

The most prominent matter for discussion since our last issue has been the retirement of Lord PALMERSTON. Why he went out, when he will come in, and what he will be when he does come in, have occupied a large share of public attention. With respect to the first question, we are still in the dark. There are all sorts of rumours on the subject; which are not likely to cease till the Noble Viscount himself, in his place in Parliament, favours the public—as he is pretty sure to do—with a damaging *expose* of the bickerings, animosities, and incapability of the 'Happy Family' who are Her Majesty's Ministers. As to the other queries, there seems to be a growing opinion that the late Secretary for Foreign Affairs will, before long, occupy the place of the colleague who so abruptly sent him adrift on the sea of political strife.

Whatever may be the opinion as to the intentions and the actions of Lord PALMERSTON, no one will deny that he is a man of great ability and consummate tact. In losing him, the Cabinet lose by far its most able member, and it is difficult to imagine how it can retain its position when deprived of his powerful aid, and subjected to his fierce opposition. In that case, one thing is certain—that it could not exist confined to the present aristocratic clique. Somebody must be called in to share power, in order to avert its total loss. This has given rise to negotiations upon the part of Her Majesty's principal adviser with the Duke of NEWCASTLE, Mr. CARDWELL, Sir JAMES GRAHAM, and some others, whose names have been mentioned; and it seemed probable that for a time the tottering fortunes of the Whig dynasty would be staved up by Conservative props. This augured badly for the promised New Reform Bill, which, under the auspices of such sponsors, would have been a mockery as the Constitution of LOUIS NAPOLEON. It appears, however, if the latest accounts at the moment we write are to be trusted—that we are for yet a little longer to be spared the shame of seeing the Post Office spy—the MAZZINI letter opener—disgrace the Home Office; for it is said, that the overtures of Lord JOHN RUSSELL have been rejected, and that schemes have not among Ministers themselves which herald a speedy dissolution of the Cabinet. If this be true, Lord JOHN RUSSELL takes a long leave of that power which he has proved himself so utterly incapable to wield with effect.

Such a defeat of the Whigs would, no doubt, ultimately be a great good, whatever might be its immediate effects. The resources of the country have been shamefully misused and wasted, its progress impeded, and its welfare perilled, by successive batches of aristocratic incapables—men whose only qualification is that they have been born into the ranks which have mainly monopolised the power to rule. Of Whigs and Tories we are inclined to say, in the language of MONTESQUIEU, 'a plague on both your houses.' And every successive defeat of the hereditary factions—every new proof of their incapacity to sway the destinies of a country—saps their power, diminishes their prestige, and hastens forward the time when the nation will be governed by men from the ranks of the people—educated amid the struggles of life—understanding the wants of the masses, and possessed of sufficient practical knowledge and energy to overcome the difficulties which cumber the path of rulers.

But though we are approaching toward that, the time for it has not actually arrived, and we cannot hold out any well-founded hope that the next Cabinet will be of such a kind as to demand or deserve the full confidence and support of the public. It will not of course be a Tory Cabinet, for that party is as unable to hold office now as it was when the Whigs were suffered to retain it by surferance a few months ago. It will not be a coalition of Tories and Conservatives, for those two parties hate each other with all the fervency of kindred at strife, or estranged friends, or parted lovers. It has been well said, that there is no hate like love to hatred turned, and that aptly illustrates the feelings of the old Protectionists, and those who followed the banner of Peel. It will not be a Cabinet of Conservatives, for they alone are almost as powerless and unable to face a House of Commons as the Tories themselves. It will not be a Cabinet of pure Whigs, for the Greys at least are anxious, it is reported, to escape from the difficulties which they have gathered around their position. Yet, for once in the history of the world, it is said that the marvel has come to pass, even Whigs being either frightened at the responsibility, or worried by the difficulties, or tired of the badgering, opprobrium, ingenuity and contempt which beset incapables in office. It will not be a Cabinet of the Manchester School, for official power has not yet moved so far towards the people. What on earth will it be then? Some of our readers may exclaim, after that long drawn out string of negatives. There are two methods at least of arriving at a conclusion, one by a direct affirmative, the other by the process of exhaustion, by continual negatives. When we know what a thing is not, we are somewhat nearer towards divining what it is; and if we were to venture a prophecy, we should be disposed to say, that if Lord JOHN RUSSELL does go out of office now he will be succeeded by Lord PALMERSTON, as first Lord of the TREASURY; and that the new PRIME MINISTER would call in some of the Free Traders to leave a sprinkling of aristocracy, and give a business-like air to the Government benches; that if Lord JOHN RUSSELL does not quickly vacate, he will be unceremoniously pushed from his stool; and that if he does at the last moment succeed in tinkering up a conservative alliance, it will not stand the wear and tear of half a Session. On the eventualities which the advent of Lord PALMERSTON to the highest place would bring about, we are not inclined just now to speculate. The timid would see in the foreground the phantom of another European war; but sufficient for the day is the evil thereunto?

Next to the crisis in state affairs the Kafir War takes up a prominent position. Mail after mail brings home the news of abortive patrols against rocks and bushes, from behind which the Kafir marksmen, and the Hotentots we have trained to fight us, pick off the best men and officers with as much security from danger as a hunter drops a deer. The old story of that King of Spain in France—who really at the moment forget which—who marched up the hill with ten thousand men, and then so valorously marched down again, is being repeated by British generals and British troops with serious aggravations. For while the aforesaid doughty warrior does not appear to have been molested, our soldiers march about apparently for the pleasure of being shot. Month after month Sir HARRY SMITH, sitting uneasily at his ease—if we may use the expression—in King William's Town, calls lustily for more troops and for more burghers to stay the savage enemy; but the burghers do not come, and although fresh supports of devoted red coated troops are sent out to answer the appeal for help, Sir HARRY still nestles in his quarters as though that ride of his from Fort Cat, where the 'Great Father' was nearly caught by his rebellious children, had increased his appetite for safety. Seriously, if it were not a tragedy—if the reports of the killed and wounded did not invest the affair with solemn interest it would be ludicrous; but the blood of good soldiers is uselessly spilt, and treasures which might have set thousands of poor to work, and made hundreds of acres of waste land fertile, is wasted in a barbarian warfare, resulting directly from the imbecility of the Colonial Office. The whole of the events show, in their most striking light, the inefficiency of our management, both civil and military. So disgraced are the Colonists with the GREY rule, that they declare the attempt to organise burgher forces would be simply ridiculous, under the present system; and they seem to declare that they will not attempt it. And in the military department it turns out that our soldiers, even when numerically superior, are unable to cope with the Kafirs from the badness of their arms and organisation. Just think of that. The flower of the British army, commanded by the hero of Alwal, are incompetent to subdue half naked barbarians. The troops are too big for their horses; and when mounted on Cape ponies are about as formidable as a Blackheath pleasure goer upon a donkey. The foot soldiers are even in a worse plight, if that be possible. We take great pains to catch a raw recruit, to drill him, to fatten him up into strength and vigour, to make him a wonderfully perfect man killing machine; and when we have done all this at an enormous cost, we put him into a red and white, or a red and gold coat—make him look as much like a target as possible, so that the enemy shall not miss him; and to complete his capability, arm him with a ten-shilling musket and bayonet, the latter so

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### THE TYRANNY OF CAPITAL.

TO THE WORKING MEN OF ENGLAND.

MR. EDITOR.—With the cause of Labour you are identified. I dedicate this letter to that interest (not because you are its able exponent, but because in your paper the truth may be undisguisedly published), which is now threatened, almost to annihilation, by a combination of masters, who are what they are in position in society, simply through the bodily and mental exertions of those whose liberty of speech and independence they now would mercilessly destroy. This is the tyranny of Capital. Labour is declared by these task-masters to be in a state of siege; and on the 12th of January their *coup d'état* will be consummated—with Sidney Smith as the MORRY or chief mover of the proceedings. The proclamations of these English Capitalists, after proudly boasting of the numbers they employ, declare, with all the arrogance possible, that on the day named 10,000 men will be absolutely denied further work. What for? They are as willing as ever to produce their tale of bricks! but this is not enough. If they be not driven to make 'bricks without straw,' they are called upon to do that which would be equivalent to the same thing ultimately—viz., an impossibility, in surrendering body and soul to the demands of Work, Work, never-ceasing Work.

