same idea, and it is very probable that he is now on his road to Galicia across the Carpathians.

The little fortress of Leopoldstadt still holds out. Although this little nest has been bombarded with 12-pounders, rockets, and 30lb. shells during a whole day, no effect has been produced. The fuses of the shells were all too short, and consequently they exploded in the air. Lieutenant Lechner, of the Artillery, who had prepared them, has since blown up the laboratory, and himself with it; whether intentionally or not must always remain a matter of doubt.

The garrison of the fortress, on the contrary, fired admirably, and the besiegers were at last obliged to retire.

Heavy rain has since fallen, and the Danube has been completely flooded. Several craft floating down the Danube were shattered to pieces against the blocks of ice, and at the chain bridge the blocks of ice were piled up almost as high as the bridge itself. Several lives have been lost. One of the pillars of the large bridge on the Danube has been carried away, and injured four pillars of the railway bridge.

The *Wiener Zeitung* of the 18th gives a detailed account of this event, and states that on the night of the 16th the water providentially began to sink, and hopes are entertained that it will pass without causing much more damage.

In many houses in the suburbs the water reaches the first story, and the basement stories, shops, stables, and cellars were completely flooded.

Several craft floating down the

DANUBE IN GERMANY.

RISING IN REBELLION. The weakness of the Government measures in the last insurrection has brought on a fearful crisis. The Kandians were stated to be destroying all before them. [This insurrection has been excited by the savage atrocities of the British Governor.]

PRINCE WINDISCHGRATZ, Field-Marshal.

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Poetry.

Monday next, the 29th of January, being the anniversary of the birth of Thomas Paine, we publish extracts from him, to make room for the following appropriate compositions, each some fifty years old, but, like good wine, none the worse for age.

THOMAS PAIN.

In these disastrous, dismal days of "riot," "law," and "libel," when men almost suspect the right, — they have to read the bible; — "I'll venture still to tell the truth, — may you approve the strain, — And as the way to please you most, — I'll strive to give you Paine!"

There was a man whose name was Paine, a man of Common Sense, — Who came from Philadelphia, here, his knowledge dispense: —

He taught that men had equal rights, as equal sons of nature, — Deriv'd by universal grant, from Heaven's legislature.

He taught that on the people's will all lawful power depended, — That governors were for the good of the governed intended: — And many other wholesome truths, — all form'd on Reason's plan, Sir,

He wrote within a little book, — and call'd it *Rights of Man*, Sir!

The Nation soon approv'd the book, they read and understood it,

But certain rogues (whom I name not), with jealous aspect view'd it: —

Then, Billy Pitt, he rais'd a cry, — a cry of consternation, — Which roun'd the roushing and the duped, throughout the British nation: —

That Church and State were tumbling down! — and ruin hover'd o'er us: —

The lords and parsons stretch'd their throats, — and join'd the horrid chorus! —

Like Quixote, that renowned knight, — so fam'd in Spanish tale,

And full as mad, stepp'd Edmund forth, — equipp'd in courtly mail: —

He, from the treasury, took a spear, — twas tip'd with gold, and pointed,

And on his arm he bore a shield, — giv'n by the Lord anointed: —

Thus arm'd with power, he thought divine, — he rush'd into the battle,

And on the little staymaker, i' most furiously did rattle: —

He threw his darts sly, about, — and raved of plots: — and treason: —

But Freedom's champion stood unhurt! — for he was clad in Reason: —

When couriers found his arguments could not be overthrown, — They cunningly concluded, he by Prozy should be burned! —

In every town, through this good realm, poor Paine was scolded: —

And what their wisdom could not reach, — the faggot has confuted: —

Tho' buried with the dead, he is, — by low under-takers: —

His spirit still pervades the land, — and never will forsake us: —

We'll drink a bumper o'er his tomb, — a tribute of affection!

And wish the sleeping Rights of Man, — A SPEEDY RESURRECTION!!

THE RIGHTS OF MAN.

COME, "God save the King,"
God save the rights of man! Give him a heart to scan
Blessings so dear!

Let them be spread around, Wherever man is found, And with the welcome sound Ravish his ear!

See from the universe, Darkness and clouds disperse; Mankind, awake!

Reason and truth appear, Freedom advances here;

Monarchs with terror hear — See how they quake!

Long have we felt the stroke; Long have we waited the yoke; See, and tame: But a new era shines; Enlight'ning all darken'd minds; Spreading to distant climes.

Liberty's flame!

Let us with France agree, And bid the world be free,

Let us with France agree, Should tyrants all conspire, Foes' sword and loud applause, Monarchs shall ne'er retire,

Freedom shall sway!

Goliath and great the strife, Life will in us live, We'll prevail:

Death in so just a cause, Crowns us with loud applause,

And from tyrannic laws,

Bids us all hail!

O'er the tyrannic pow'rs, Big indignation low'rs,

Ready to fall!

Let the rude savage host, In their vast numbers boast, Freedom our mighty trust.

Spite of their all.

Fame! let thy trumpet sound, Tell to the world around, Frenchmen are free.

Tell ribands, crowns, and stars, Kings, traitors, troops, and wars, Plans, concilis, plots, and jars,

We'll be free.

God save the rights of man,

Give him a heart to scan

Blessings so dear!

Let them be spread around,

Wherever man is found,

And with the welcome sound

Ravish his ear!

Scrib.

THE LIFE OF THOMAS PAIN, Author of "Common Sense," "Rights of Man," &c. &c. London: J. Watson, 3, Queen's Head Passage, Paternoster-row.

We are perfectly aware that to mention the name of THOMAS PAIN, unless for the purpose of coupling it with abuse—rancorous, orthodox abuse—of the man and his works, is neither fashionable nor prudent. But our mission is to speak and write the truth without fear of man, not excepting the self-appointed censor of this journal—the prophet-member for West-Surrey.

Love of the truth bids us notice and recommend this publication, in which is narrated the principal events in the life of the world-famed "rebellious needleman."

There have been several biographies of PAIN published, some by friends, some by foes, all at a comparatively high price. The work before us, "by the editor of the *National*," [not the French journal of that name], is a sketch rather than a biography, but, regarded as an abridgment, perfect of its kind, and exceedingly well written. The author though an admirer, is not a blind worshipper of the author of the "Rights of Man." "Nothing extenuate nor set down in malice," might have been very appropriately selected as the motto of this work.

THOMAS PAIN was born at Thetford, in the county of Norfolk, on the 29th of January, 1737.

When little more than sixteen years of age, "raw and adventurous, and heated with false heroism," he entered the privateer service. Subsequently he worked at his trade—of staymaker—both in London and Kent.

In the year 1764 he obtained a place in the Excise. Curious enough, both THOMAS PAIN and ROBERT BURNS were *Excisemen*:

"Searching and wives' barrels,

Och—houn! the day!"

But, like BURNS, PAIN was too independent for that odious service. Those conversant with the life of Scotland's bard, will remember

* Alluding to his pamphlet, published under that title in the American war.

† Edmund Burke, the author of "Reflections on the French Revolution, &c."

‡ He was a staymaker, by trade.

§ Alluding to the said Edmund Burke's publication.

|| He was then living in France, being exiled from his country.

that on one occasion that mighty son of song was told by the Commissioners of Excise, that he was to act, not to think! Thereupon BURKE took out his pencil and wrote:—

"In politics if thou would'st mix,
And mean thy fortunes be;
Bear that mind—be deaf and blind;
Let great folks hear and see!"

