

Chartist Intelligence.

NATIONAL CHARTER ASSOCIATION.
Office—14, Southampton-street, Strand.
The Executive Committee of this body held their usual weekly meeting as above, on Monday evening last. Present: Messrs. Arnold, Harney, Holyoake, Le Blond, and Wilson. Messrs. Harney, Grassy and Jones were absent. Messrs. Hunt and O'Connor were also absent through indisposition. John Wilson presided. The correspondence received was read.

The Secretary reported that he had been applied to by some local friends who were desirous of forming a local association at the Temperance Hall, 36, Royal Mint-street, Tower-hill, to be called the Tower Hamlets Total Abstinence local association, and solicited the Executive to call a meeting in the above Hall for that purpose. A brief discussion it was decided that the question be deferred until the next meeting of the Executive had been held.

The Secretary also reported that the Metropolitan Delegate Council, at a meeting held on the previous afternoon, had agreed to a resolution recommending the Executive Committee to call on the metropolitan localities to elect one delegate to scrutinize the votes received for the future Executive. The recommendation was approved, and the Secretary was instructed to issue a notice in accordance therewith, and request such delegates to attend at the offices for that purpose on Wednesday evening, December 31st, at seven o'clock in the evening.

Mr. J. B. O'Brien having recently stated in his "European Notes"—"That it was not from any disrespect to the Chartist body that he had ceased for some time to be an enrolled member of the Association, and had declined to be nominated as one of the Executive," the Secretary was instructed to announce that the votes received on Mr. O'Brien's behalf could not be recognised.

After the transaction of financial and other business, the committee adjourned to Monday evening, December 29th.

Signed, on behalf of the Committee,
JOHN ARNOTT, General Secretary.

CANDIDATES NOMINATED FOR THE FUTURE EXECUTIVE.

Peargus O'Connor, Ernest Jones, G. J. Holyoake, Thornton Hunt, Robert Le Blond, John Arnold, James Grassy, C. F. Nicholls, T. M. Wheeler, John Shaw, J. J. Bezer, H. T. Holyoake, A. J. Wood, G. Haggis, J. B. Leno, Gerald Massey, Robert Oliver, A. E. Delafosse, M. Bryson, P. M. McDonnell, W. J. Linton, and Arthur Trevelyan.

N.B.—The names of J. B. O'Brien and James Leachare, are omitted from the above list, as they have declined to serve.

All votes received after Tuesday, December 30th, will be null and void.

NORTH SHIELDS.—Mr. G. J. Harney lectured on Monday, December 15th, to the women and the working classes generally, upon their grievances and the remedy. At a meeting held on the 17th inst., it was resolved:—That this meeting is of opinion that the acts of the assassin Bonaparte on the French people call loudly on the people of Great Britain to raise their voice against such vile assumption, treachery, and brutal conduct; and that we view the presence of the English ambassador at the Fêtes of the President to be nothing short of aiding and abetting in the iniquitous proceedings of that graceless perjurer and spoiler, and that we appeal to our government to have our representative withdrawn and prevented from countenancing such scenes of villany.

HANLEY AND SHELTON.—At a meeting held on Sunday last, it was resolved:—That Mr. John Harney having declined to act, and being one of the list nominated by this locality, we wish to supply his place with Mr. J. B. O'Brien. Sixty-eight votes were given for the following gentlemen:—F. O'Connor, Esq., M.P., E. Jones, T. Cooper, J. B. O'Brien, and T. M. Wheeler. That the Executive be requested to publish the number of votes sent in from this and every other locality, with the names for whom the votes are given, for the purpose of satisfying the members that a faithful return has been made. It was also considered that the Executive have acted a very partial and unjust part in not retaining Mr. Cooper's name in the nomination list. This locality complains of the neglect manifested in not publishing the list of candidates in last Saturday's paper.

TORQUAY.—A public meeting was held in the Temperance Hall, on the 17th inst., when a lecture was delivered by Ernest Jones, on "Kossuth and Hungary." Mr. Jones also delivered a lecture in the Union Hall, on the 19th inst., on the "French Revolution." The lectures gave great satisfaction.

SOUTH LANCASHIRE DELEGATE MEETING.—A meeting of delegates, representing the Chartists of Manchester, Stockport, Ashton, Stalybridge, Rochdale, &c., was held on Sunday, in the National Charter Association Room, Stalybridge. Mr. Edward Harrop having been called to the chair, opened the business of the meeting by a few well-timed remarks on the present position of the movement, and the necessity of continued exertions on the part of the Chartists to extend the organisation now so happily effected in some portions of South Lancashire. He concluded by calling on the delegates to produce their credentials, and give in a report of the state of the localities represented. The reports were on the whole of a very cheering nature, more especially from Ashton, where there has been a considerable accession of members. The levy of one-halfpenny per member having been paid in, the Secretary read the minutes of the last meeting, which, with the exception of the two relating to the election of the Executive, were unanimously confirmed, and the following resolutions adopted:—That in order to effect a more general distribution of circulars and tracts, explanatory of the principles of Chartism, the delegates present pledge themselves, on the part of the localities they represent, to circulate as extensively as possible, the tracts and circulars published by the South Lancashire delegates, and respectfully call on any of the members of the National Charter Association, who may think themselves competent to work, to write short articles on any of the points contained in the People's Charter; such articles to be sent to the next delegate meeting for approval by the delegates prior to being printed and circulated. "That until the opinions of the people can be ascertained by the election of a National Conference, we believe it will be more in accordance with Chartist principles to abide by the decision of the late Convention, in the election of an Executive; and pursuant thereto, we recommend our constituents to proceed to the election of nine gentlemen, known to the Association, and in whom the greatest amount of confidence can be placed, under the following names:—Peargus O'Connor, Ernest Jones, James Grassy, James Bezer, Thos. Martin Wheeler, William Linton, Gerald Massey, John Shaw, John Arnold. "That we call on our Chartist brethren in Yorkshire to unite with us in endeavouring to get up a series of public meetings in all the principal towns in the manufacturing districts, for the purpose of testing public opinion on the plan of reform proposed by Messrs. Cobden and Bright; and we respectfully request the several localities in the West Riding to send delegates to a meeting at Hebdon Bridge, where they will be met by delegates from Lancashire and Cheshire, each delegate to come prepared to vote on the following questions:—What measures ought the Chartists to take in reference to the plans and resolutions adopted by the self-selected Conference of Parliamentary Reformers, recently held at Manchester. The propriety of calling a national conference as convenient; such conference to determine in what manner the next Executive is to be constituted, the number of whom it is to be composed, and, if any, the amount of remuneration to be given to its members." That all localities

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PRICE FIVEPENCE or
Five Shillings and Sixpence per Quarter

PATRICK O'HIGGINS TO THE CHARTISTS OF GREAT BRITAIN.