Your contemporary, the 'Weekly Dispatch,' with that kind of mock-liberal cant for which it is notorious, is the organ of these tyrannical masters—an unofficial 'Montreux,' that publishes the lucubrations of men, who pretend to know much, but in reality know nothing, of the wants, condition, and hardships of the class they are otherwise absurdly supposed to defend. The writer of the article under 'History and Politics,' is Mr. Sidney Smith; the author of 'Mother Country' (a work advising men to emigrate, for long hours and reduced wages were rendering it impossible for the majority to earn their bread at home), is Mr. Sidney Smith; and the Secretary to the combined masters of the Engineering Trades is Mr. Sidney Smith,—the self-same man, who, under the disguise of a reformer, I trust has not his parallel. Such men and against their writings may Providence preserve the working classes of this country from inclining towards. They will be for ever lost, if their opinions be adopted; since they know only one thing in their hearts, and that is the rights of Capital, to the utter neglect of the duties which are inseparable thereto.

To the working men of England a few words of caution are necessary to be addressed. If they are not watchful now, they will see the customs and privileges connected with their various trades leaving them, and themselves powerless to resist the attack. The success of the Master Engineers will be the signal for a wholesale slaughter on the rights of Labour; and the pernicious doctrines put forth by those alluded to will teach them to be passive spectators of the carnage. Then will follow the price of their labour, and cheap food will be used as an irresistible argument, justifying the reduction; and so, the measure of 1840, designed for the future happiness of the whole community, will distribute its advantages upon the well-to-do peoples, the Sidney Smiths of the press and the middle classes.

These are the things that now cast their shadows before us; and this is the hour to arm against them, to testify to these buyers of labour that the rights of the English workman shall not be sacrificed upon their Mammothish shrine.

The cause of the Engineer is the cause of every labourer in the country; what he is to be denied work for affects alike both skilled and unskilled workmen. The piece-work system, to be what its name implies, should be a reciprocal agreement between master and man. If it be not, it is a price-work plan, the master only being the arbiter in the case. Who is not affected in such a contemptible arrangement?—whose independence is not crushed by acquiescing with such one-sided regulation? The employed would not pretend to be sole judges in a question so obviously social; and therefore should their masters (as they are conventionally called) arrogate to themselves so much, and issue their mandates in the name of the Great God? But they will do so, and very much more, if the men of England do not prove to them that resistance will follow the attack.

The despot of Labour is the every-day act of the Capitalist. To him LIBERTY is a privilege, not to be shared in by these-called *canaille* of society—the mob; Independence of Action (such as declining to work more than ten hours a day) a crime in the workman; respect for seven years, devotion to a particular study (the best seven years of any man's life), is an antiquated notion. And why? Because the tendency of acting differently is to distribute the results of industry with a more equitable hand than Capitalists can comfortably look on. I know that all men are not so avaricious; but they who are not are of the few—they form the exception to the rule—that remains unaltered.

And now, will not the working classes hold their meetings, and, if necessary, club their pence, to maintain the right of refusal to do more than ten hours' work a day, when that their strength is exhausted, or the claims of citizenship call them elsewhere; to defend the right of a voice, previous to the execution of any piece of work, as to the price to be paid for the same when performed? These are the questions that the Master Engineers say, 'We only will answer and determine,' but which, I hope, they will never be suffered to say with truth; and, as such interrogations affect the whole position of labour, as it stands in relation to capital, so they clearly become of national importance.

To discharge ten thousand workmen for making such requests as the Engineers have done, will be to commit an act disgraceful to the name of Englishmen. Our honour, as men, is bound up in such a violation; the claims of Industry, those which spoke so loudly and so truthfully in the Great Exhibition,—these cry out shame against such a merciless proceeding. The men have but stated their wishes as a body; they never intended to strike in order to put them into practical effect. Whatever a particular shop or factory chose to do in Oldham, the entire Society is not to be compromised by. Every public answer given in meetings and in print, shows this to be true; and as the new year broke upon the employed, that was to be the indicator for them to endeavour to obtain their employer's sanction to certain regulations, which, as members of the society, they had previously agreed to. Surely, to solicit an opinion is not to be regarded as an intention to strike? No, the body did not contemplate such an extreme measure. Certainly Messrs. Hibberts and Platt would have been held to their bond, as they ought and must have been, seeing that they dictated its very words. From this neither masters nor men could faithfully recede, save by a dishonourable rejection on either side. Here, then, was the position. But beyond this, the Engineers, as a society, have committed no aggressive act.

I ask the men so turned out to be firm to one another; and I solicit those who are in work to support them in their difficulties. Let this be done for a few weeks only, and we shall see that this tyranny will meet with a counter-check; for work will be found for the men elsewhere, the profits of which will be more equitably and generously shared amongst them, which could not possibly be the case, whilst serving their former masters.

THE MONUMENTS BOUNTY.—In addition to Mr. Lindsay of London, Mr. Crawshaw Bailey, the great iron master, is now fairly in the field as a candidate whenever a vacancy occurs for the representation of these boroughs. Mr. Bailey states himself to be in favour of an extension of the suffrage by the extension of the borough qualification to the counties. He is also favourable to civil and religious liberty; and should the proposition for a five shilling duty on wheat be brought forward, he promises it his support.

### Co-operative Intelligence.

ANNUAL SOIREE AND BALL OF THE GALASHIELLS' PROVISION STORE COMPANY.

Themembers and friends, to the number of 300, held their annual soiree and ball on New Year's night, in the Bridge Inn Assembly Room. An excellent violin band was in attendance; numerous songs and recitations enlivened the evening. When the dancing commenced it was found that the room was far too small, and another hall-room had to be got for the half of the company.