PAIN turned pamphleteer, and of course became unpopular with his "superiors." A pretext was found for dismissing him, and once again

"The world was all before him where to choose." He selected America. He had acquired great proficiency in mechanics, mathematics, and astronomy, and these acquirements sufficed to obtain him the friendship of FRANKLIN, at that time in England. Furnished with letters of introduction from that celebrated man, PAIN proceeded to America. He arrived at Philadelphia in the winter of 1774, a few months previous to the commencement of hostilities between Great Britain and her colonies.

The American Revolution called forth his powers. The hour struck, and the man was not wanting. "Common Sense" was written at the close of the year 1775, and published on the 1st of January, 1776."

The popularity of "Common Sense," "terrible in its consequences to the parent country, was unexampled in the history of the press." Within a few months the sale ran to one hundred thousand copies! "On the 1st of January, a word was spoken by a poor staymaker: by the 4th of July it had been repeated from Vermont even to Georgia; on that day the INDEPENDENCE of thirteen States was proclaimed; a home and rallying place was established for FREEDOM; and from that day to this, far-throned monarchy has not ceased to quail, in sad presentiment of its assured doom."

On the 19th of December, 1776, PAIN published the first number of the "Crisis," which commenced with the thunder-toned and memorable sentence:—"THESE ARE THE TIMES THAT TRY MEN'S SOULS!" The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of their country, but he that stands it now, deserves the thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the conflict the more glorious the triumph!"

The "Crisis" was continued, as occasion demanded, until the consummation of the Revolution. In 1777, PAIN, who had been serving with the patriot army, was appointed by Congress Secretary to the Committee for Foreign Affairs, which office he resigned in January, 1779. About this time the degree of Master of Arts was conferred on him by the University of Philadelphia. A small landed estate, and votes of money granted by New York, Pennsylvania, and the General Congress, testified the public sense of the important services he had rendered to the cause of American Liberty.

After thirteen years' absence from his native country, PAIN returned to England. Within two years after his return, the French Revolution commenced. In November, 1790, the pensioned apostate BURKE published his "sublime and beautiful" (?) "Reflections," and early in 1791, PAIN published his celebrated reply. It will interest our London readers to know that the First Part of the "Rights of Man," was written "partly at the Angel, Islington, partly in Harding-street, Fetter-lane, and finished at Versailles." The sale was immense; indeed, to an extent unprecedented, unless we except "Common Sense."

Both threats and proffered bribery, on the part of the Government, having failed to prevent the publication of the Second Part of the "Rights of Man," prosecutions were commenced against both publisher and author. HAZLITT testifies to the sensation excited by this masterly work:—"PAIN's 'Rights of Man' was the only really powerful reply (to Burke's 'Reflections'), and indeed so powerful and explicit, that the Government undertook to crush it by an ex officio information, and by a declaration of war against France to still the ferment, and excite odium against its admirers, as taking part with a foreign enemy against their prince and country."

His "Rights of Man" gave to PAIN an European popularity, and in the autumn of 1792, he was elected to the French National Convention, by the department of Calais. A popular ovation welcomed him to Calais, where he was received with shouts of "Long live THOMAS PAIN!" For an account and explanation of his conduct in the Convention, we must refer the reader to the work under notice.

We quote the following anecdote, given in this work, on the authority of CLOTHICK-MAN:—

"BONAPARTE AND PAIN." When Bonaparte returned from Italy, he called on Mr. Paine, and invited him to dinner; in the course of his rapturous ecstasies, he declared that a statue of gold ought to be erected to him in every city in the universe; he also assured him that he always slept with his "Rights of Man" under his pillow, and conjured him to honour him with his correspondence and advice."

In 1802, after an absence of fifteen years, PAIN returned to America, where he passed the remainder of his days. He died at Greenwich, near New York, on the 8th of June, 1809, aged seventy-two years and five months.

The widely-circulated fables concerning the manner of PAIN's death, are investigated and confuted in this work. "Tis a pity that those who have mouthed so zealously against PAIN's 'infidelity,' had not thought them of the line of POPE:—

"Let not this weak and erring hand Presume thy bolts to throw; Nor deal damnation round the land On each I judge thy foe."

The judgments of men are, indeed, ridiculous. They canonise CHARLES I., a hypocrite and blood-shedder; they have no doubt of the salvation of "FIRTH THE FOURTH"; yet they have no scruple in condemning to perdition a man who devoted his life to the glorious task of promoting the political freedom and social happiness of his fellow-creatures! Ah! but CHARLES I., and "FIRTH THE FOURTH" were orthodox, and PAIN was heterodox. Listen, ye self-righteous and uncharitable trai- ders, to the sublime words of the man ye condemn!—

"Who art thou, vain dust and ashes! by whatever name thou art called, whether a King, a Bishop, a Church, or a State, a Parliament, or anything else, that obstructs thine insignificant betwixt the soul of man and its Maker?" MIND THINE OWN CONCERN.

IF HE BELIEVES NOT AS THOU BELIEVEST, IT IS A PROOF THAT THOU BELIEVEST NOT AS HE BELIEVEST, AND THERE IS NO EARTHLY POWER CAN DETERMINE BETWEEN YE."

As regards PAIN's political principles and writings, there can be but one opinion entertained by all who sincerely desire to do unto their fellow-men as they would be done unto.

For the long-pressed, long-cheated millions, PAIN demanded JUSTICE—not more. The objection sometimes urged against PAIN, that he set too high a value on mere political changes, to the neglect of social reforms, is hardly put with fairness. PAIN, though he said little about social reform, laboured to arm the masses with the power to effect any change they might think fit, however sweeping. With Universal Suffrage, it is clear that the working classes might accomplish any reform they pleased. The misuse of the suffrage in France and America is no proof of its inutility. A man, instead of shaving his beard, may cut his nose off, but such a misuse of the razor—whether caused by ignorance or madness—is no argument against the utility of that very useful article.

Those who, as Reformers, look upon themselves as more advanced than PAIN, would do well to remember that the people are not yet even up to PAIN's mark.

Doubtless the people may be taught much valuable knowledge not to be found in the "Rights of Man," but vast masses have yet to learn

"Why they bear bondage when they might be free," and for such PAIN is an invaluable first teacher.

May the day speedily arrive when Englishmen will have the "Common Sense" to establish the "Right of Man," and thereby pay the most fitting homage to the genius and virtues of THOMAS PAIN.

THE LAND.

THE REMARKABLE TRIAL OF THOMAS SPENCE, THE AGRARIAN REFORMER.

[Concluded.]

After having read the whole of the "Letters" constituting the "Restorer of Society to its Natural State," Mr. Spence proceeded to address the jury as follows:—

Gentlemen, though doubtless you are now sufficiently convinced of my upright intentions in writing and publishing this obnoxious book, yet, as it is a very serious thing to be convicted of a libel, and of course, to go to prison, I hope you will indulge me a little further in defence of my philanthropic intentions.