It is unnecessary to say to you, my friends, that I feel as acutely desirous to see the People's Charter the law of the land as I am an active member of your body. I am sure you will give me full credit for entertaining this feeling most sincerely, conscientiously, and devotedly.

It occurs to me, that as you are preparing to elect an Executive, with a few suggestions from an old friend who has closely watched all your proceedings, from your formation up to the present time, will not be out of place, and will be received by you in the same good feeling and intention in which they are submitted to your consideration.

If you look back to the history of the past, and ask yourselves what has been the cause of the failure of Chartism, or rather its want of progress, you will perceive that every failure, that every calamity which has befallen it, and its present state of prostration, is entirely owing to its having from time to time mixed up its objects with other movements and other objects.

At present I shall not go into detail. You all know as well as I that no one was ever tried or imprisoned for Chartism, that no lawyer of eminence (with one disgraceful exception), that no judge on the bench or off the bench, ever said that Chartism was unlawful. How comes it, then, that so many Chartists have suffered long imprisonment, so many have died in gaol, and so many have been transported? Because, and only because, you allowed yourselves to be led away from the real object to the wild, visionary, unlawful, and unattainable objects of theorists. Besides, in your very petitions you assumed a species of legislation upon all manner of social and constitutional subjects, instead of confining yourselves to simply demanding a complete and thorough Radical Reform of the House of Commons. Surely, you will admit that it would be time enough for you to demand alterations in the social system when you got the elective power.

Now, my friends, I hope and trust that you will avoid those shoals and quicksands for the future. The glorious vessel has been too often stranded. Take courage, avoid the errors of the past, and instead of adding additional sails to the good ship—the People's Charter—haul in, and steer a better course, and, depend upon it, you will, before seven years, get safely into harbour.

Instead of adding any new nostrum to the six points of the Charter, I should prefer referring them to three—namely, Universal Suffrage, Vote by Ballot, Annual Parliaments. These are the three Radical propositions of the old Radical Reformers:—Cartwright, Lennox, Jebb, Sharpe, Loft, Northcote, Cobbett, Hunt, Muir, Arthur O'Connor, Roger O'Connor (father of Peargus), and other great men.

Now, will any man have the face or the hardihood to tell me that if these three good old Radical propositions became law you could not get the other three in the very first Session of a Radically Reformed House of Commons? At the same time, I am of opinion that it would betray weakness on your part to abandon or put in abeyance any one of the six points at present.

But I do implore you to keep clear of all extraneous matters, nostrums, and theories. Your attention is respectfully directed to the subjoined principles, rights, and means to achieve these rights, which, in my humble opinion, contain everything you require. And with the view to guard the Chartists against the errors of the past, and the like, and at the same time showing that all persons acquiescing in the object of Chartism are eligible to become members, I have drawn up two salutary rules, which, I am so subjoined.

In conclusion, I submit for your consideration whether it would be wiser and better to have Chartist petitions, or with 1,000 names to some of them, than to have one general petition signed by millions? Chartists from every locality in England, Scotland, and Wales should be presented to the house of commons until the first week in June, or sooner, and then have the question brought forward. This plan would keep Chartism before the house and the country during the greater part of the Session. All the petitions should be short, pithy, and to the purpose.

CHARTISM IS FOUNDED UPON THE PURE AND GENUINE PRINCIPLES OF RADICAL REFORM; ITS MOTTO IS, "PEACE—LAW—ORDER"—AND ITS OBJECT IS, TO SECURE A FULL, FREE, AND COMPLETE REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE IN THE COMMONS HOUSE OF PARLIAMENT.

1. That the power of making laws for this realm, by the Constitution, lodged in the hands of the lords of the Parliament, and the representatives of the people, is required by the principles of the Constitution, that the whole body of the people should be really represented in the House of Commons.

2. That the present system of virtual representation is not real representation, and is, therefore, no representation at all.

3. That those who have no votes for electing representatives are the slaves of the representatives of those who have votes.

4. That where there is no representation, there can be no constitutional power of taxation.

5. That the rich and the poor, being of the same species, are under the same laws of nature; and being alike capable of benefit or injury from their legislators, necessarily have in the election of those legislators the same right; but the rich, by the possession of their property, knowledge, and the purchased powers of others afford them, while the poor, destitute of these, have no security but in the purity of legislation, nor any means of self-defence but in the possession of the elective power. The poor, then, have an equal right, but more need, to elect representatives than the rich.

6. That it is essential to a man's political liberty that he have a share either in legislation itself, or in the election of those who are to frame the laws, which although they ought to protect him in the full enjoyment of those absolute rights which are vested in him by the immutable laws of nature, may yet be fabricated to his injury, and his family, and his fame; that, therefore, Universal Suffrage is an inherent right.

7. That it is a natural right of the people of this empire, and required by the principles of the Constitution, that they elect a new house of representatives once at least in every year; because, when a parliament continues in being for a longer term than one session, then thousands who since it was chosen have attained to man's estate, that is to say, the age of twenty-one years, and are, therefore, entitled to enter into their best and most useful life, are, in that case, unjustly denied their right, and excluded from the enjoyment of political liberty.

8. That it is, therefore, right and just that all the male inhabitants of this kingdom (infants, idiots, and criminals excepted) be of common right, and by the laws of God, a free man, and entitled to the full enjoyment of political liberty.

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order to protect the poor elector against tyranny the voting shall be by Ballot; that the Parliament shall be annual; that the Property Qualification shall be abolished; that the whole empire shall be divided into Equal Electoral Districts; and that the Representatives of the people shall be Paid.