Mr. Wm. SANDERSON—who is considered the founder of the present plan of Co-operative Stores—delivered an address. He said:—As it used to be the custom for the chairman to say something about our own Co-operative association, it may be as well for me to give some information, especially as the women do not attend the quarterly meetings of the society, and as not only they, but every one, ought to study the principles of Co-operation, and by knowledge and union seek to better their own condition. Our society is only the A B C of the system; and the advantages we derive from our little society are no more in comparison to what they are to be than the alphabet is to the man who is able to read the alphabet, to the learned man who is able to read in books of sciences, history, philosophy, and religion. The society was established nine years ago, and began business with a capital of £28. Three years past last year the constitution of the society was changed from paying the dividend on the capital to paying it on the amount of the sales. A great amount of success has attended the change, as will be seen from a brief extract of 15th April, 1851.—The deposits were £750; the sunk fund on three years, £170; total capital, £920; and the capital, £1,000. Sales, about £10,000 a year; profits, £365, or £1 per day; eight men and two boys employed. A year since we had only two provision stores, one in the branch, and one in the Co-operative Building Society. The profits to a member who had dealt on all his capital for the last three years were, for a member who had £3 deposit £123.9d., including sunk fund. So much for our own society. But it is only by knowledge, the power of union and accumulation, that the working class can ever hope to better their condition. Knowledge is power—union is strength. To illustrate these maxims I will relate an anecdote of a landlord and farmer. The landlord on coming into possession of his estate undertook to farm his own lands. He engaged men, and laid out his capital in draining, fencing, and cultivating the soil, but he took no labour, when he took valuation of his stock and balanced his accounts, he found that instead of making profits of his farm, it did not pay the working expenses. He therefore leased his lands to an experienced farmer, at a handsome rate. This farmer, regularly as the term came, cheerfully paid his rent, while it was apparent to the world he was getting rich fast. "How come it," said the landlord, "that you are enabled not only to pay me a fair rent, but also to prosper well beside, whilst I, who had no rent to pay, could not make my lands pay their own working expenses?" "The reason," said the farmer, "I conceive to be this—I have studiously applied myself to learn the science of agriculture, and advised with the most experienced farmers on the nature of the soil, the quality of manures, the rotation of crops, draining, fencing, and the feeding of cattle, and in all have exercised a severe economy. Thus, from my knowledge, I have been enabled to raise double the crops you raised, to pay a handsome rent, and make riches beside, while your inexperience trusted to the power of capital alone, and failed." The landlord felt the truth, and released the land to the farmer, and the greater employment of the union of capital and skill, and the greater employment of labour, numerous agricultural improvements, greater remuneration, and cheaper food to all. Now, the working classes may be compared to this landlord. They have labour which is as completely their capital as the land of the landlord is his capital; they may employ their own labour for their own advantage, the same as the landlord farmed his land for his advantage, and he who has knowledge and union will prosper; but if not, they may find that they do not pay them. Then, as the landlord had to lease his lands for a rent, so must the working classes sell or lease their labour for a rent or wage. Such is the present position of the working classes of this country, who, with few exceptions, have the want of knowledge how to secure the benefits of their own labour, and how to supply the wages-slaves of other employers; and though they have the skill to work all the work, to produce all the wealth, to cultivate the soil, make machinery, manufacture all the clothes, build all the houses, work all the mines of coal and iron, make railways, canals, harbours, and ships, from the iron, make other things that is of use or ornament, yet, from the want of knowledge, they are held in a state of poverty, cramped in food, in clothes, and shelter. But, as I stated, there are some exceptions to this general rule. There has sprung up within the last few years two or three hundred societies, having for their object the application of the labour of the workman for his own benefit, and every year is proving their success, and adding to their number; and one very important new step has been taken, on the suggestion of one of our own townsmen, Mr. Walter Sanderson, who, in a letter to the 'Tribune,' suggested the desirability of a central depot, or agency, for the purpose of facilitating the interchange of goods between the Co-operative Associations, and also to purchase in the wholesale markets, and to supply the societies with all sorts of goods, cheap, good, and free from all adulteration. This suggestion has been taken up by a number of philanthropic men, who have capital, and business habits suited to the occasion; and if the working Co-operative Associations throughout the country back out, and unite, and exchange the goods they produce through the agency for what they themselves require for their own use, these vast organised confederations of labour will produce an indescribable amount of prosperity, peace, and happiness to the working classes. For instance, when Mr. Lloyd Jones was here, he stated that he might get our tweeds, shawls, and tartans off through the agency of the Co-operative Association, and in return, the numerous working Tailors' Associations requiring them. But if, on the other hand, this present opportunity to raise themselves from the wretched condition of wages-slaves is not embraced—if they choose still to fight the terrible battle of competition till they sink to the level of the Irish peasant—till starvation drives them from their native home to seek an asylum and a home in some distant land, through the extension of machinery and competition this is fast coming about, so that work is getting more scarce, and wages lowered—still I do not despair. Although a Nicholas of Russia, a Pope Pius Nono, a Bomba, and a Napoleon, four like fends over the future destinies of Europe, and though they proclaim themselves that the mission they have to perform is to arrest the progress of democratic and social ideas, to chain the human mind to crush liberty, and to stay the emancipation of labour; and though they are surrounded by hundreds of thousands of mercenary assassins to do their bloody work; though the hireling priests—from one end of Christendom to the other—are perverting the spirit of truth to maintain their unhallowed power; and though the minions of Bittery pour in their ear encouragement in their evil way—yet the day is not far distant, when for thousands that defend them millions shall assail; and the unhired tongue shall prevail over the hired priest, and the flatterers vanish away; when the 'thrones of the tyrants crumble in the dust.' And why am I so hopeful? Because I trace the onward march of intelligence over the world's expanse. I read it in the many discoveries and inventions in science and art—in the increased facility of intercourse—in the power of the steam printing press pouring its endless stream of knowledge over the earth, and which can only be compared to the great sun itself, which, from its inexhaustible source, diffuses light, life, liberty, and joy to universal mankind. I trace the march of intelligence in the commotions of peoples and the aspirations of communities. I see it banishing superstition and prejudice—turning darkness into light—breaking slavery's chains asunder—trampling crowns and coronets in the dust—turning to mockery ribbon and garter, star and crest—according to the winds of Heaven unworthy titles and distinctions—seeing the human mind to the cottage of the poor man, enlightening his mind to the causes of his distress—teaching him the means by which his evils can be remedied, filling his heart with love, peace, and hope. There is hope for the sons of labour—they have truth, justice, humanity, and Heaven on their side. Nature, reason, revelation, truth, and claims aloud they shall triumph—that all mankind shall be free, that they shall not oppress one another, and we know that there is no power in Heaven, earth, or hell, to gainsay the triumph of progress, truth, and mercy. What we have to do is to see that we array ourselves on the side of right, so that we can always have the proud reflection that we have done our duty.

THE FIFTH QUARTERLY REPORT OF THE WORKING MAN'S MUTUAL CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY FOR THE QUARTER ENDING DECEMBER 20TH, 1851.

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE WORKING MAN'S MUTUAL CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY.

It is with feelings of pleasure that we lay before you the present report of the position and prospects of our society. Although great difficulties have been laid before us in the way of trade through the false system on which society is at present based, and the underhand and open opposition of false friends, we are happy to say, that through the constant aid and support we have dealt with commercial men and the public, we have surmounted every difficulty, and the society is now firmly established. Our sales have progressed and increased regularly every quarter, which proves that the public can and does appreciate our endeavours to benefit the slaves of capital, which we are surrounded, as far as our means allow us, and we are sure the members will feel gratified at the re-

turns made the last quarter. After paying at the rate of ten per cent. per annum on the amount of share-money, and five per cent. per annum on the amount invested in the bank, and paying for the new fixtures for the shop, there remains £3 as the first dividend in the Contingent Fund; and to this fund we would press for the benefit of the members, as it is from that common fund that the benefit of the principle is to be developed in all its moral and social bearing. We cannot but look with pleasure and pride on the new constitution, revised from the old one, and past at our last general meeting. It will prove, that where each member is left free to act for himself in all that concerns his present and future welfare, that he will act with his high origin, and gradually approximate to the principles of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity. In our old constitution it was felt that it gave too great an advantage to the wealthier members, at the expense of the weaker. We have now remedied that defect, and placed all in a more equal position, without encroaching unfairly on either side, and it is now left to the members to carry the laws into effect. Each member will receive a fair interest for the money invested, besides being an equal recipient of the benefits that will arise from the 'contingent,' being judiciously applied to useful speculations, and though the 'contingent' will ever remain inviolate, the advantage of having a common fund to draw in will soon be apparent, by placing our members in a more equal position, and more stable positions in life. We wish all our members a happy New Year, and hope that we may all be destined to use our best endeavours to raise our society still higher, and to carry its principles into practice, so that when we meet the next New Year's day our society may be the admiration of all good men, and a refuge for its members.

John Collings, Treasurer; Isaac Wilson, Storekeeper; William Algey, Secretary; John Hodgson, Richard Thompson, William Etherington, Committee.

### LEEDS REDEMPTION SOCIETY.

We had a tea party of the members, on New Year's Day, in the Society's lecture-room—a sort of house warming for our store—whose goods 'furnished forth our festive tables.' On Monday, Dr. Lees delivered an opening address, being the first of a series of lectures to be delivered on Sunday evenings, during the rest of the year. The doctor occupied his address mainly with an exposure of the fallacies that lurk, in the yet able article on the 'Relation of employers and employed,' in the current number of the 'West Review,' while he gave a most masterly analysis of the free relations of capital and labour—past, present, and to come; and showed that America, the only land where they had approximated to equal freedom in their bargains. He gave an amusing illustration of the dollar a month extra to the servant for taking his bat off in his master's house. We cannot too strongly recommend our members on this all, and now present the following list of names received.—Leeds subscription, £1 10s. 11d.; Canfield, £1 1s. 6d.; Barker, £1 10s. 8d.; Hyde, per Bradley, £1 1s. 6d.; ditto, Barker, £1 10s. 8d.; Huddersfield, per France 10s.; Newcastle-upon-Tyne, per Johnson, £1 11s. 5d.; London, per Riley, 1s. 6d.; Building Fund, 12s.; Propagandist Fund, 7s. 2d.; Honour Jones, Secretary.