My father used to make my brothers and me read the Bible to him while working at his business, and at the end of every chapter encouraged us to give our opinions on what we had just read. By these means, I acquired an early habit of reflecting on every occurrence which passed before me, as well as what I read. Advancing in years, and finding myself and my father's family involved in continual difficulties and embarrassments, notwithstanding all our economy and industry, I could not help inquiring into our position, and, in doing so, I became acquainted with the system of hereditary pride, and the arbitrary interference of their hard-hearted ambitious parents and guardians. And where can there be greater injustice than in their treating all the children but one in a family as illegitimate? Neither will any say that customs are at all favourable to virtue. Therefore, since the present system of things renders both extremes unhappy, and affects even the middling classes with ambition and avarice, as well as it afflicts them with the fears of falling into the ever yawning gulf of poverty, I bring my friendly friends upon them all, saying peace be unto them.

It is not, gentlemen, abettors of oppression, Remember the fate of Joseph's house. He neglected the opportunity which God gave him of being the friend of human nature, and of paying the debt of gratitude, which he owed to the good-hearted Egyptians, for all the benefits they had so liberally bestowed on himself and his kindred. Yet, if God sent him to save his people, he certainly did not send him to return evil for good, through partiality to the insatiable *despot* of tyranny, and to reduce a whole people to misery, which is the *essence* of that *despot*.

It is not, gentlemen, abettors of oppression, aiming at the detriment of mankind, nor, if you will, be said to be instigated by the Devil, yet surely a plan, arising from the contemplation of earthly felicity, figuratively set forth by the Prophets and Apostles, as coming on the earth in the latter days. And I found also that the hopes of a future blessed state arising from the *despot* of tyranny, were congenital with the Devil's plan.

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LETTERS
TO THE WORKING CLASSES.
XXXI.

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

THE VERDICTS ON "DO-THE-BOYS-HALL."

BROTHER PROLETARIANS,

The Coroner's Court is, in theory, one of the most valuable of the institutions handed down to us by our ancestors. I say in theory, for in practice the inquiry of a Coroner's jury is too often a jumble and a farce. Innumerable times I and you have read the disgusting verdict—"Died by the Visitation of God," when it was "as notorious as the sun at noon-day" that the subject of the inquiry had died by the *wickedness of his fellow-men*.

"Crown's Queen Law" is proverbially a subject of popular ridicule and contempt. The grave-digger in *Hamlet* must have represented the popular feeling in the days of Shakspeare; and still—thanks to the general run of Coroners' court verdicts—the joke still excites the risible faculties of the million. Fortunately, verdicts based on justice and common-sense have been occasionally recorded. Had it been otherwise, the institution must long since have perished. A law—a Government—an institution may exist—at least for a great length of time, in spite of popular hatred, but it is not possible for either to exist when assailed by unmitigated popular contempt. Ignorance and servility have too often characterised Coroners' juries; but occasionally good sense and patriotism have dictated the decisions of those bodies. A noble instance was exhibited in the case of the Calthorpe-street jury. A band of legalised ruffians, acting under the orders, and even under the eyes of the lately deceased "Lord" MELBOURNE, had brutally assaulted an unarmed public assemblage. Men, women, and children were struck down, and brutally beaten when down. In the midst of the tumult occasioned by this savage attack of the police, one or more of the people assaulted, returned blow for blow. One or two of the police were wounded, and one killed outright. On the instant it was proved that the star policeman had been foremost in the brutal attack upon the people, and had distinguished himself by assaulting and injuring even women and children. As before said, he got his *quietus*—with a bare bodkin, or something of the sort, and the jury very properly returned a verdict of "JUSTIFIABLE HOMICIDE." That verdict—boldly recorded in defence of the lives and liberties of the people—commanded and obtained a nation's thanks and gratitude.

Verdicts based on the *ext* and *falsehood* of "Died by the Visitation of God," are now less common than formerly. But even now it too often happens that juries give verdicts of a negative, and therefore useless character. Thus the Kensington jury have declared, that the boy, JOHN WALKINS, "Died from the mortal effects of exhaustion consequent upon severe supervening on an attack of malignant Cholera." It is true the jury added an "opinion" that the Tooting Cholera "proceeded from the insufficiency of food and warm clothing, and the want of proper ventilation in Mr. DROUET's establishment." But of what importance is such an "opinion"? The law takes no cognizance of opinions—"Charlist opinions" excepted. If the Cholera was produced by DROUET's bad treatment of the victims committed to his keeping, and if—as was the case—that disease destroyed the lives of those victims, it is as plain as a pikestaff that DROUET is responsible for the slaughter. Either the "opinion" of the jury is unwarranted, or if in accordance with the evidence, then the verdict is imperfect, and next to useless. It appears that when the Kensington children were removed, DROUET directed the workhouse messenger to tell the Guardians that his Brother was inclined to go and thrash them all. I am sorry that DROUET's "big brother" did not act in accordance with his inclination, and thrash away. Undoubtedly, the Guardians well deserved thrashing for keeping the children at DROUET's den, long after they became aware of the infamous system carried on at that establishment. Perhaps if Mr. DROUET's "brother" had been "called in" to quicken the sensibilities of the Kensington jury, the effect would have been favourable to the interests of the public. A thrashing administered to the jury might have thrashed the *clerk* off them, and, indeed—a more fitting verdict.

The verdict of the St. Pancras Jury, though emphatically condemning the conduct of DROUET, is still in effect the same as the verdict of the Kensington Jury. There is added an "expression of regret" at the remissness of duty shown by the St. Pancras Guardians; and an emphatic condemnation of the practice of farming pauper children. All very well, but did not the evidence demand a more definite verdict? Let us see.

As far back as the 5th of June last, a Report was laid before the St. Pancras Guardians, which stated that a number of the St. Pancras children had run away from DROUET's place, in consequence of being insufficiently fed, and otherwise badly treated. On the 22nd of August, the Guardians received another Report, detailing the brutal treatment, and consequent illness, of two children. On the 23rd of August, Mr. ROBINSON, the Workhouse Surgeon, and Mr. JOHNSON, who had been deputed to visit DROUET's den, reported that of the St. Pancras children, fifty-eight were suffering under general debility, sore-eyes, wasting of the limbs, &c. The visitors added: "The symptoms are decidedly characteristic of bad food, or an insufficiency of food." Still the Guardians (?) permitted DROUET to continue his experiments. The Coroner properly described the "grub" as "nothing better than the hill-stickers' paste." One of the unfortunate boys, describing the condition of the victim COSTER, and the boys generally, said, "Coster had sore all over his ribs, and many other boys had sores about their backs and arms. Some of the boys had blisters about their bodies by being knocked about by Mr. HANING, the schoolmaster." "The stick, with which the boys were beaten, was thicker than a candle." "Several boys ran away; and when they were brought back, they had their heads shaved as a punishment." "Some of the Chelsea boys were beaten by the schoolmaster for telling the gentlemen of the Chelsea Board, they had not enough to eat. Those boys' names are ROWE and CUTLER; but CUTLER is now dead. After such complaints were made, the boys were put up short stet." This boy, named WOODHOUSE, added the following heart-sickening revelation:

"The boys sometimes slept three in a bed, and when they wet the bed they are put four in a bed as a punishment, and had to eat on cold oyleole, with a straw bed underneath. I have known boys to hungry that they have got over the feelings to eat the stuf out of the pig-tubs and the water."

These statements were confirmed by others of the unhappy children. When the evidence of the medical gentlemen is taken in connexion with that of the surviving sufferers, can there be any doubt that, whereas the deaths of those who perished were caused by cholera, that that disease was caused by the cruel treatment of the victims, and that that treatment was the work of DROUET and his myrmidons? Under such circumstances, the verdict of the St. Pancras Jury was altogether unsuited to the case: a verdict of manslaughter against DROUET was demanded by the evidence, and, failing to record that verdict, the Jury failed in their duty.