MEANS TO ACHIEVE THESE OBJECTS.
1. By circulating a public opinion in their favour, through the medium of public meetings, petitions to Parliament, discussions, lectures, cheap publications, and the newspaper press; and also by securing the return of members to Parliament, pledged to secure a full, free, and complete representation of the people in the Commons House of Parliament.

2. By raising the requisite funds, by subscriptions and voluntary donations, to defray expenses.

RULES.
1. That all persons acquiescing in the object of the People's Charter shall be eligible to become members on payment of—
2. That Chartism is exclusively and entirely devoted to the achievement of its object—namely, a free, and complete representation of the people in the Commons House of Parliament; and that, therefore, no proposition of any kind, or kind whatever, differing from, or in any way foreign to, its object, shall, under any circumstances, be permitted to be introduced at any Chartist meetings.

Correspondence.

ORGANISATION OF THE EXECUTIVE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NORTHERN STAR.
Sir,—Having taken an interest in the movement denominated Chartism for very many years, and being most anxious that the principles and objects embodied in that document shall one day be annexed to our Constitution, or made the law of the land, perhaps you will allow a small tract of time for one of our contributors to state his present position of the Chartist body, and the necessary, lest, at this critical moment, a false step be taken which may take years to redeem.

I perceive that Mr. E. Jones has taken up the position, that a paid Executive of three or five persons, to be nominated by the people, and to be elected by the Convention, and which has been in operation since that period. With the reasons or arguments adduced in favour of the Executive being paid instead of being gratuitous, I shall not say. Most assuredly, were the people organised as a paid Executive, that mode of having paid servants would be the best; besides, the principle is fully accorded in our claims for paid representatives—but the question with me is, is such a thing practicable?—Any, I ask, is it possible at the present time, to secure a paid Executive of three or five persons? If his Lordship had been forward in the measure of reform such as would meet the views of that large party in the country who had advocated reform at all, it appeared to him (Mr. Bright) that instead of confining himself to the little circle of his party, he should have contented himself with the measure of reform which would meet the views of that large party in the country who had advocated reform at all, it appeared to him (Mr. Bright) that instead of confining himself to the little circle of his party, he should have contented himself with the measure of reform which would meet the views of that large party in the country who had advocated reform at all, it appeared to him (Mr. Bright) that instead of confining himself to the little circle of his party, he should have contented himself with the measure of reform which would meet the views of that large party in the country who had advocated reform at all, it appeared to him (Mr. Bright) that instead of confining himself to the 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Are we to submit to Ignorance, Poverty
Crime as irremediable evils? O

asked, by universal consent, there is a cessation of the universal struggle to free our own freedom, regardless of the level at which we are. At Christmas, the arbitrary victory of Mammone rests for a moment from his all-absorbing pursuits, to re-hearse family than those of mere wealth, and shillings, and peace. The first-year, and passive sentiment of the season is infection pervades all classes; but, in the majority of cases, it leads to no further result than the temporary alleviation of distress and destitution. The workhouse, in the holidays, the streets and poor law commissioners, released Christmas comes but once a year.

at a dinner of old English rare." The papers team with the appeals of 'Philanthropic Societies,' to enable them to supply coats, blankets, and food to the scantily-supplied inmates of cellars, back rooms, and garrets, who are too proud to seek parish relief, and soup-kitchens put forth their claims on the bounty of the benevolent. There is on all hands a perfect paroxysm of charity and compassion, and it is ephemeral. The coals, the roast beef, plum pudding, and beer, are distributed and consumed, and then each betakes himself to his task again. The strife and the over-reaching of every day life recommence.

which consign, even in the midst of commercial and manufacturing prosperity, tens of thousands to a hopeless and ceaseless struggle with poverty, sickness, and want; which people our workhouses and prisons with persons who in the various stages of their downward progress of demoralisation, are left untouched, weak, unprotected, and the ignorant, and the philosophers and statesmen repudiate the notion that there should be such a state of war as this, according to the moral state of the nation. Competition, not Co-operation, ought to be its animating principle; Division, not Concert, its action; Individualism, not Association, the position of mankind.

Hence the evils which at such seasons as the present are recognised and deplored, are intensified by being permanently removed, are intensified in magnitude and deepened in intensity; while those who urge upon public attention

Upon radical principles, and a comprehensive constructive spirit, are sneered at as benevolent visionaries, or denounced as Socialists, Anarchists, and Destructive.

Yet, in truth, it is those who hurl these epithets at the Social Reformer—who are the real Destructives. They cling to institutions and to modes of action which have an irresistible tendency to produce *antagonism between classes*, separation of interests, and a widespread sense of social injustice and oppression among the masses of the population. The enormous productive powers at the disposal of society, instead of becoming instruments for the diffusion of wealth among all classes through commensurate channels, are perverted into instruments for accumulating enormous and unhealthy amounts of property in the

university, and oppression of the many. Instead of lightened labour and increased enjoyment—which ought to be the natural and rational result of augmented productive powers, as compared with the ratio of population and consumption—the labourers find that they have to work longer and harder for less and less wages. The system turns everything upside down. Nothing is what it should be. Things, missings in themselves, become courses by their misapprehension. That which should have raised, destroys society.

There is no excuse for this criminal and perverse persistence in a course opposed to all the highest and best interests of mankind. Although surrounded by all the obstructions and difficulties which inevitably beset new experiments in every department of human inquiry and research, the attempts which have been made to apply superior principles of social action to practice have invariably produced results *in kind*, if not in degree, to those expected from them. Wherever they have apparently failed to do this, there has been an ample explanation in the peculiar

and to contend. We have no hesitation in saying, that, in the publications of the Labourers' Friends' Society, in the Blue Books of the Poor Law Commission, and in other Parliamentary official papers, there is an amount of statistical, practical, and demonstrable evi-

admitted facts, proves that there is not the slightest necessity for there being one pauper or one uneducated, untrained child in this country. It has been shown, over and over

ivated—but enthralling—acres of waste land in the United Kingdom; each of which would afford a profitable and permanent return for about judiciously expended upon it. At the same time, it is known that we annually expend between five and six millions sterling in supporting in compulsory idleness, a vast mass of paupers, many of whom are able-bodied, willing, and anxious to work, but whom we cage in what they term 'Bastilles,' and treat worse than convicted felons. This unused Land, this mis-applied capital—this Land forcibly doomed to idleness—when combined, become a mine of new wealth and untold health to the country at large. Instead of being a burden upon the nation, your servants are sure the surplus population would be found to be a superabundance, wealth, and prosperity. The experiment of the Sheffield Guardians, on the wild moors in the vicinity of that town, has demonstrated the unproductiveness of such labour, even in the most unpropitious localities: while we observe

ultimately have been recently obtained, through the unlightened and practical exertions of Mr. SACKETT, the Chairman of the Board of GUARDIANS. The paupers in the union, under Mr. SACKETT, instead of being a burden are a profit to the ratepayers! The simple method by which this astounding result is accomplished we give in his own words :—