Now, a few working men are attempting to form an Association of Working Tailors, and are applying to the Castle-street Association for information and rules.

Some friends of Co-operation contemplate forming a Co-operative Store at West Moulsey, Surrey.

### ACCIDENTS IN MINES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NORTHERN STAR.

Sir,—I am anxious to bring before the members of this country, through the medium of the public paper, the necessity of renewed exertions on their part to procure from the government and the legislature, an augmentation of the number of inspectors for the mines of this country. At present only four inspectors are appointed, and their inefficiency is demonstrated by the continued frequency of explosions, and other accidents, whereby hundreds of lives are being sacrificed yearly, as will be seen from the following list, taken from the 'Mining Journal' of January 8th, 1852:—

In 1851, notwithstanding the inspection of mines and collieries, there was recorded in our columns the number of 494 localities where accidents occurred, and collieries had taken place. In this number 682 deaths occurred, and 248 were more or less severely injured, making a total of 930 persons killed or injured; of those killed, 300 were by explosions, 157 from falls of roof, 103 from falling down the shaft, thirty by machinery; and by accidents not specified, eighty-three; while the injuries were—explosions, 140; falls from roof, thirty-seven; falls in shaft, twenty-one; machinery, sixteen; and accidents not specified, twenty-three.

Taking the average, there is, within a fraction, fifty-seven killed, and twenty-three injured, monthly. For 1850, the deaths and injuries were—Deaths, 642; being fifty less than the past year; and injuries, 273, being twenty-seven more than 1851; total, 915; and this, being twenty-seven less than 1851, and this, with the 90, being twenty-seven more than last year, shows the utter inefficiency of that measure.

The miners of Northumberland and Durham have memorials to the Home Secretary to augment the number of inspectors, and stated the necessity of having the districts so limited that each colliery might be visited and examined. To the miners of other districts we appeal for their co-operation in this work of humanity, since it must be apparent to all, that if we do not take up the matter generally no good will be done. Miners should consider that, under present circumstances, no one can tell who may be the next victim; many of those poor men now laid beneath the surface were formerly men of family, and have now lost that opportunity for ever. Let us beware that such shall not be our lot, but that, with a spirit that will not weary, we will importune the government and the Legislature till we have a sufficient protection for our lives and persons.

Yours, &c., M. JUNE.

### PARLIAMENTARY AND FINANCIAL REPORT.

At the usual meeting of the vestry of St. Pancras, on Wednesday, Mr. Churchwarden Pierce in the chair, the vestry clerk read a resolution passed at the East Pancras Parochial Association on the 2nd instant, calling upon the vestry to convene a public meeting of the parishes, to consider the question of Parliamentary and Financial Reform, about to be introduced by Lord John Russell. The resolution was unanimously signed by ratepayers.

Mr. W. Durrant Cooper moved a resolution to the effect that the memorial be entered on the minutes, and that the vestry call a meeting of the ratepayers for Monday, the 26th instant.

Mr. Manning seconded the motion.

An amendment was proposed, but the resolution was carried by a large majority.

Oxford.—One of the largest and most influential public meetings that has ever been held in Oxford took place in the Town Hall, on Wednesday evening, for the purpose of receiving Sir Joshua Walpole, Bart., and Mr. Thompson, Esq., M.P., as a deputation from the National Reform Association, and to propose a petition to parliament in favour of a full, free, and fair representation of the people in the House of Commons. By seven o'clock, the time appointed for the commencement of the business, there were from 300 to 1,000 persons assembled, consisting of men of all ranks, but preponderance of working men.

Mr. Joseph Warr, a councillor and post-master of Oxford, took the chair.

Sir J. Walmsley and Mr. G. Thompson, who were received most cordially, addressed the meeting at length and with great effect, urging the necessity of reform; and, after the adoption of a petition, the meeting separated.

### PECULIARITIES OF TURNER.

The rumours which have been current respecting Turner's enormous wealth have, it seems, greatly overstated the case. His property, exclusive of his pictures, does not exceed £200,000—of the whole of this, we believe, he has left to found almshouses for the benefit of unfortunate and meritorious artists. His pictures he has bequeathed to the nation, on the express condition that within a given time a suitable place shall be provided for their deposit and exhibition. This is a wise proviso. It is a singular characteristic of the mental habits of the man that to each of his executors he has left a legacy of £10 10s. 6d.—the fractional character of the sum being a prudent precaution for saving the legacy duty. We mentioned last week that Mr. Turner died an obscure and poor man. It is true, but we omitted to state that, at Chelsea under an assumed name. The story is as follows:—He loved retirement, and entertained a peculiar dislike to having his lodging known—sharing with all his immense wealth the feeling of the poorest bankrupt. He saw lodgings to his liking, asked the price, found them cheap,—and that was quite as much to his liking. But the landlady wanted a reference—"I will buy your house outright, my good woman," was the reply somewhat angrily. Then, an agreement was wanted—met by an exhibition of bank-notes and sovereigns and an offer to pay in advance—an offer which proved of course perfectly satisfactory. The artist's difficulties were not, however, yet over. The landlady wanted to see Turner's pictures, and he was obliged to show them. This was a worse affliction than any other. What is your name?"—"My name is Mrs. Brook."—"Oh," was the reply, "then I am Mr. Brook."—"And as 'Mr. Brook' Turner died at Chelsea. The other artistic property belonging to Mr. Turner likely to pass under the hammer of the auctioneer, is his collection of 'proofs' and certain copper and steel plates from his works. His invariable bargain with print-sellers and engravers was, that he should have fifty proofs of every plate—and he went even so far with some as to demand that the 'touched' proofs should be returned to him. Certain engravers, however, properly insisting on the custom of their craft not to return proofs, continued to retain them in spite of every threat which Turner made, and he was obliged to insist on keeping his touched proofs should never be employed again on engravings from his works. Some gave in; and the 'touched' proofs—if sold—will, it is said, realise very high prices.—*Athenaeum*.

PRIVY COUNCIL.—The noble Frontier, Lord John Russell, and several of his colleagues in office, accompanied by the Clerk of the Council in Waiting, will leave town on Saturday, at twelve o'clock, by special train, for Windsor Castle, where Her Majesty will hold a Privy Council for the further prorogation of parliament, which is expected to meet the first week in the ensuing month.

clumsy as to make his firelock top heavy, the former constructed so as to render it about as formidable to himself as the foe, for we are told that the trigger pulls so stiffly as to prevent taking a proper aim. The propelling power is so inefficient that its range is absurdly short; the construction of the breach is so bad, that the direction of the bullet is eminently uncertain, and the recoil so heavy, that while the man misses his mark the butt bruises him. We suppose, that with this catalogue of errors we must submit to be laughed at, to be beaten, and to speak figuratively, eaten up by the Kafirs, till a wiser and more capable, and common-sense government assumes the reins of office.