Again, on the inquest before the Kensington Jury, what revelations of misery were

published by the children living, and by the friends of the children dead! HANNAH WILKINS, when she visited her children, was in the habit of taking them some bread and butter, "which they eat most ravenously. They frequently complained of not having enough to eat." Her boy had been removed before he was attacked with cholera, although not until that disease was raging throughout DROUET's establishment. A few hours before being seized with cholera, he awoke in the middle of the night in a state of alarm, and, his mother questioning him on the subject, he said the nurse at Tooting had struck him on his nose, and made it bleed very much, and he thought she was going to do so again. This child was but five years old. Imagine what he must have suffered, when he was haunted in his dreams by the fear that DROUET's dependent was about to repeat the cruelty of which he had evidently been the victim on former occasions. The sister of the deceased, though nine years of age, was so emaciated and worn down with disease, that she appeared to be a mere infant, when carried in the arms of the nurse in the presence of the jury. This poor creature was so eaten up with it, that Coronor, Jury, and all present, shrank from her, as a sight that was "sickening," "frightful," and "really awful." In the course of this inquiry, it came out that the children, when they returned to Kensington from Tooting, came back in rags and tatters. It appeared, from the evidence of one of the boys, that, when any of them ran away, one portion of the punishment was to dress them in girl's clothes. This was adding degradation to cruelty. Imagine the shame of a high-spirited boy forced to dress in girl's clothes, and made the sport and scorn of those around him. Another boy, who had run away, and been brought back again, was stripped of his clothes and kept in his shirt only, from seven in the evening until twelve next day, as a punishment. As regards the shaving of their heads, no words can sufficiently express the abominable cruelty of such a punishment. Felons and convicts, murderers and wretches, condemned to the gallows, suffer not this pain and shame. How true it is, that in England, there is no crime like poverty!

Mr. GOODRICH remarked, after the examination of a boy named JOHN THOMAS, that he was a very intelligent boy before he went to Tooting, but now he appeared to have lost all his acumen, and seemed nearly a fool—in fact, a reproduction of "SNIKE," the victim of the celebrated "Mr. SQUEERS," whose establishment—"Do-the-boys-Hall"—was a perfect type of the now equally famed—perhaps we should say much more infamous—Tooting Purgatory.

It is amazing that the Jury should have found the verdict I have already stated, when the evidence pointed to a decision so much more definite. When THOMAS MILLS was asked by the Coroner what he thought had brought the cholera to Tooting, the boy replied— "Want of enough grub." Mr. WALKER evidently concurred in that opinion, and so must every one who will be at the trouble to read the evidence. The cholera caused death—want of "grub" caused the cholera. DROUET's remorseless avarice withheld the "grub,"

Judge ye as to what should have been the verdict of the jury.

I now come to the much more satisfactory inquest on the children of the Holborn Union. Thanks—a nation's thanks—to the honest jurors who, on Tuesday last, declared BARTHOLOMEW PETER DROUET "guilty of manslaughter." Thanks also to Mr. WALKER. That gentleman the public are infinitely indebted for the faithful discharge of his duties as Coroner for Middlesex, particularly for the able and admirable manner in which he has conducted the inquiries into this "Massacre of the Innocents." It is now to be hoped that Tuesday's verdict will bring the accursed traffic in the flesh and blood of helpless children to a speedy conclusion.

On this inquest, evidence was given of the treatment of the children, similar to that already stated. When the unhappy creatures complained they had not enough to eat, they were flogged and beaten: it appears they were even denied a sufficiency of cold water. One of DROUET's Janissaries, named PORTER, admitted that when bread was served out to the boys, a four-pound loaf was cut into thirteen pieces; but Mr. WIMB, a Poor Law Guardian, said he saw a loaf cut into sixteen pieces, a piece being one boy's allowance.

The medical evidence on this inquest is worthy the special attention of the reader. All the doctors agreed that the fatal disorder which had caused the death of 200 of these unfortunate children, was to be attributed principally to the want of proper clothing, ventilation, and a sufficient supply of wholesome food. The result was the verdict already stated; coupled with a vote of censure on the Guardians of the Holborn Union, and a condemnatory allusion to the New Poor Law. As far as it goes, the verdict is commendable, because justified and called for by the evidence: but are there not other persons as worthy of condemnation as DROUET? The persons who pretended to act the part of visitors, most clearly neglected their duty. It must be admitted that the Guardians paid a liberal sum per head, for the sustenance and instruction of the children, but they made no proper agreement with DROUET, and still more culpably, they allowed the children to remain in their misery, although they had seen or heard sufficient of DROUET's management, to comprehend that with him PROFIT was the one consideration. The Poor-law Commissioners are not to be held blameless. They pretend that they had no power over such places as DROUET's den. It is strange how powerful they claim to be, when they wish to do mischief: their impudence is only exhibited when they are expected to do good. After all, the system of which these men are the representatives should be the great object of popular attack until it is amended, or, failing amendment, utterly swept away. DROUET is not the only trafficker in the lives of little children, and to put an end to the unhappy work of those dealers in human flesh and blood, the system itself must be changed.

The abolition of the child-farming system will be a step in the right direction, but the Poor Law system requires revision. The country needs a veritable Poor Law Amendment Bill. Children must be restored to their parents, and the parents—no longer separated, no longer shut up in workhouses, no longer kept in forced idleness, or set to useless unproductive employment—must be furnished with the means, and the necessary direction to restore them to the proud rank of INDEPENDENT LABOUR. Then there will be no more Tooting massacres—no more infant victims to sacrifice at the altar of the Moloch-god of PROFIT!

L'AMI DU PEUPLE.

REVELATIONS, THEIR CAUSES AND EFFECTS.—A public meeting was convened at the South London Hall, Blackfriars-rd., on Wednesday evening, to hear Messrs. STALLWOOD and KYD on the above subject. At half-past eight o'clock, a numerous meeting had assembled. Mr. Small was called to the chair. Mr. STALLWOOD proved the cause of the various continental revolutions, tracing their causes to mis-government. He read an extract from Lou's Napoleon's work on the "Extinction of Pauperism," by means of Agricultural Colonies, and passed an eulogium thereon as being a step in the right direction. Mr. KYD followed in an able and eloquent address, which excited unanimous and enthusiastic applause. A vot of thanks to Messrs. KYD and STALLWOOD concluded the proceedings.

The ADDRESS IN THE LORDS will be moved by Lord Bruce, and seconded by Lord Bateman.

THE CHOLERA.

TOOTING CHOLERA CASES.—The medical officers of the Board of Health have been directed by the Poor Law Commissioners to visit all pauper institutions, which of tender age are brought up, with the view of ascertaining their condition and general treatment.

On Saturday the Board of Health received reports of the following fresh cases—Lambeth, 2 fatal; Newington, 2 fatal; Battersea, 3 fatal; Wandsworth, 2 fatal; Battersea (Althorpe-house), 1 fatal; East and West Redditch, 11, 3 fatal; Glasgow, 39, 18 fatal; Selkirk, 2; Galston, 3 fatal; Greenock, 15, 5 fatal; New Mills, 10, 2 fatal; Ross-shire, 1 fatal; Hawick, 10, 2 fatal; Lanark, 36, 20 fatal; Paisley, from 29th inst., 82, 27 fatal; Greenock, 9, 2 fatal; Solkirk, 6, 2 fatal; Dryburgh, Merton, 6, 2 fatal; Old Kilpatrick, 2; Doune, 2 fatal; Logie, Stirling, 1 fatal; Jedburgh, 1 fatal; Renfrew, from 22nd inst., 18, 10 fatal; New Mills and Greenholm, 21, 13 fatal; Anderston, 4, 1 fatal. Total new cases, 910; 133 deaths.