Whenever it could be done work was procured for those who could perform it, and thus the pernicious effects of idleness were prevented. To effectuate this the guardians had taken ten acres of land to cultivate in the spade; the result of which was most successful, at the end of the year 1860, the cost of £50 to the guardians.

Idleness is by no means indigenous to Englishmen; only give them the chance, and they will be as happy to work. In the Sheffield Union, the labour of reclaiming the moorland in its original sterility, was so well carried on in place of the Agricultural Society's work,

the best conducted papers. In the Thaneet Union we are told there are only nine able-bodied paupers, though some of them, from having particular complaints, cannot be termed able-bodied.

These facts, which are the mere index to hosts of a similar nature, ought to lay the foundation of a totally new course of legislation and practice with reference to our suffering and 'dangerous classes.' In conjunction with training and industrial schools for the large masses of children, who in every town and district of the Country are subjected at an early age to strong temptations—to a life of idleness, dissipation and crime—the State would effect more for the physical improvement

ment and the moral elevation of the whole people, than all the acts of Parliament passed since the time of Cromwell, and all the sermons preached since the days of Laud.

To turn the current of compassion for human sorrow and suffering, the benevolent desire to rescue our fellow beings from degradation, desolation, or vice, into this channel, would be, indeed, a truly Christian recognition of that common brotherhood, which constitutes the essence of Christmas festivities and bounties. Nor need there be any fear, that if by such means the poor should cease out of the land, there would be any want of opportunity for the exercise of the domestic affections, or the gratification of those social and kindly instincts of our nature, which receive happiness by being enabled to confer happiness on others. On the contrary, the circle of home sympathies and relations would be expanded—the happiness arising from the bestowal and participation in general happiness, increased. There would still be ample occasion for the tender and consultative offices of friendship—the kindly offering of human sympathy for human sorrow. Though the platform of society would be elevated, and a huge mass of preventable evil, suffering and sin, be removed, yet, in a world of imperfection and progress, there would remain a boundless field for the exercise of the noblest and best faculties of our nature.

Above all, such a rational and brotherly use of the soil given to us as a common heritage of the faculties created for us by a common Father—of the wealth which has resulted from the centuries of labour and experience of the whole people, would, by promoting the material welfare, the mental elevation, and the moral purity of all classes, make the Christian religion a reality. Instead of the bitterness of sectarian hatred, the war of creeds and classes, the 'malice, hatred, and all uncharitableness,' which now pervades the so-called Christian world, we should, perhaps, witness the close of 2,000 years from the advent, witness the accomplishment in practice of the system announced to the shepherds on the plains of Bethlehem, as intended to produce 'Glory to God in the Highest: on Earth, Peace and Good will to men.'

THE TIMES, THE EMPLOYERS, AND THE TRADES.

None of our readers will forget the recent assault on the Wolverhampton Tin Plate Workers. In that case the Messrs. PENNY have, at a fearful expense, if not comparative ruin to themselves, succeeded in inflicting a few months' imprisonment upon men who, actuated by a sense of right, did their best to defend the interests of labour. It was easy to foresee, however, that even that limited and easily triumphed would tempt men of tyrannical views to venture upon a course of persecution, whenever they found their despotic will thwarted by combinations of their workmen, and events are taking place in Manchester which serve to show that our ideas are very fully to be realised.

It will, perhaps, be the better course to state simply the facts of the case to which we are alluding, before we proceed to make any comments upon it. The Executive Council of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, Machine-makers, &c.—a body composed of about 12,000 of the most intelligent of the English operatives—associated together for the purpose of relieving sickness and death, sustenance during want of employment, and mutual protection in all trade disputes, has had its attention directed to the evils of the system of piece work and overtime. The Council patiently investigated the subject, and finding that workmen were making continually seven and eight, and sometimes nine and ten days each week, and working late and early at piece rate, while hundreds of their fellows, as capable and industrious as themselves, were taking in vain for employment, and living in restrained idleness upon the funds of the society, came to the conclusion that piecework and overtime were great evils, and that it would be far better, if what there was to do were divided more equally between all there were to do it. As, however, this was a matter of great importance, and they only desired to represent the wishes, and serve the real interests of the whole trades, they did not act upon their own judgment, but caused the opinion of the Operatives in all the branches to be taken. In answer to these inquiries, it was found that a large majority in every locality, taking a correct view of their best interests, were decidedly in favour of piecework and overtime being discontinued. Their strong impressions being thus fortified, and supported by the vast majority of their members, the Council issued two circulars—one to the workmen, declaring the result and recommending the commencement of the new system with the new year, the other to the employers, announcing the fact, and craving their consent and co-operation. We quoted portions of these circulars in our last week's impression, and with regard to that addressed to the manufacturers, we may say that more respectful, moderate and conciliatory document never issued from a body of working men. It contained no exaggerated statements—no denunciations, no querulous complaints, no bitter reproaches, but was couched in those straightforward terms which every honest and independent man ought to be able to use to another, no matter how high his station, or how vast his wealth, without the risk of offence. All idea of interfering dictatorially with employers and employees was utterly disclaimed. An endeavour was made to show the manufacturers that which we believe to be perfectly true—that piecework and overtime are the dearest ways of getting work badly done, and equally injurious to both parties. An appeal was made to those better and higher feelings, which are common to men of every class, and which one would think would prompt those employers who thought rightly, rather to see all moderately employed and enjoying fair opportunities for social comfort and intellectual improvement, than some idle and others overworked as to have neither strength nor the capability for thought left after their labour was over. An earnest appeal was also made that the words of the Council might be received in the same amiable spirit as that in which they were used, and the help of the masters was craved to carry out the change which was likely to produce so much good to all.