A fearful tragedy nearer home has marked the week. The West India Mail Company have been peculiarly unfortunate with their steamers, having, at various times, lost some eight or nine of them, but the most fearful calamity of all is the recent wreck of the Amazon, which has spread the deepest grief over all classes of society. That occurrence was attended with some remarkable circumstances. The Amazon was a new ship. It is but a few weeks, at most, since she left the river. She was the most splendid vessel the Company had ever built. She was of the greatest size, constructed with the greatest care, and upon the best principles, and upon her machinery all the appliances of engineering skill and science were lavished. Complete as the vessel was, her crew, of somewhere about a hundred hands, was at least as efficient. A captain of tried ability and courage, selected for his unquestioned fitness, was selected; the officers, seamen, and engineers, were picked men; and nothing but one thing—to which we shall presently allude—was left undone to secure the safe transit across the ocean of the fifty passengers and costly freight with which she was laden. A short time brings back the dismal intelligence that the Amazon had been burnt at sea, and that out of the 141 human beings who were on board only some forty are saved. No pen can describe the horrors of that scene, when the fire bursting forth from between decks, and enveloping the fated ship with a speed which paralysed all efforts to check it. The passengers, roused from their sleep, rushed upon deck, and their terror added to the general confusion. Amid all this, it is no wonder that the boats, hurriedly launched into a heavy sea, were swamped, and many fleeing from fire perished by water: the only wonder is that so many escaped. But, we would ask, what is this the result of an unavoidable accident? We think not. The majority of the accounts go to show that the fire originated near the engines; and the cause, with great probability, ascribed to the heat caused by the stiff working of the new machinery. Before that, the engines had been stopped twice to allow the heated bearings time to cool; ought not this to have been foreseen. It is reported, that in her trial near Southampton, in comparatively smooth water, the engines were more than once stopped for the same reason. If that happened there, surely the most ordinary exercise of judgment would have told those in authority that the same thing would occur with even greater certainty when the machinery was called on to force the vessel through a heavy sea. But, either the judgment was not exercised, or its warnings were disregarded: the doomed ship was carried off before her engines were in proper working order. She took fire, burned like tinder, and upwards of one hundred lives were sacrificed. It is possible that the time will come when such occurrences will no longer be regarded as accidents.

Of foreign matters we have but little to say. The solemn farce of thanksgiving, offered up by an unwilling Archbishop at Notre Dame, has been enacted. There has been the expected amount of feasting. The fishermen of the Halle have been petted. A certain number of hired voices have shouted 'Vive Napoleon,' and 'Vive l'Empereur.' The great mass of the people galled, coerced, terror-stricken, have looked on in abject, silent, almost stupid silence, and the promised Constitution, beset by greater difficulties than the usurper counted on, has not yet made its appearance. While France is waiting for its Constitution Austria has lost hers, or, rather, so much as remained of it. A Royal Ordinance has abolished it at one fell swoop, and inaugurated, in its full force, the policy of METTERNICH. Meanwhile, the state of the finances is growing hopelessly bad. Bankruptcy presses hard upon the heels of despotism; the Finance Minister has been dismissed, and a new loan is talked of before the old one is well completed. For the rest, it is but the old story of marching of troops and courts-martial here and there, and the storm which is so inevitably gathering over Europe.

### REMOURED MINISTERIAL CHANGES.

On Wednesday evening the rumour was very general that Lord John Russell had decided upon the changes to be made in his ministry. In cases of this kind, it is, of course, impossible for anything short of a ministerial manifesto to convey the exact and authentic particulars of the contemplated alterations. In such times as these, however, the public look naturally to the newspapers for such indications as may be in existence, tending to show what may be expected. To meet this natural anxiety we give the latest on dit; with the full and complete preliminary explanation that only as the most prevalent rumour can the following be received. With this preface, it may be stated that Sir James Graham had on Wednesday an interview with Lord John Russell, and it is generally understood that the negotiations in progress have for their object the formation of a Conservative-Whig Cabinet—a negotiation which, if successful, would in all probability involve an early dissolution of parliament.

It is proposed that Lord Lansdowne, Lord Brougham, Mr. Labouchere, and Sir E. Baring should resign; To be replaced by Sir James Graham, as First Lord of the Admiralty; The Duke of Newcastle, as President of the Board of Control; Sidney Herbert, as Paymaster of the Forces, with a seat in the cabinet; and Mr. Gladstone, as President of the Board of Trade. Who would succeed Lord Lansdowne is not stated. Whether all this is entitled to be regarded as anything more than club talk, the lapse of a short time will in all probability determine.—*Daily News*.

At the clubs last night (Wednesday) it was in every one's mouth that Sir George Grey would be immediately called to the Peerage. It is a fact that Sir James Graham is in town. Putting this and that together, it is not impossible that the Government may make a death-struggle to meet parliament. *Morning Herald*.

THE HUNGARIAN CAUSE IN ENGLAND AND AMERICA.—Lord Dudley Stuart has written to the 'Daily News,' enclosing a letter from Professor Francis Newman, in reference to the Hungarian refugees now in London. The Professor says they are 161 in number, and asks, whether there are not 161 householders warm enough in the cause of Hungary and humanity, to afford these distressed gentlemen a sleeping couch each. He says truly, that scanty maintenance from the descriptions, which come in slowly, is degrading and painful; and he adds, 'it is an amusing fact that the system of centralisation is here, as in everything else, demoralising; and that the only way, happy to him who gives and to him who receives, is that of quarantining individuals locally.' Mr. Toulmin Smith, zealous for the reputation of Kosuth for 'forethought and watchfulness,' says that £250 was paid over to the emigrants, by Kosuth's direction, on the 25th of November last, besides £200 yielded



sufferers, and refer them to me. MARIA JOLLY WORTON  
near Diss, Norfolk. 14th Oct., 1850.'

I consider you a blessing to society at large. It is not to be to the benefit Du Barry's Health Restoring Food has been to me. My little boy cries for a saucer of it every morning. WALTER MANNING.—2, Manning-place, Five Oaks, Jersey.  
 Cure No. 2,704.  
 'Thirteen years' cough, indigestion, and general debility, had

removed by Du Barry's excellent Health Restoring Food.  
 Athol-street, Perth.  
 Cure No. 89.  
 Twenty years' liver complaints with disorders of the stomach,  
 bowels, and nerves, has been cured by Du Barry's Health  
 Restoring Food. ANDREW FRASER, 3, Adge's, East Lothian.  
 Cure No. 9, 488.  
 Twenty years' dyspepsia, in a patient 81 years of age with  
 distressing symptoms of flatulency, constipation, dizziness,  
 headache, and irritability, which had resisted all medical  
 treatment, has been entirely removed by Du Barry's Health Restoring  
 Food. SAMUEL BARLOW, Chemist.—Darlington.  
 Cure No. 79.  
 Gentlemen.—The lady for whom I ordered your food is  
 suffering severely from indigestion, and is unable to eat.

digestion and constipation, throwing up her meals shortly after eating them, having a great deal of heartburn, and being constantly obliged to resort to physic or the enema, and sometimes both. I am happy to inform you that your food produced an immediate relief. She has never been sick since, had but little heartburn, and the functions are more regular, &c. THOMAS WOODHOUSE, Devon Cottage, Bromley, Middlesex.

Cure No. 2,821.

"Gentlemen, I am using your Food with great success. Refe-

‘I have found it to be a simple, though very efficacious and pleasant food, doing good to my own and others’ functional disorders.’

EV. CHARLES KER. - Winslow, Bucks.  
Cure No. 7,843.  
"Having read by accident an account of your Revelata Arabia Food, I was determined to try it, as I am only half the age I was when I was a child, and I thought I should be well served if such should prove the case, having for several years spent great deal of money on physicians. Accordingly I commenced eating it three times a day. When I first read with interest and pleasure of the wonderful cures effected by it, I felt as if I should feel as though they had not said half enough in its praise. I feel as though they had not said half enough in its praise."  
ELIZABETH JACOBS. - Nazing Niagara, near Waltham Cross, Herefordshire, Aug. 30, 1895.  
"I was in such a state of weakness from your invaluable Revelata Arabia Food that I might as well have died. I could hardly move, and my sufferings were awful. I am now so well thanks to your Food, that I went yesterday to see a steeple chase, and I was able to cross the ditches as well as some of the horses."

gratitude to you, &c.—H. Cox, Exeter, Pethard, October 21st, 1840.  
Cure No. 49,562.

"Dear Sir,—Allow me to say most sincere thanks to you for the very great benefit I have derived from the use of your Aromatic Fucus. For ten years' dyspepsia and nervous irritability have been a perfect bane to me. The best medical advice, and frequent use of the most powerful remedies, have been of no avail. I have produced not the slightest abatement of my sufferings; and I had given myself up, when providentially I met with your Aromatic Fucus. I have now been using it for three months, and I am already possessed. It has done for me all that medicine could effect, for I am enjoying a state of health such as I had never before enjoyed. I am, Sir, ever, your most grateful servant, and prosperity, as the discoverer of so valuable a Fucus. I am, Sir, most gratefully yours, ELIZABETH YOUNG—Gatcombe, near Liverpool, Decr. 21st, 1840.