THE CHOLERA AMONGST THE PAUPER CHILDREN.—FRESH OUTBREAK OF THE DISEASE.—Although the reports from Tooting on Monday, describe the disease of cholera, so far as Mr. DROUET's establishment is concerned, as having subsided, it is to be regretted that such is not the case, and that some of the children who have been removed from Tooting. It appears that the cholera has again made its appearance in a malignant form amongst the children removed from Tooting to St. Pancras workhouse. When Dr. Arthur Farre and Mr. Gruner, the two medical superintendents of the Board of Health, visited St. Pancras workhouse on Saturday night, there were only one or two cases, and a very few cases of low fever, in the cholera wards. On Sunday night, however, a very considerable change in the state of affairs took place, as will be seen by the following official report issued on Monday by Mr. Bird, the medical gentleman specially appointed by the directors of the workhouse to attend the children since their removal from Tooting:—"Temporary Hospital, St. Pancras, Jan. 2nd, 1849.—I regret having to make an unfavourable report to day, especially as every thing appeared progressing so well. Yesterday (Sunday) evening, however, one of the boys was seized with cholera most severely. During the night six more boys were taken up to the infirmary, with low fever, and this morning one of the girls was also severely attacked with cholera. These two cases of cholera are in a state of collapse. One of the two children I have previously reported as in a dangerous condition, died last evening at eight o'clock, the duration of attack being nine days, 28 hours, 10 minutes, 10 seconds. The children in the Holborn and Strand unions are reported as going on favourably, but it must be remarked, that not only is roast beef and mutton given them every day for dinner, but even wine and other stimulants are administered to sustain the stamina of the children.

On Tuesday the Board of Health received reports of the following fresh cases:—Refuge, Agar-street, Marylebone, 1; St. Pancras Workhouse, 1 fatal; Wandsworth, 7, 2 fatal; Battersea, 1 fatal; Whitechapel, 2, 1 fatal; Carlisle, 1 fatal; Holloway Union Workhouse, 1; East Redditch, Norfolk, 5, 1 fatal; York Union Workhouse, 2 fatal; Wark-End Union, 4; Kilburn, 1 fatal; Kilburn, 3 fatal; Milnes and London, 11, 10 fatal; Hudding, 16, 12 fatal; Rickerton, Ayrshire, 10, 1 fatal; Old Monkland, 1, 2 fatal; Olsen, 2, 1 fatal; Dunblane, 1 fatal; Doune, 1 fatal; Selkirk, 4; Dreghorn, 1 fatal; Total new cases, 172; 72 deaths.

Police.

TIAMAS.—BRUTALITY AT SEA.—James Grieves, the mate of the Jenny Lind, was charged with cruelly assaulting Richard Williams, an apprentice on board that vessel.—The complainant stated that about five months ago, just before the ship got into Valparaiso, the defendant flogged him cruelly round the mast, and compelled him to fly up each side of the rigging. Complainant never knew what he was beaten for. Whilst in the court that day the defendant said to him, "If you go against me, look out for your next voyage, as I am going to the ship with you." Williams, who had been at sea since 1839, and never witnessed such brutality, that excites the strongest complaint. Before the boy was struck the mate and captain were whispering together. The captain went below and put out his light, but he must have heard the boys piercing screams, as the mate beat him up the rigging at each side of the vessel. The boy ran down his thighs, and his back was black and blue all over. It was the most cold-blooded thing witness ever saw, and it was continued for twenty minutes. He hit him with a clewline, not caring where he struck. The defendant admitted that he thrashed the boy, but it was only gentle correction, because of his filthy habits.—Mr. Secker said that the case was of far too grave a character for the exercise of summary jurisdiction. It was not for him (Mr. Secker) to decide on the amount of injury that had been done. The boy must inflict the same punishment as the captain did, and in the mean time he (the magistrate) would require the latter to put in sureties to appear for the purpose of having the depositions taken against him.

SOUTHWAKE.—AN ORDEAL FOR BEGGARS.—Mr. GRIFFIN and W. Wicks were charged with beggary.—A policeman stated that on the preceding day while on duty at St. James's Church, Rotherhithe, he observed the prisoners, who impeded the congregation for alms as they left the church.—Mr. COTTINGHAM questioned Griffin, who, in reply, said that he belonged to the Crusader, from Sydney, and now in the West India Docks; that he was paid off from that vessel three weeks ago, and received £34 wages.—Mr. COTTINGHAM asked why he did not try to get another ship?—He said he lost his register ticket, and could not get one from the Crusader, so he had to go to the dock yard, and there he met Mr. GRIFFIN, who was a pauper, and the magistrate adjudged him to gaol for his conduct.

W. DALE.

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MANCHESTER.—The Victim Committee have issued a lengthy and powerful address, and circulated it in Manchester and its vicinity, calling on the people to support the law-made victim of spires and informers—a call which we hope will be heartily responded to. Owing to its extreme length, we are unable to give the address.

TO FEARGUS O'CONNOR, M. P.

RESPECTED SIR.—I am requested by the Dorking Charlists to state our opinion on your letter in the Star of the 13th inst.—1st. Our opinion is that the proposed scheme of Financial Reform, will not benefit the working classes, while we are ruled by class-made laws.—2nd. We are of opinion that your proposition to give prizes for the six best essays on the Labour Question is very good, and we are ready with our humble means to assist to the extent of our power.—Lastly, We very much approve of petitioning Parliament, according to your proposition in the above-named letter. Should the petition be reduced to practice, I trust we shall be behind it, and in our case, and that of the others. But his lordship overruled,

on the ground that we were tried for misdeavour, and that it only held good in cases of felony.

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TO FEARGUS O'CONNOR, M. P.

RESPECTED SIR.—We the undersigned allottees

of Charlerie, having learned with pleasure that the meeting was adjourned to Sunday evening at two o'clock, when all members are requested to attend,

CHARLEROI.—At a meeting of the occupants on the 19th inst., the following resolutions, moved by Mr. Gilbert, and seconded by Mr. Gathard, were unanimously adopted:—That we, the allottees of Charlerie, are of opinion that it would not be consistent with our duty to our brother members of the Land Company, were we to avail ourselves of the proposition of Mr. O'Connor, to give us our share on the 1st of January, at the same time as the other members of the company were to do so, and that we accept it from his private purse: at the same time we feel the urgent necessity for a prolongation of the time granted for the first payment of rent, owing to the many unavoidable difficulties we have had to encounter in our new vocation. We are of opinion that whatever indulgence is granted to the allotted members should also be extended to those

EXTINCTION OF PAUPERISM.

BY PRINCE NAPOLEON LOUIS BONAPARTE.

CHAPTER I.

The wealth of a country depends upon the prosperity 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. All independent minds acknowledge it. They differ only in regard to the remedies to be applied.