It is difficult to know, if the Council of the Amalgamated Society were to act at all, how they could possibly have acted in a more moderate or conciliatory manner; but it seems that the masters were of a different opinion, for about the ninth of December a meeting of the heads of what are called some of the leading Engineering firms of Lancashire, took place, and some resolutions of a perfectly unique character were passed. The most important of the series was, that if the workmen of any of the firms turned out on strike, all the other members of the Association would at once shut up their factories and turn their workpeople adrift upon the world! Such a compact as that is evidently unrighteous, that men who could agree to it could have but little faith in each other. Something more binding than morality—something more sacred than a promise, was deemed necessary to keep this treaty from being violated; and quite consistently with the doctrines of the thorough-bred Manchester worship—that of Mammon, nothing more holy than wealth—a money security was resolved to be taken as a pledge of fidelity upon the part of each member. That, evincing as it did the opinion of these Manchester manufacturers toward each other, was deter-

mined on, and it was accordingly resolved that every one joining the Association should deposit 10s. for each of the workmen in his employ, the money to be forfeited if the agreement was broken. The 16th of December was the day fixed for gathering in the 'head-money,' and we suppose that it was duly paid, for sometime before the 20th of December, the representatives of the conclusive funds, in hand of course, sought the congenial spirits who preside over the destinies of the 'Times' newspaper. On that day an advertisement appeared in the 'Times' deliberately stating that the dozen or more commercial despots who signed it employing ten thousand human beings to make wealth for them, had determined, if the workpeople of any one of them struck, to turn the whole of their hands out without employment upon the world.

No doubt some of these gentlemen are scandalized at Irish landlords turning their tenants out of their holdings by the hundred to starve in the highways or rot in the union houses; but are they doing any more justifiable act? We never yet heard of Irish landlords—bad as they are—covenanting with each other that if the tenants of one do not pay their rent they will all commence a general crusade against the occupiers of their estates, and punish the innocent for the faults of the guilty. The law of illegal conspiracy is in a very unsettled state, and sadly in want of definition. We are called upon to obey it, although it is past our comprehension; and we can find no one with any certainty to tell us exactly what it means; even the judges themselves are, we believe, at issue upon the matter; but, whether in the legal sense of the term, this combination be a conspiracy or not, every man with a well-ordered mind, judging by the standard of right, will hold it to be an atrocious offence against the best sympathies of humanity. It really seems to us that the world is turning upside down. Just as we see the authorities in other countries becoming insurgents, and rising in rebellion against the law, here we see employers, who have been eloquent about the mischievousness, the wastefulness, and the carelessness of strikes, banding together to have a strike themselves, and a strike, too, of the worst and most unjustifiable kind. Workmen of the Amalgamated Society have sometimes struck against an employer whom they conceived to be acting oppressively; but those who were working under good masters did not, therefore, leave their work. The madness and wickedness of such an idea would have ensured its rejection, but the masters are, it would appear, less wise and less conservative. If one set of men offend they will punish all alike, including the contented and the discontented, in one common condemnation. An old Latin writer says:—'Those whom God wills to destroy he first makes mad.' If that be true, if madness does go before destruction, let those manufacturers look to it. The symptom has shown itself—destruction will not be far behind.

As the great organ by which parties work in the press of course these Manchester manufacturers must have their organ. What organ should they choose? It is a wise saying that there never was any evil, no matter how detestably planned, but agents could be found base enough to execute it. Where should they look for an advocate but to that paper which has proved itself ready to ignore truth, and to disseminate the blackest calumnies. That paper which probably many of them had seen burnt amidst unanimous execrations. That paper which urged on the PENNYs at Wolverhampton in their suicidal course—that hounded on a special jury only too ready to convict, to give an adverse verdict when men who asked for the rights of themselves and their fellow stood at the bar—that urged the Judges, when sentence was to be passed, to make law the instrument of persecution, and to turn justice into vengeance. In short, a feeling only too correct in its instinctive action, led them to the 'Times' when they had dirty work to be done, and impelled by a fellow feeling of hate against the producers of wealth, the 'Times' espoused the cause, and kept it up to the weight of its talented, unscrupulousness, and ingenious mendacity.

The advertisement we have already said, appeared in the 'Times' of the 20th. On the 22nd a letter appeared, signed 'AMICUS,' written, most probably by an employee of the 'Times,' under the direction of the Manchester conspirators. That letter blended truth and falsehood as perhaps only a 'Times' writer knows how. The poisoners of a past age possessed a deadly art confined to a few breasts, and, happily, their secret seems to have died with them. The power of compounding the intellectual poisons vended by the 'Times,' we would hope is equally limited; and that to the next generation it will be only a tradition of an evil that was. 'AMICUS' who, whatever else he may be a friend to, is not a friend of truth, accuses the Amalgamated Society of interfering dictatorially with masters as to prevent the proper management of their own establishments; as demanding the abolition of piece-work and overtime, and as requiring the immediate discharge of all the labourers employed at the machines, and the filling up of their places with mechanics belonging to the Trades' Union. As a useful means too of rousing public opinion against the workers, the Amalgamated Society was said to be one of Socialists and Communists, desiring to equalise wages, to put the lazy and the industrious upon the same footing, and to carry out the theories of LOUIS BLANC. A hawker is reported to have said to a disappointed customer that his razors were not made to shave but to sell. This letter of AMICUS was not written to convey the truth, but to serve a sinister purpose. The wish of the Amalgamated Society to abolish overtime and piece-work, are the only parts which approach to correctness. The society have always suffered the wages of individuals to be fixed by themselves, have never encouraged the idle or the improvident, have never either recognised or repudiated LOUIS BLANC, or given in their adhesion to Socialism or Communism. They have in fact not interfered with these matters, as they felt called upon to deal with facts actually existing, leaving theories, whether right or wrong, to await their own time for development or extinction.