Cure No. 5,108.

"Dear Sir,—I had been suffering during three months from a violent dyspepsia, attended with flatulency, and heart, which rendered me almost insupportable. I had been using every imaginable Food perfectly cured. You can make what use, Sir, of this cure, as you think proper. I am, Sir, ever, your obedient servant, JOSEPH WALTERS. —Brookdale Colliery, Oldbury, near Birmingham.

A full report of important cures of the above and many of the most valuable and copious extract from 50,000 testimonials first published in the highest respectability, is sent gratis by Du Barry & Co., on application.

Send us manifests with full instructions, and bearing the seal of the Post Office, and we will send you, by the next steamer, weighing 1 lb. at 2s. 9d., 2 lbs. at 4s. 6d., 5 lbs. at 11s. 12s. 6d., 12 lbs. at 2s. 9d. 20 lbs. at 3s. 6d., 30 lbs. at 2s. 9d.—200 lbs. at 10s. 6d. and upwards. Agents, Messrs. De Forestum, Mann and Co., Purveyors to Her Majesty the Queen, of the Medicines of St. Mary's, St. Mary's, and Co.; Evans; Lescher and Co.; and Messrs. J. & W. G. & Co., of London.

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6d., 2s. 6d., 3s. 6d., 4s. 6d., 5s. 6d., 6s. 6d., 7s. 6d., 8s. 6d., 9s. 6d., 10s. 6d., 11s. 6d., 12s. 6d., 13s. 6d., 14s. 6d., 15s. 6d., 16s. 6d., 17s. 6d., 18s. 6d., 19s. 6d., 20s. 6d., 21s. 6d., 22s. 6d., 23s. 6d., 24s. 6d., 25s. 6d., 26s. 6d., 27s. 6d., 28s. 6d., 29s. 6d., 30s. 6d., 31s. 6d., 32s. 6d., 33s. 6d., 34s. 6d., 35s. 6d., 36s. 6d., 37s. 6d., 38s. 6d., 39s. 6d., 40s. 6d., 41s. 6d., 42s. 6d., 43s. 6d., 44s. 6d., 45s. 6d., 46s. 6d., 47s. 6d., 48s. 6d., 49s. 6d., 50s. 6d., 51s. 6d., 52s. 6d., 53s. 6d., 54s. 6d., 55s. 6d., 56s. 6d., 57s. 6d., 58s. 6d., 59s. 6d., 60s. 6d., 61s. 6d., 62s. 6d., 63s. 6d., 64s. 6d., 65s. 6d., 66s. 6d., 67s. 6d., 68s. 6d., 69s. 6d., 70s. 6d., 71s. 6d., 72s. 6d., 73s. 6d., 74s. 6d., 75s. 6d., 76s. 6d., 77s. 6d., 78s. 6d., 79s. 6d., 80s. 6d., 81s. 6d., 82s. 6d., 83s. 6d., 84s. 6d., 85s. 6d., 86s. 6d., 87s. 6d., 88s. 6d., 89s. 6d., 90s. 6d., 91s. 6d., 92s. 6d., 93s. 6d., 94s. 6d., 95s. 6d., 96s. 6d., 97s. 6d., 98s. 6d., 99s. 6d., 100s. 6d., 101s. 6d., 102s. 6d., 103s. 6d., 104s. 6d., 105s. 6d., 106s. 6d., 107s. 6d., 108s. 6d., 109s. 6d., 110s. 6d., 111s. 6d., 112s. 6d., 113s. 6d., 114s. 6d., 115s. 6d., 116s. 6d., 117s. 6d., 118s. 6d., 119s. 6d., 120s. 6d., 121s. 6d., 122s. 6d., 123s. 6d., 124s. 6d., 125s. 6d., 126s. 6d., 127s. 6d., 128s. 6d., 129s. 6d., 130s. 6d., 131s. 6d., 132s. 6d., 133s. 6d., 134s. 6d., 135s. 6d., 136s. 6d., 137s. 6d., 138s. 6d., 139s. 6d., 140s. 6d., 141s. 6d., 142s. 6d., 143s. 6d., 144s. 6d., 145s. 6d., 146s. 6d., 147s. 6d., 148s. 6d., 149s. 6d., 150s. 6d., 151s. 6d., 152s. 6d., 153s. 6d., 154s. 6d., 155s. 6d., 156s. 6d., 157s. 6d., 158s. 6d., 159s. 6d., 160s. 6d., 161s. 6d., 162s. 6d., 163s. 6d., 164s. 6d., 165s. 6d., 166s. 6d., 167s. 6d., 168s. 6d., 169s. 6d., 170s. 6d., 171s. 6d., 172s. 6d., 173s. 6d., 174s. 6d., 175s. 6d., 176s. 6d., 177s. 6d., 178s. 6d., 179s. 6d., 180s. 6d., 181s. 6d., 182s. 6d., 183s. 6d., 184s. 6d., 185s. 6d., 186s. 6d., 187s. 6d., 188s. 6d., 189s. 6d., 190s. 6d., 191s. 6d., 192s. 6d., 193s. 6d., 194s. 6d., 195s. 6d., 196s. 6d., 197s. 6d., 198s. 6d., 199s. 6d., 200s. 6d., 201s. 6d., 202s. 6d., 203s. 6d., 204s. 6d., 205s. 6d., 206s. 6d., 207s. 6d., 208s. 6d., 209s. 6d., 210s. 6d., 211s. 6d., 212s. 6d., 213s. 6d., 214s. 6d., 215s. 6d., 216s. 6d., 217s. 6d., 218s. 6d., 219s. 6d., 220s. 6d., 221s. 6d., 222s. 6d., 223s. 6d., 224s. 6d., 225s. 6d., 226s. 6d., 227s. 6d., 228s. 6d., 229s. 6d., 230s. 6d., 231s. 6d., 232s. 6d., 233s. 6d., 234s. 6d., 235s. 6d., 236s. 6d., 237s. 6d., 238s. 6d., 239s. 6d., 240s. 6d., 241s. 6d., 242s. 6d., 243s. 6d., 244s. 6d., 245s. 6d., 246s. 6d., 247s. 6d., 248s. 6d., 249s. 6d., 250s. 6d., 251s. 6d., 252s. 6d., 253s. 6d., 254s. 6d., 255s. 6d., 256s. 6d., 257s. 6d., 258s. 6d., 259s. 6d., 260s. 6d., 261s. 6d., 262s. 6d., 263s. 6d., 264s. 6d., 265s. 6d., 266s. 6d., 267s. 6d., 268s. 6d., 269s. 6d., 270s. 6d., 271s. 6d., 272s. 6d., 273s. 6d., 274s. 6d., 275s. 6d., 276s. 6d., 277s. 6d., 278s. 6d., 279s. 6d., 280s. 6d., 281s. 6d., 282s. 6d., 283s. 6d., 284s. 6d., 285s. 6d., 286s. 6d., 287s. 6d., 288s. 6d., 289s. 6d., 290s. 6d., 291s. 6d., 292s. 6d., 293s. 6d., 294s. 6d., 295s. 6d., 296s. 6d., 297s. 6d., 298s. 6d., 299s. 6d., 300s. 6d., 301s. 6d., 302s. 6d., 303s. 6d., 304s. 6d., 305s. 6d., 306s. 6d., 307s. 6d., 308s. 6d., 309s. 6d., 310s. 6d., 311s. 6d., 312s. 6d., 313s. 6d., 314s. 6d., 315s. 6d., 316s. 6d., 317s. 6d., 318s. 6d., 319s. 6d., 320s. 6d., 321s. 6d., 322s. 6d., 323s. 6d., 324s. 6d., 325s. 6d., 326s. 6d., 327s. 6d., 328s. 6d., 329s. 6d., 330s. 6d., 331s. 6d., 332s. 6d., 333s. 6d., 334s. 6d., 335s. 6d., 336s. 6d., 337s. 6d., 338s. 6d., 339s. 6d., 340s. 6d., 341s. 6d., 342s. 6d., 343s. 6d., 344s. 6d., 345s. 6d., 346s. 6d., 347s. 6d., 348s. 6d., 349s. 6d., 350s. 6d., 351s. 6d., 352s. 6d., 353s. 6d., 354s. 6d., 355s. 6d., 356s. 6d., 357s. 6d., 358s. 6d., 359s. 6d., 360s. 6d., 361s. 6d., 362s. 6d., 363s. 6d., 364s. 6d., 365s. 6d., 366s. 6d., 367s. 6d., 368s. 6d., 369s. 6d., 370s. 6d., 371s. 6d., 372s. 6d., 373s. 6d., 374s. 6d., 375s. 6d., 376s. 6d., 377s. 6d., 378s. 6d., 379s. 6d., 380s. 6d., 381s. 6d., 382s. 6d., 383s. 6d., 384s. 6d., 385s. 6d., 386s. 6d., 387s. 6d., 388s. 6d., 389s. 6d., 390s. 6d., 391s. 6d., 392s. 6d., 393s. 6d., 394s. 6d., 395s. 6d., 396s. 6d., 397s. 6d., 398s. 6d., 399s. 6d., 400s. 6d., 401s. 6d., 402s. 6d., 403s. 6d., 404s. 6d., 405s. 6d., 406s. 6d., 407s. 6d