Agencierie.—It is asserted that the extreme divisibility of property tends to ruin agriculture, and yet the re-enactment of the law of Primogeniture, which maintained the greatest estates and favoured the cultivation of the soil, is now an impossibility. We may congratulate ourselves in a political point of view that it is so.

Industry.—Labour, the source of all wealth, has neither system, organisation, nor aim. It is like a machine working without a regulator, and is totally uninterested about its moving power. Rushing between its wheels alike mad and master, it departs the country, carries the population into faraway spaces, with a sin which enfolds both mind and body, and finally, casts into the street where it requires them, those men who, to gain some-thing, have sacrificed strength, youth, and existence.

Like a voracious Saturn, manufacturing industry devours its children and fire, but upon their destruction, must we, however, to ward off these evils, subject it to an iron yoke, deprive it of that liberty on which it alone flourishes, and in one word slay it, because it slays others, without calculating the immense benefits it confers? We believe that it will be sufficient to cure its wounded and avert wounds. It is urgent to do so, for society is no fictitious being, it is a body composed of flesh and bone which cannot prosper, unless all its component parts are in a state of perfect health. We must have an efficacious remedy for the evils endured by industry. The welfare of the country, the voice of humanity, and even the interest of government imperatively demand it.

Home Commerce.—Sufferers, because industry produces too much in comparison with the slender requirement it gives to the producer, whilst agriculture does not produce sufficient. The nation is thus composed of producers who cannot sell, and of diminished consumers who cannot buy. This loss of balance cannot be got rid of here, as in England, go to China in search of some kinds 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 commercial movement much more considerable than that caused by the most advantageous treaties.

Foreign Commerce.—The causes which affect our exports are too closely allied with politics to speak of them here. It is sufficient for us to say, that the quantity of merchandise which a country exports, is always in direct relation with the number of bullets which it can discharge against its enemies when its honour or dignity command it.

The events which occurred in China, sufficiently attest that truth.

TAXATION.

France is one of the most highly taxed countries in Europe. It might be, perhaps, the richest country to the proportion of the taxes which it bears, but the moisture from the earth, to distribute it again in the form of rain over all places requiring water for fecundity or produce. When this taxation operates regularly, fertility ensues, but when heaven in its wrath, scatters the absorbed vapours impartially in storms, whirlwinds and tempests, the germs of production are destroyed, and sterility results, for too much is given here, and too little there. Still whatever may have been the beneficial or injurious influence of the atmosphere, almost always at the end of the year, the same quantity of water that has been taken is returned.

The distribution alone makes all the difference. When it is regular and equitable, abundance is created. When it is prodigal and impartial, scarcity is the result.

The same effects are produced by a good or a bad administration. If the taxes annually levied from the people are expended in a non-productive manner, such as in the creation of sinecures, the erection of sterile monuments, and the support of an army in times of peace, more expensive than that which conquered at Austerlitz, then taxation becomes a crushing yoke, it exhausts the country by taking without returning. But if, on the other hand, the national resources were employed in creating new elements of production, in re-establishing the equilibrium of wealth, in abolishing misery, in stimulating and organising labour, and in short, in curing the evils which our civilisation brings in its train, then assuredly taxation would become for our citizens, as a minister said one day from the tribune, *the very best of all investments.*

In the budget we must find the first starting point of any system which has for its aim the amelioration of the working classes. To seek it elsewhere is a chimera.

Savings' Banks are no doubt useful to the better class of workmen, they afford them an opportunity of making an advantageous use of their savings, or superfluities; but to the numerous class who have no superfluity, and consequently no means of saving, the system is altogether worthless.

To seek to mitigate the wretchedness of men, who have not sufficient food, by proposing that they shall annually put aside something which they have not got, is either a derision or a folly.

What should be done? Here it is—our law of inheritance, which the division of property ruins agriculture. This inconvenience must be remedied by an association, which will, in every idle acre, shall re-create great estates and increase cultivation, without causing any discontents, and without political principles. Manufacturing industry continually draws the populations into towns, and invades them. We must recall those into fields, who are too numerous in towns, and invigorate their minds and bodies in the country.

The working classes possess nothing. We must make them proprietors of the soil. They possess no wealth save in their arms. We must employ these, so as to make them useful to all.

The working classes are like Helots in the midst of a Sylarite people. We must then give a position in society, and bind their interests to the soil. Finally, the working classes are without organisation, attachments, rights, or prospects. We must give them both rights and future prospects, and elevate them in the scale of society by combination, education, and discipline.

CHAPTER II.

ORGANISATION.

The unorganised mass are nothing, united they are everything; without organisation they can neither speak themselves, nor make others understand them; they cannot even receive or act upon a common impulse.

On the other hand, there is no longer a sufficiently strong and persuasive to spring from a central point, and bear to twenty millions of consciences, without requiring mediators the severe doctrines of power.

The reign of castes is over. They can only now serve by the masses. It is therefore necessary to organise them, so that they may reduce their wishes to form, and discipline them, so that they may be directed towards, and enlightened upon their real interests.

To govern, means no longer to rule the people by violence and physical force, but the art of conducting them towards a more glorious future, by appealing to their reason and feelings.

But since the masses need instruction, and the government requires to be restrained, and even enlightened, as to the interest of the greatest number, it is absolutely necessary that they should be in society two equally powerful movements: the action of power upon the mass, and the re-action of the mass upon power.

Accessory buildings would then be added to afford the members of the colony and their children both civil and religious instruction. Finally, vast hospitals would be built for the infirm, and for those who were too old to labour.

These mediators would possess the confidence of the mass, the moment they were freely elected by them; and they would deserve the confidence of the second, the moment they filled an important place in society: for one may say in general, that man is that which the functions he performs oblige him to be. Guided by these considerations we wish to see created between the workmen and their employers, an intermediate class enjoying rights legally recognised, and elected by the whole mass of workmen.

This intermediate class would form the corps of managers or overseers. We should like all the working-men to assemble in their respective communes every year, and proceed to the election of their representatives or overseers in the proportion of one to every ten workmen. Good conduct would be the sole qualification.

Every manufacturer, or farmer, or any tradesman whatever should be compelled by law to have a manager whenever he employed more than ten workmen, and to pay him double the amount of a common wage.

The workmen would perform amongst the working classes the same duty that non-commissioned officers do in the army, they would compose the first step in the social hierarchy, stimulating the laudable ambition of all by shoving them a recompence easy to be obtained.

Elevated in their own estimation by the duties 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.

To ameliorate the condition of men, you must always before them some attainable object, which may at once be honourable and honoured.

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 creation of a central point.

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

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

CHAPTER III.

AGRICULTURAL COLONIES.

Let us suppose that the three preceding measures have been adopted. The twenty-five millions of cultivated workmen have their representatives, and the third part of the agricultural quota of France is there, property, supporting the idea, that they would be sold in the end, purchase the actual proprietorship.

In each department of France, and in the first instance, wherever the uncultivated lands were, agricultural colleges would be established, offering food, education, religious instruction, and work, to all who required them, and God knows the number is great in France. These charitable institutions, in the midst of a selfish world, abandoned to the fecundity of money, ought to produce the same beneficial effect as those monasteries which flourished in the middle ages, in the bosom of forests, amidst warlike men and serfs, forming the germs of enlightenment, peace, and civilisation.

There being but one national association, the unequal distribution of the uncultivated land, and even the limited quantity in certain districts, would be no obstacle.

The poor of one department could remove to the colony of the next, or cultivated lands might be purchased which, although unprofitable to individuals, might be advantageous to an association.