On the 23rd, no doubt, as part of a preconcerted arrangement, the Thunderer poured forth one of its anathemas against those who support the rights of labour in their simplest and most obvious form. There was nothing new about this outpouring of wrath. It bore a close family resemblance to those savage articles which were produced about the time of the Wolverhampton cases. The likeness, indeed, was so strong that we almost fancied they had been resuscitated to do duty again. It is said of reptiles, that there is only a certain quantity of venom in their fangs, and that after a number of bites they become innocuous. Let us hope that in his capacity for baseness, the calculator is likewise limited, and that once having discharged his spleen, he can only revert to his old effusions. The best minds of the Amalgamated Society, those men who have devoted during the best years of their life, all their energies to the elevation of their class, always without so great a pecuniary reward as the same talent and perseverance would have brought them at all; men whose devotedness and disinterestedness would shame the corrupt 'Times,' are denounced as unpatriotic, mischief-loving, mercenary demagogues, striving to create animosity and misery, so

that they may gain something in the confusion. The members at large are satisfied as ignorant, deluded dupes, and the public are enjoined to put down at once the deceivers and deceived, and as LOUIS NAPOLEON said when he was meditating his coup d'état, 'to save society' from their machinations. It would be useless to say a word about anything should be said. Its mendacity is taken for granted. Its calumnies are notorious. Its vindictiveness is undoubted. Its hatred of Freedom and its dread of the advent of popular power too evident to be disputed. Nobody respects it, Nobody believes it. Many despise it, and more hate it. It is a patent example of might dissociated from right—of intellect at war with truth and morality. Our children will probably read in the pages of this 'About this period existed the "Times" Journal of the world.' That paper we must leave to be dealt with by public opinion, which is already beginning to act strongly, and will, in due time, make itself felt. But we would ask the masters to consider well the consequences of the course they are pursuing. The ensue if they persist, the probable alienation of trade from their district, are worth being taken into account, and the animosities they are breeding up, deserve consideration. Possibly, too, after all their pains will be for nothing, for they are now face to face with the strongest and best organized trade association which ever was formed—an association, which, according to the opinion of the Attorney-General, taken and paid for by the Council, is strictly a legal one, and the members of which we hope are too well-advised to be excited by injuries into any unlawful acts, or cowed by threats into abject submission. The Manchester masters will do well to be wise while there is yet time, for whatever effect they may have upon the Amalgamated Society, they cannot escape scatheless from the struggles, which are sure to entail upon them losses, vexations, and perhaps absolute ruin. The 'Times' may be prepared to risk such an issue; but whether or not it is their true interest to brave the chance, is a question for them to decide.

WHAT IS TO BE OUR FOREIGN POLICY.

LORD PALMERSTON'S resignation of office from a position which, with short intervals, he has held under governments of varied political opinions for half a life time, portends great changes in our relations with the continent. At first it was imagined that the GREY party in the Cabinet had at length triumphed, and effected the expulsion of a colleague between whom and themselves there has never been any sympathy. But the 'Times' distinctly denies that this is the case, and from the way in which it speaks leaves it to be inferred that the late Foreign Minister has been removed by the SOVEREIGN himself, and not by any Cabinet intrigue.

LORD PALMERSTON has, as our readers know, never possessed our confidence. His liberal professions always kept the word of promise to the ear but broke it to the heart. They were like the dead sea fruit, fair to the eye but dust and ashes to the taste. There is not a nation on the Continent that trusted to his assurance of sympathy and support which has not been deceived—not a popular leader who believed he could reckon upon him, that has not been betrayed, or placed in a worse position than he would have been if not deluded by his specious liberalism into the belief that England would not stand tamely by and see the liberty of nations destroyed.

But the time chosen for the removal of a 'judicious bottle holder,' as 'Punch' has called the late Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, is to say the least of it, an ominous one. People cannot help thinking that, in some way or other, it is owing to the reception of the Finsbury and Islington deputation on the KOSSUTH affair, and the language he then addressed to those deputations. We know that our Ambassador at Vienna only recently obtained an official reception after the delay of several weeks, and it may be that it was recorded on condition that Lord PALMERSTON should be dismissed. Should this be the fact, then this country has fallen under the domination of the despots who lord it over Europe. The black shadow has already crossed the channel and looms over England. The Cabinet of St. James's crouches to that of St. Petersburg.

But, on the other hand, while PALMERSTON affected to oppose Austria and sympathise with KOSSUTH, he courted a closer alliance with LOUIS BONAPARTE, and was the first to recognise the unscrupulous and unprincipled usurper, who, by bloodshed and perjury, has just succeeded in forcing himself upon the people of France as supreme and irresponsible ruler. If PALMERSTON'S love of constitutional liberty was sincere, he could not have made any advances of a friendly nature to a Government which is a flagrant violation of all the great principles of society. The alliance between such a man and such a man is a matter of course. A French Government and our own, that a French Imperial Cabinet would be a good set off against the Northern despots, would not have justified such an alliance had it been possible. But, unfortunately for Lord PALMERSTON, it seems that, among other seizures on the 2nd of December by the police, there was a correspondence of Mr. BONAPARTE'S pretensions and character. The result is, that PALMERSTON found himself in a fix, both with the Austrian and the French Government, that Lord NORMANBY sent him his place.

These are only the heralds of other changes. It must now be obvious to all that we cannot keep ourselves clear of Continental politics. In these days of steam and railways and electric telegraphs, England is practically annexed to the main land, and cannot escape from the perturbations and shocks to which it is subject. It is necessary, therefore, that all classes in this country should in future pay more attention to Foreign Politics than they have hitherto done. We stand on the eve of momentous events, and their consequences to Great Britain will greatly depend on the formation and exercise of a powerful and enlightened public opinion.

MINISTERIAL HUMBUG.

We did not expect that the anticipations of 'next Session' expressed last week would so soon receive official sanction. On the same day that our Leader was published, there appeared a note from the PREMIER, refusing to receive the Deputation from the Manchester Conference, on the ground that it would be inconvenient to receive a deputation from a particular district on a question which affects the whole country. This, in one word, 'Humbug.' Sir R. PEEL—who understood ministerial etiquette at least as well as Lord JOHN RUSSELL—never assigned such a reason for declining an interview with a deputation on any public question; and Lord JOHN himself in the days when public opinion and public support were more needed and more appreciated by him than they are now, was happy to receive deputations from Birmingham, or anywhere else, in support of his own policy, without dreaming of such a fantastic distinction as he has now made upon the subject of deputations. The Manchester Reformers are naturally very indignant at this cavalier treatment, and at a meeting held on Tuesday used some rather strong language as to the

shuffling conduct of a man, who—as they bitterly confessed—had repaid their patriotic support with supercilious contumely, and official insolence.