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 The advertiser now thinks that Land Purchased in Fee for One Pound per Acre will be deemed a Prize to those who seek the nature and capabilities of the beautiful Bog of Ireland, and who have the means and the wish to settle in the 'West' of that unfortunate but magnificent country.  
 The Estate in question contains upwards of Three Thousand Acres.

It must be distinctly understood that the Land and Cottage Allotments on the English Estates are to be Let Only, (on lease or otherwise, at such rent as may be agreed upon) and are not to be Sold; and that the land on the Irish Estates is to be Sold Only, and not to be Let, by the advertiser.  
 Apply to Mr. Haller, Friar Lane, Colony Hatch, Whetstone, Middlesex. (Each letter to be post-paid, and to contain a penny stamp for the answer.) If personally, a Railway return-ticket from King's Cross, London, to Colony Hatch Station (price ninepence) is the cheapest and quickest plan, as 'Friar Lane Lodge Estate' adjoins that Station.

#### GO CORRESPONDENTS.

THE HONEST FEND.—Wm. HAYWOOD, of Norwich, asks the friends and followers of Mr. O'Connor, if something cannot be done for that gentleman. If a proposition is made, W. H. will cheerfully contribute his mite.  
 G. MARCH, Bridgwater.—Received.  
 FISKE, Redditch.—Yes.

### THE NORTHERN STAR, SATURDAY, JANUARY 10, 1852.

#### THE ENGINEERS AND THEIR EMPLOYERS.

#### INTELLIGENT CO-OPERATION.

We begin this subject by performing our last week's promise, of exposing the petty intrigue which has brought about the present struggle between the Operative Engineers and their Employers. In May last a dispute between Messrs. HIBBERT and PLATT, of Oldham, and their men, took place, which was apparently terminated mainly through the intervention of Mr. W. NEWBY, by an agreement between the Masters and the Operatives. That agreement was reduced to writing, and duly signed by the representatives of the contending parties. But some people—the Jesuits of Commerce—deal in mental reservations; and it has transpired that Messrs. HIBBERT and PLATT, while seemingly negotiating in good faith with the men, were playing over again a part something similar to that of PENNY, of Wolverhampton, by endeavouring to stir up other employers to an organised resistance. At that time the attempt failed; and, therefore, Messrs. HIBBERT and PLATT executed an agreement which there is too much reason to suppose they did not mean to keep, and in the meantime set about exciting the fears of their brother capitalists, in order to gain allies.

Matters were in this position when the Executive Council of the Amalgamated Society issued their circular against compulsory overtime, and arbitrarily priced piecework. That was a godsend to Messrs. HIBBERT and PLATT. That enabled them to terrify the alarmists into combined resistance. That was, probably, happening as it did at the time when the agreement was to be performed, just what they wanted. It was a pretext which exactly suited their purpose; and as they did not think it necessary to tell the plain truth, they added to the requests of the Amalgamated Society the matters in dispute between them and their own artisans; assumed the existence of a wide-spread conspiracy, drew frightful pictures of the consequences, terrified the other manufacturers into joining them, and fixed all to the new masters' association by that strongest pledge of commercialists, a money deposit, to be forfeited in the event of withdrawal. Under the cover of this confusion, Messrs. HIBBERT and PLATT think to escape the performance of their own written bond, and to inaugurate a contest which shall degrade Labour into the abject bond slave of Capital, by depriving their men of the power in the future of making terms with those who claim to be their irresponsible, absolute masters. Surely the annals of commerce never exhibited a more glaring instance of deliberate promise-breaking than that—no maker of false pretences ever descended to a meaner shuffle. If that be the morality of commerce, those are right who say that the savage is a higher being than those whose whole soul is wrapped up in the love of wealth.

Apart, however, from the morality of the affair, it is worth while considering it in another aspect. The papers on the side of the masters have been constantly reiterating the assertion that the Amalgamated Society is made up of a few designing scoundrels, and a host of ignorant dupes—that the deceivers and deceived are mingled, the small minority of the former leading the large majority of the latter to inevitable destruction. False as that assertion must evidently appear to those who are acquainted with the engineering operatives, it really does seem applicable in some degree to their employers. The Association have been made the dupes of Messrs. HIBBERT and PLATT, and a few others—they have been entrapped into a fearful struggle of which they cannot see the end, in order to cover a gross breach of faith, and it has oozed out that so sensible are some of them, that they have declared, if they had known at first as much as they know now, they would never have suffered themselves to be betrayed into their present false and dangerous position.

It is worth while, also, to notice how this involuntary tendency to describe themselves, while attempting to traduce others, has characterized some of the after proceedings of the Masters' Association. One of the charges the most constantly in their mouth was, that the leaders of the Operatives' Association were venal, greedy mercenaries. This is the cry always raised by those who would deprive working men of the power to combine for their mutual support and protection. Conscious of the fact that the wants of the many will never be earnestly represented except by men of their own order, and aware that whatever rich men may be able to do, poor men cannot give their time to the service of their fellows without compensation, they are always ready to shout out at the top of their lungs 'Paid agitators.' We want, once for all, to meet the catchword, which, contemptibly stupid as it is, when cunningly used produces an effect. There is no disgrace in being paid for doing right—no shame in receiving a fair reward for advocating that which you believe. The mental labourer is as much entitled to his wages as the manual worker—he who makes ideas, and spreads them abroad, is as useful as he who spins cotton fabrics, and contributes at least as much to the real welfare of society. Will those gentlemen who are so very indignant at a working man being paid for anything else but physical force, show us a society that does not pay its officers, Bible Societies, Missionary Societies, Philanthropic Societies, Freehold Land Societies, Registration Societies, and a host of others whose name is Legion, pay advocates and agitators. The state pays all its officers from the highest to the lowest. The ministers of religion do not scruple to receive their salaries. The Press pays, or it would cease to exist. Everything that prospers pays for the means of prosperity; and we fear that the institutions we have mentioned paid no better than the Amalgamated Society does

its Council, they would speedily cease to exist. Just imagine a Manchester political agent, receiving for attendance at a meeting, occupying six or seven hours of his time, the allowance awarded to a member of the Executive Council. How he would turn up his nose at the magnificent sum of two shillings as the recompense of his devotion, and how determinedly he would resolve never to again waste his time on so barren a cause.