The great benefit of combination arises from the equal distribution of aid, and the mitigation of misery, without that constant excuse of inhumanity being adduced. "Oh! the pauper does not belong to any parish."

Agricultural colonies would have two ends to fulfil. The first would be to support a vast number of poor by employing them in the cultivation of the soil, &c. The second would be to afford a temporary refuge to the floating mass of workmen, when the prosperity of trade once called into activity, and whom its stagnation or the improvements in machinery plucked into the deepest misery.

All the poor, all who were out of work, would find in these colonies means of employing mind and body for the benefit of the entire community.

There would be in these colonies, independent of the men, women, and children, strictly necessary to farm labour, a great number constantly employed in reclaiming new land, and in erecting new establishments for the old and infirm.

The advances made to the association on its anterior profits would allow of the employment of a considerable capital in these necessary expenses.

When private industry required hands, it would seek them at those central depots, and it is clear that the workman who was always sure to find a living in the agricultural colonies, would not accept of private emloyment, unless the latter presented greater benefits than the former; hence a remunerative scale of wages would always be maintained.

To stimulate an exchange, as well as to excite the emulation of the workmen, a levy would be made on the profits of each colony, to create a capital for each workman. A real savings bank would thus be formed, from which the workman, at the moment of his departure could draw the balance due to him, which would be regulated in amount by the length of his employment, his zeal, and his good conduct.

The labourous man would be able to amass, in a few years, a sum sufficient to ensure his living during the remainder of his life, even out of the colony altogether.

On our system better, we shall have recourse to a comparison. A large river flowing through a country is a general cause of prosperity; but sometimes too great an abundance, or a scarcity of its waters, give rise to inundations, or produce droughts. What ought to be done to remedy these calamities?

The Nile furnishes us with an example.—Vast basins are dug, in which the surplus waters remain, and from which they flow when there is too little, maintaining a constant level, from which results abundance.

Well, we propose a similar thing for the working classes, whose flow of industry may be at once a source of ruin or fertility, according as its course is guided. We demand for the floating mass of workmen, vast places of refuge, where their minds and bodies may be equally developed; refuge which, when the national activity is partially superseded, shall preserve the surplus unemployed labour to restore it again in proportion to the general demand.

We demand, in one word, veritable labour reservoirs, which would always maintain at its level the industry of the country.

The managers or representatives of the workmen would become the regulators of that continual exchange. The managers in private concerns, alive to all the wants of their employers, would share with the magistrates the right of sending to the agricultural colonies those whom they could not employ.

The managers of the colonies, aware of the capacity of each individual, would endeavour to procure advantages and appointments in private establishments for those who were required there.

Several practical inconveniences might attend this exchange; but what institution does not present this in the beginning?

This advance would present the immense advantage of a more popular instruction, of giving them agriculture, and would establish, as a general custom, that which the manufacturing of sugar from beet-sugar and silk manufacturing have already introduced, viz. the alternate exchange of field labour for that of the factory.

The managers would be in the proportion of one to two in private business.

Above the managers there would be directors, whose duties would be to teach practical 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 agricultur-

CHAPTER IV.

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE.

Finally, above the directors, managers, and workers, there would be a governor for each colony, he 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.

Every year the accounts would be published, laid before the general assembly of workmen, and submitted to the general council of the department for their approval, who would likewise have the right to discharge the manager or directors who had exhibited any year.

That is to say, each acre after being cleared would yield the first year fifty-francs, the second one hundred and ninety-five francs, and the third one hundred and ninety-francs.

As for the expenses independent of the first outlay, the expenditure would be continually renewed, such as for the payment of 3,500 workmen and 120 families, the rent due to Bourgeois or individuals, seeds, out-houses, management, and 7,124 beasts to purchase, there would be each year a regular increase in expenses caused by the maintenance of one hundred and twenty new families, and the erection of barracks to lodge them.

Each workman would receive the pay of a soldier, and each family, that of three workmen. Clothing would be cheaper for the working men than for the soldier; but we will calculate it at the market price. Each man would annually cost, including every article, three hundred and eighteen francs.

The managers would receive the pay of non-commissioned officers; the directors that of officers; and the governor that of a colonel.

Other expenses would be the pay of all the workmen, the cost of barracks constructed like military ones, these immense hydraulic constructions, built on a small scale, would contain ten men and their overseers, or one family.

In many departments there are similar barracks near the sugar manufacturers. In making the calculations which we have placed at the end of the book, it would be found that with an advance of three hundred millions of francs, the receipts and expenses of our colonies would at the end of twenty-three years be as follows:—

Annual receipts ... francs 1,194,694,800
Expenses 373,022,278

Profit ... francs 810,722,522
296,400 families and 153,166 poor workmen would be supported.

The army is an organisation, which, requiring to execute rapidly and with promptitude the command of the chief, ought to have for its basis a hierarchy, being based on merit.

The working classes form an association, whose leaders would have no other duties except to regulate and execute the general will, its hierarchy, right them to result from election.

That which we propose, then, has no connexion with military colonies. So as to make our system more palpable, we are about to glance at the probable receipts and expenses of an agricultural colony.

The calculations are based on official returns.

Every one will understand the difficulty of drawing up such a budget. Nothing can be more inexact than a detailed appreciation of the rent of land.

We do not pretend to have foreseen all.

The best provision, says Montesquieu, is to try not see too much.

But if our figures may give rise to various interpretations, we shall not admit it is so with the system itself. It is possible, notwithstanding the care we have taken in our valuations, that we have omitted some expenses and receipts, or estimated some not in our favour, in the least the fundamental idea which we believe to be just, true and fruitful of good results. The following simple reason will prove it.

Generally speaking, the rent of the land is divided into three parts, without counting fiscal duties. The first goes to support the workmen; the second is the farmer's share; and the third enriches the proprietor.

The first part would enable many poor families to live in moderate comfort. The second part would be supported by the workmen, not only of erecting houses of refuge, but would uneasiness augment the capital of society, by the purchase of new land.

In fact, it may be presumed that these colonies from the nature of the soil, will produce grain and cattle, rather than wine. But by augmenting the quantity of wheat, and of flesh meat, they would lower the price of common necessities, and increase consumption by putting them within reach of all its details.

Not only would these colonies prevent in twenty years, more than a million of human beings from languishing in misery, not only would they support a host of workmen in connexion with agriculture, but the annual exchange of 800 millions of francs worth of land products for others would increase consumption and improve the home market.

This demand would present an outlet for all the fruits of industry more considerable than the most advantageous commercial treaties could effect, because the value of our exports, which is only about one thousand millions of francs, to make this reasoning more apparent and to show the vast importance of the home market, let us suppose these agricultural colonies were not within our territorial boundary, but separated from the continent by an arm of the sea, and a line of custom-houses officers, and that they were nevertheless compelled to have no commercial dealings except with France.

On the contrary, we have given of the benefits of the colony to the workmen, and the cost of the workhouse to the proprietor.

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had confined to his care under a written and more definite contract than appears to have existed before between them. At the same time the jury most emphatically condemned the practice of fanning pauper children in the presence of strangers, because the system is rendered by it affords to unprincipled persons disengaged opportunities of defrauding the poor children of their proper food and clothing, inasmuch as the wickedness and evil consequences of which do not seem to become publicly apparent, nor to produce such adequate effect on the minds of directors and guardians of the poor as to lead to correction of the evil until disease has produced the most awful effects on the helpless population of such establishments."