But that is the smallest part of the affair. The Manchester 'Liberals' may digest the affront they have received as best they may. They deserve little sympathy for having propped up a Ministry which has for the last five or six years been an obstruction to all really useful reform, and which has on many occasions dragged them through the mud and mire of Whiggism—made them vote black one night and white the next, merely to keep the Whigs in place. Whether they will be content to continue laqueys and lickspittles to the family clique, or revenge the slight now put upon them, by refusing their support as a body next year, rests with themselves. The point for the public is the certainty which this refusal implies—that the coming Reform Bill will be a mere sham. If Lord JOHN had meant anything like a real reform of our representative system, he would have courted public support and sympathy. He would have been happy to have heard from recognised and influential leaders of public opinion from all parts of the country, what was the real feeling of the people on this important question. He has shut himself up in haughty seclusion—gives even his own Parliamentary supporters no chance of approaching him—and the conclusion of all this is plain enough. His mind is made up. The reform he promised last year is to be so miserable, so paltry an evasion of the question, that he dare not come into contact even with moderate middle class reformers, lest they should take away from him all excuse for presenting to the Legislature such a mockery and abortion.

In the course of the sincere advocates of Parliamentary Reform cannot be mistaken. Instead of asking themselves what Ministers will do, or fostering division among themselves, they ought to take a bold and a determined position with respect to a well-defined and practical measure. If this is not done, the Whigs will carry a sham Reform Bill, and then in answer to future demands for real reform, will say that we can't have a revolution in this country every five or ten years. To prevent our being thus actually thrown backwards, there ought to be such a concentration of public opinion on the subject, that if we fail next year in getting an efficient measure, Lord JOHN shall have no chance of passing a pretence. The ground must, at all events, be left clear—that all we can expect to do with the present Ministry.

THE ELECTION IN FRANCE.

By force, fraud, and deception M. BONAPARTE has succeeded in his object of making Europe believe he is the choice of the French Nation. The incomplete returns from sixty-eight Departments give him a total of 5,400,000 votes, or only 600,000 less than the number by which he was elected President of the Republic. In the present state of the French Press, and dependent as we are upon the organs of the Usurper, and the tampering of the police with all intelligence, it is impossible for us to state correctly to what peculiar agencies this result is attributable, or how far it has been manufactured by the unscrupulous officials, who in all parts of France have been the zealous agents of an unprincipled and bloodthirsty usurpation. By and bye we shall know more of the facts, and be qualified to judge how far the returns warrant any anticipations as to the durability of the rule which violates all the established principles of human government. In the meantime this is certain, that whether the vote has been extorted by force or coaxed by fraud, LOUIS NAPOLEON has placed himself in a position which will render his acts in future amenable to scrutiny and reaction. For the tyrant and reactionary policy of his Government he himself blamed the late Assembly. That he has destroyed and swept out of his party every man of influence with the parties opposed to him. The country is at his mercy, and he can do what he likes. We shall see. The very means by which he has attained his perilous position demand from him unusual exertions to maintain it. If he fails to meet the expectations of those who voted for him, there is but one tyrant to deal with and to depose instead of many.

MONIES RECEIVED

FOR THE WEEK ENDING THURSDAY, DECEMBER 27TH, 1851.

NATIONAL CHARITY FUND.
Received by JOHN ARNOTT, B. Savage, Lambeth Rd.,
Lancashire, per J. Richardson 2s 2d—Greenwich Local-
ity, per J. Morgan 9s—Manchester, per T. Ormslow 10s.
Total 17s 6d.

Trades Intelligence.

The Woolcombers of Halifax and the district around it have issued an address to the public, in which they complain that their employers, not satisfied with the repeated reductions of wages within the last thirteen months, to which they have compelled the Combers to submit, have now determined to reduce the light and fire money—a right which they have enjoyed from time immemorial, and which other reductions, makes a total reduction of nearly thirty per cent. within the last thirteen months. Messrs. Whitworth and Co. were the first to deprive their workpeople of this right, an infraction which was gradually followed by others, and last of all, we presume in self-defence, by Messrs. Akroyd and Son. This destruction of their last remaining privilege has caused great excitement among the trade, and a general meeting was held on the 9th inst., to consider what steps should be taken. After the meeting had been addressed by several speakers, it was resolved to appoint deputations to wait on the respective firms, to try to get back their rights, of which they had been unjustly deprived. The deputation was received by Henry Akroyd, Esq., (one of the representatives of the firm of Messrs. James Akroyd and Son,) in a gentlemanly manner; he listened to their complaints with attention and promised to restore what they wanted, on condition that Whitworth and Co. would do the same; he kindly favoured the deputation with a note from his hand to that effect, and that as he (Whitworth) was the first aggressor, he thought to be the first to comply. This, however, Whitworth refused to do, and the other firm in the district would favour him with a similar note as Henry Akroyd, Esq., had done. Accordingly the principal firms were waited upon, but they objected to gratify his (Whitworth's) ambitious desires with their signatures, and so the labours of the deputation proved unavailing. The general meeting had been adjourned to the 15th inst., again met to hear the report of the deputation; after which, it was resolved an effort should be made to provide ways and means by subscriptions among the Woolcombers of all firms, and that an appeal be made to a generous public in order to prevent one firm from holding a whole district of Woolcombers in bondage. A committee and collector have been appointed, whose names are signed by the secretary, John Hammond, and we trust this appeal to the district will be liberally responded to.

CONSPIRACY OF MASTERS AGAINST THE MEMBERS OF THE AMALGAMATED SOCIETIES OF IRON TRADES.

Last week we gave the circulars addressed by the Executive of the Amalgamated Society to the members of the Society and the employers, relative to the abolition of overtime and piece work. The proposed change has resulted in the formation of one of the most formidable conspiracies of the kind ever known in this country. The Manchester employers met on the 17th inst., and after settling forth that collectively they employed, in the aggregate, upwards of 10,000 men, they

We have unanimously determined to close our establishments in case any turn out of such workpeople, or of the workpeople in the employment of any of us, should take place on the 31st inst., or at any subsequent period, on the ground that such demands have not been complied with.

We also declare that we are compelled to adopt this course as a purely defensive step against the

interference and dictation of a small but mischievous class of agitators, who are endeavouring to force all well-disposed workpeople into open opposition to their employers, and advising—things which can only end in misery and ruin to the really honest and industrious artisan.

The first name on this list was that of the firm of H. Platt and Son, which had signed an agreement to discontinue the new system, and which now renounces its solemn engagement, and abuses the parties with whom it was made. The formation of this Master's League was followed by an attack on the men in the 'Times' by a writer under the signature of 'Amicus,' in which the usual reckless disregard of truth, and atrocious falsehoods, and mere presentations were resorted to for the purpose of damaging the Society in public estimation. The next step of the conspiracy was for the employers in the metropolitan district to meet, at the invitation of their brethren of Manchester, for the purpose of declaring war against the men in their employ. All the principal associations were represented, and a series of Free Trade and political resolutions having been agreed to as a basis, they resolved as follows—

The employers here present, and such others as shall adhere to these resolutions, take this earliest opportunity of announcing that, solely as a measure of self defence, and a protection to their independent workmen in London, Manchester, or elsewhere, going out on strike, or otherwise enforcing the demands of the Amalgamated Society on the 31st of December, 1851, or at any subsequent date, entirely close their establishments on the 10th day of January, 1852, or on any day subsequent after such other period respectively, and that any employers who have rendered this step necessary shall have been rendered to the satisfaction of the Executive Committee.

A Society was formed under the title of the 'Constitution of Employers of Operative Iron Trades,' for the purpose of carrying the foregoing resolutions into effect, and an Executive Committee appointed, consisting of the following persons:—

John Scott Russell, Thomas Maudslay, Joshua Field, John Penn, George Rennie, Richard Ravenhill, John Seward, Bryan Donkin, jun., Henry C. B. Ames, John Blyth, Joel Spiller, and George Bonill, Esq., together with the Chairman and Treasurer, were empowered to add to their number such persons as they might think fit.

Amicus returns to the attack in the 'Times' of Thursday, and an able defence of the men by Mr. W. Newton follows his letter. Mr. Newton denies that the Society demands the discharge of the men not belonging to the union, as 'Amicus' alleged; he does not, as was attributed, demand an equality of wages, or higher wages.

'Times,' with cool audacity, appends the following to Mr. Newton's letter, although it was an official one, and signed as a member of the Council:—

We only ask that men should be allowed to leave their work when their day's labour is done, except in case of accidents, which call for continuous attention until the repair is completed. What humane are the mechanics' institutions of the country, which are neglected by mechanics? Why are the lecture and the class rooms abandoned by all but the middle and upper classes of society? Because the mechanic is compelled by the arbitrary power of his employers to work at night and ten o'clock at night. This may not be generally known, but thousands of our trade are continually doing so when trade is but moderately good, although at the same time there are hundreds out of employment.

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CHILD MURDER AT MANSFIELD WOODHOUSE, NOTTS.

THE MARBLE ARCH.—From an official document just issued it is shown that the cost of taking down, removing, and reinstating the Marble Arch was little short of £11,000.

RESISTANCE TO THE CITY COAL TAX.—At a public meeting of the inhabitants of St. Alban's and neighbourhood, held on Saturday, at the Town Hall, for the purpose of taking into consideration the best means of obtaining relief from the oppressive coal tax lately imposed upon them for the benefit of the City of London, the Earl of Verulam in the chair, a petition to the House of Commons against the tax was presented.

when a woman caught him by the arm and spoke to him. Just as she did so the prisoner Copestok, and another man whom he could not identify, sprang upon him from a corner. Copestok caught her by the neck, but failed to grasp it, owing to the complainant's wearing a muffler. He then repeated the attempt, in which he succeeded, and at the same time a shawl was thrown over Crompton's head. Crompton then fell upon the ground, and again getting up and trying to walk on, he fell once more, and became insensible. On recovering his senses, he found that the shawl which had been thrown over his head was still upon his shoulders,

an extraordinary feature in the history of emigration. It appears that while thousands are leaving their native shore for the land of the West, there are vast numbers returning to Ireland; and it is adjudged that scarcely a ship leaves New York that does not carrying 80 or 100 persons homewards. The climate and habits of the people at the other side of the Atlantic are not, it seems, altogether agreeable to those of our countrymen. The *Clarke Journal*, on the other hand, says:—'The tide of emigration is increasing fast every day in this neighbourhood. There are about twelve families leaving the small parish of Killybegs every week.'

ENAMEL VISITING CARDS.—We believe it to be correct to state that seven years is the almost phenomenal average of existence in the trade for the poisonous surface to the petty token of pride—a visiting card. Is such slow and steady sacrifice to the Juggernaut of fashion more commendable or less shocking, than a lottery of danger, in which some draw the prize of competence and others the terrible blank of annihilation?

Mining Journal.

Mrs. Colonel Bloomer is said to be so gratified the slight progress Bloomerism has made in England, that she intends visiting us in the near future.

impaired agent or gentle but steady, and irresistible force, it cures all diseases, whether cold, fever, broth, it is eaten by infants, as well as the most delicate infirm persons, being more nutritious than any other food. Its healing, renovating, and strengthening powers, accomplish what no other remedy will effect; moreover, admitted by those who have used it to be the best food for infants and invalids, because it returns acid on the weakest stomach, nor interferes with good liberal diet, but imparts a healthy relish for food and dinner, and restores the faculty of digestion and strength, and nervous energy to the most exhausted.

For benefit of our readers we refer them to a series of letters of 50,000 testimonials received by Mr. Dr. Barry, 127, Fleet-street, London, upon the marvellous efficacy of his Revealed Arabia Food, in the numerous instances, constantly

sisted all other remedies; and which are found in our day's advertising column.