The inquest, after lasting in the whole fourteen hours, then terminated.

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MR. GUARAZZONI was then examined: He stated that he saw the deceased on the 5th inst., the morning on which he was attacked. He was in a state of collapse, and had every symptom of malignant cholera. It treated him with artificial heat, medicines, wine, laudanum, &c. He rallied, and had nearly recovered, when he was attacked by consecutive fever on the fourth day, and eventually died. Had opened the body on Tuesday last with Mr. Goodrich. It is my opinion that the deceased died from diarrhoea, and consecutive fever that supervened from the effects of an attack of cholera.

MR. GOODRICH said he had visited the establishment in June or July last, with some of the guardians, when he saw reason to complain of the crowding of the children, both in the bedrooms and the schoolroom.

He also tested the soap, and found it to be that to that made in St. George's workhouse, there being no fibre of meat in it. He therefore refused, on hearing, to write anything in the book; and on the way home he impressed on the guardians the necessity for taking the children home, but the new workhouse not being ready it could not be done.

Mr. Goodrich was then sworn and confirmed Mr. Guarazzoni's evidence, and further stated, that when he visited Tooting, he disapproved of the arrangements there altogether. He considered the children were too crowded there, and that while in the playgrounds, which were surrounded by a high wall and high palings, they had not sufficient air, and that they were unhealthy. He also complained of the dormitories and stepped them, and considered they were too crowded. He was told that Mr. Hall, the assistant Poor-Law Commissioner, had recently been there to see it, and approved of what had been seen, and witness thought it was no use complaining further if he approved of it.

By the Coroner: When he saw the children there they were healthy in their appearance, but when he felt their arms they wanted firm flesh.

The Coroner said he did not approve of the farming out of children. He thought it a bad system.

Mr. Wakley further asked, "Is it not true, that when a child is sent to a workhouse, and when the want to which they are sent, which they ate most ravenously. They

frequently complained of not having enough to eat, and on enquiring on them on the subject, they said they had not enough to eat at any of the meals. The deceased looked very well when she visited him after he first went there, but he soon seemed to be falling off, and appeared more sickly and weakly than before."

The Coroner:—Here desired the daughter, nine years of age, to be brought into the inquest room. She was brought in, in the arms of a nurse, wrapped up in a blanket, and by being carried across the arms of the nurse in the manner of an infant, appeared to be much younger than had been stated.

MR. WAKLEY inquired if anything was the matter with her, when the master of the workhouse and Mr. Guarazzoni and Mr. Goodrich, two medical officers of the parish, said she had been ill for some time, and was suffering from it.

On the 14th inst. he sent out of the feet, the lower part of the legs were found to be covered with rags, but suspicion of the feet and legs were visible to show that the flesh was covered with brown marks of itch, which were said to extend in the same manner over the body of the unfortunate girl.

The Coroner said he had never before in all his life seen such a bad case of itch. It was really frightful.

Mr. Goodrich said in all his experience of thirty years he had never before witnessed such a dreadful case. It was really awful. He was the medical attendant at the workhouse of St. George, Hanover-square, in the Fulham-road, where there were 250 children placed, and there was not one single case of it.

Mr. BLACKWELL explained to the coroner and jury that the girl had been removed from the Tooting establishment ever since the 9th of November last, in consequence of the complaints of some of them that Mr. Drouet's brother had acted improperly towards them.

The girl was then removed from the room, and the Coroner repeated that she was a perfectly sickening sight, to which

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The Coroner said he would next examine some of the children who had been with the deceased at Tooting.

FANNY BAILEY deposed that she was fourteen years of age, and while in Mr. Drouet's establishment was a helper in the ward in which the deceased boy was placed.

The Coroner:—Did you ever complain of the food you had at Tooting? Witness:—No, sir. I was always afraid to speak about Mr. Drouet, or what he had to eat, for fear of punishment afterwards.

By the Coroner.—Had not enough to eat while at Tooting. The breakfast consisted of a slice of bread, and a shallow white soup plate full of gruel made of flour. Had seen it made in the kitchen, and was sure it was made of flour, and not oatmeal. Had heard many others complain about the food. The boys were worse off than the girls, as they were not paid for working, and the girls were paid two-pence a week for working.

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The Coroner (seeing the witness well clothed in a good warm cloak), said he supposed that those clothes had been given them by the Kensington guardians.

MR. BLACKWELL said that was the fact. When both the girls and boys were brought from Tooting they were all ragged and tattered.

THOMAS MILLS, a short thick-set boy, of twelve years of age, was then examined. He had neither read nor written, and did not know his Catechism, and the Coroner would not, therefore, administer the oath to him. He stated that he had been occasionally to school. There were twelve beds in one room, and thirteen in the other, and in each bed three boys slept. With the 2d a week he used to buy grub. After he had his breakfast he could eat four 1d more (slices). Never while at Tooting had enough to eat. Was always hungry after his meals. A great many boys had run away from Drouet's establishment. The first time he ran away he was beat for it. When they come back they put girls' clothes on them, and birch them. The last time he ran away was the Sunday before they were fetched away to Kensington. He then went to town to see after his friends, but could not find them, and walked about all night. The next morning he was stopped by a policeman, and taken into the station, and then to a schoolhouse, but he could not stay there, and was kept there a day and a half, when Mr. Norris, the shoemaker at the Tooting asylum, came and fetched him back. He was then stripped of his clothes, and kept only in his shirt from seven in the evening until twelve next day, as a punishment.

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INQUEST AT KENSINGTON.

On Tuesday, January 18th, Mr. Wakley, coroner, held an inquest in the Board-room of the Kensington workhouse, Gloucester-road, Kensington, on the body of John Wilkins, a boy five years of age, one of the twenty-three boys belonging to that parish removed from Mr. Drouet's establishment at Tooting, on the 4th inst., and who was subsequently attacked with cholera, from the effects of which he died on Sunday, the 14th inst. The jury proceeded to the dead-house to view the body, which presented an appearance of considerable emaciation, and on their return to the Board-room the following evidence was given:

MR. GUARAZZONI was then examined: He stated that he saw the deceased on the 5th inst., the morning on which he was attacked. He was in a state of collapse, and had every symptom of malignant cholera. It treated him with artificial heat, medicines, wine, laudanum, &c. He rallied, and had nearly recovered, when he was attacked by consecutive fever on the fourth day, and eventually died. Had opened the body on Tuesday last with Mr. Goodrich. It is my opinion that the deceased died from diarrhoea, and consecutive fever that supervened from the effects of an attack of cholera.

MR. GOODRICH said he had visited the establishment in June or July last, with some of the guardians, when he saw reason to complain of the crowding of the children, both in the bedrooms and the schoolroom.

He also tested the soap, and found it to be that to that made in St. George's workhouse, there being no fibre of meat in it. He therefore refused, on hearing, to write anything in the book; and on the way home he impressed on the guardians the necessity for taking the children home, but the new workhouse not being ready it could not be done.

Mr. Goodrich was then sworn and confirmed Mr. Guarazzoni's evidence, and further stated, that when he visited Tooting, he disapproved of the arrangements there altogether. He considered the children were too crowded there, and that while in the playgrounds, which were surrounded by a high wall and high palings, they had not sufficient air, and that they were unhealthy. He also complained of the dormitories and stepped them, and considered