This objection of 'paid agitators' comes, above all, badly from the Manchester School, whose whole political history has been one of paid agitation. From the League, with its quarter of a million fund, its swarms of employees, and its hosts of paid lecturers, and its eighty thousand pounds testimonial to the arch-paid agitator of all, through shoals of smaller combinations, runs the same vein of payment. No set of men have ever spent more on agitation. One would think, too, that common modesty would prevent Mr. SIDNEY SMITH, the Secretary of the Masters' Association, from being the mouthpiece of this clamour, and from writing newspaper articles in which it is echoed. The men throughout have fought this battle themselves; the men who have stood forward have stepped from their own ranks—none but Engineers have interfered; but the Masters, perhaps labouring under a sense of their own inferiority and incapacity, have engaged a sort of literary gladiator who has no personal interest in the dispute, and no right to meddle in it. Is he a paid agitator? We suppose the Masters pay him, for his history tells us that he would not be likely to work for them without ample payment. He was a paid lecturer of the League—a paid looker after the registration—a paid electioneering agent—a paid political writer—and the paid instrument of almost as many other schemes as there are days in the year. What right has he to talk about venal mercenaries, when he reaps his own life?

Mr. SMITH may some day come again before the working-classes. They will do well to remember his present conduct, not so much because he is paid, as because there is something like proof that he receives wages for supporting what he believes to be wrong. A man cannot conscientiously believe two opposite creeds. Yet Mr. SIDNEY SMITH, who has been stigmatising the Amalgamated Society as Socialists, wrote, only some twelve months ago, a little book called 'Mother Country,' where Socialism is vividly advocated; and in that same work are assertions of the physical and moral evil of such constant labour as the English operative endures, to which is traced his asserted intellectual inferiority to his Continental compeer. Yet the same man who penned that, now asserts, as a matter of business, the right of masters to work men as long as they will, and calls those who oppose this industrial slavery, 'paid agitators,' and unprincipled demagogues. Really, with such antecedents, Mr. SMITH should be more careful and courteous, if he cannot be more straightforward and consistent.

We are glad to say, however, that all the efforts of their opponents have not, up to this time, frightened the operatives or alienated them from their natural leaders; and it is probable that the result will be what the masters never reckoned on. They thought to force the men to consume in idleness the funds they have accumulated, and starve them into abjectness; but it is likely that the result will be such an INTELLIGENT INDUSTRIAL CO-OPERATION as has never before occurred. If the masters are mad enough to strike, and refuse to help in doing the public work, the men will do it themselves, without the masters' aid or the burden of the masters' profits. EASTON and AMOS's men have already subscribed their money for a Workmen's Factory, and the Amalgamated Society contemplates the application of £10,000 of its funds to the same purpose. In this effort the workmen are not alone. Men of station and capital, disgusted with commercial tyranny and falsehood, are coming to their aid with offers of substantial help, and the Masters' Association of deceivers and deceived, with their active and talented Secretary, bid fair to find that in striving to aggrandise their power into despotism, they have brought it to the verge of annihilation. Well, wiser men than they, sharp as they no doubt are, have, before now, realised the fable of the dog and shadow—losing the good they might have enjoyed in a greedy attempt to grasp the fancied benefit which they were unable to attain.

#### WHAT IS TO BE OUR FOREIGN POLICY.

Lord PALMERSTON's dismissal and its causes still continue to occupy a large share of public attention, and various statements are put forth in the daily papers, each professing to be the most correct version of the affair. The general conclusion to be deduced from these explanations however is, that the substitution of GRAYVILLE for PALMERSTON may be safely taken as an indication that the tone and tendency of our Foreign policy is not to become more liberal. However little may have been thought of the late Foreign Minister's attachment to Constitutional Government, or his desire to aid Foreign nations in any legitimate attempt to secure the power of self-government, he still shall have to think still less of the Foreign Policy directed by RUSSELL, and administered by a younger member of the Family Party, if by any mishap these two 'noble lords' should remain long in office. It is tolerably certain that the *coup d'état* which so suddenly ejected PALMERSTON from office, was entirely Lord JOHN's concoction, and, though the fact has been denied by the ministerial 'Times,' that it was with the previous knowledge and sanction of the Austrian Court. In fact, we shall probably find, when the Parliamentary explanations are made, that the dismissal of the late Foreign Secretary was the price demanded by Prince SCHWARZENBERG for the official reception of our Ambassador, after he had been kept kicking his heels for six weeks in the ante-rooms of the Palace at Vienna. Should this be the case, it will demonstrate beyond the possibility of cavil, that the Whigs, whether in or out of office, do not intend to make common cause with the people of this country, so far as their feelings and opinions were manifested by the enthusiastic reception given to Kossuth. Instead of fraternizing with the oppressed peoples of the Continent, and giving them such aid as we could fairly give to enable them to free themselves, we shall, if this policy is consummated, once more see English treasure lent to despots for the purpose of trampling out in blood every vestige of freedom in Europe; perhaps even our fleet and our army may be called into action to aid in the unholy and brutalizing task.

At the present juncture, the foreign policy of any English government is even superior in importance to its domestic. No one will suspect us of undervaluing the movement for Suffrage Reform or other measures long claimed and patiently advocated; but when on all hands the indications of another war against freedom by the combined despots of the Continent threaten around, it must be evident the first duty of to-day is to prepare for resistance to such a disastrous and threatening aspect of affairs.

Nothing is more certain than that the achievement of Political Emancipation for the millions at home will largely depend on the issue of the struggle for national freedom abroad. We cannot separate ourselves from Continental politics if we would. We are now, to all intents and purposes, part of the mainland. Steam ships, railways, and electric telegraphs, have placed us in direct communication, and we must be affected by all the perturbations—share in all the successes or reverses—which may occur in the course of the great struggle for Freedom.

If the British Government enters into alliances with the Absolutist Courts, the terms of which are shrouded in diplomatic secrecy, we shall know what to expect. LOUIS Kossuth has taught the great lesson that the only national foreign policy that can tend to national benefit is that which is honestly and openly proclaimed. That lesson we believe has sunk deep in the minds of the people of this country, and of the United States, as constituting the starting point of a new species of national diplomacy under which the juggling and swindling of despots and their tools would be impossible. In the absence of such an avowal there is reason to fear that we are again involved in a similar war to that which at the closing struggle at Waterloo left us involved in debt, and which in its consequences has ever since hung like a millstone round our necks, and formed the ready answer to all appeals for the reduction of taxation or public improvement.

That is a consideration which ought to set every man in Great Britain and Ireland thinking.

#### THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT.

The promises we have made in relation to the Co-operative Movement we mean to fulfil, not only from our own love of the subject, and our belief in its importance as a movement in the right direction, but also from the fact that Co-operation, in some form or other, is found in every corner of the Kingdom amongst the most liberal and enlightened of the working people, not only as a faith, but as a most important living reality.

This faith in Co-operation is not a forced growth, springing under the breath of a vigorous agitation—it is rather a thing of slow and natural development, beginning, in its present form, with the people themselves, supported by them, and managed by them, natural in its birth, healthy in its growth, and promising, in its ultimate development, large advantages to the masses of the people.

We do not mean that Co-operation, so far as it has gone either in shopkeeping or manufacturing, however successful such concerns may be, should be regarded as final or satisfactory; but as first steps they are most admirable.

Unadulterated food at prime cost, adding the cost of distribution, is a very great advantage, so is self-employment in a Co-operative Workshop; but the great value of a Co-operative Store does not lie in these, so much as in the union of numbers which they command, and the machinery which they afford for organising completely the consumption of the people, and controlling, by such organised consumption, the labour necessary for employing it.

The weekly consumption of the whole of the English people supplies, in a considerable degree, the labour by which the working people subsist, and the larger the control they get over this by the means of co-operative shops, the more completely will they be enabled to command their own future destiny.

There are means of development in the Co-operative idea, which many of those engaged in the work of Co-operation cannot now see; but the more they work as Co-operators the more they will comprehend their true duties to the idea they are seeking to promote.

In Lancashire and Yorkshire, as well as in Scotland, these shops abound, and most of them have surmounted the difficulties and dangers of their infant efforts. In many of the towns in these localities they are doing very large trades, and have obtained a character for honest dealing, and superior goods, highly creditable to them.

Hitherto, however, individual men only, have co-operated with each other in their respective neighbourhoods. It is now full time that the stores and manufacturing establishments should co-operate. Those engaged in this movement must not continue to call themselves Co-operators, unless they really mean to co-operate, and trade in perfect good faith the one with the other, each aiding the other by advice and custom, in fact by every species of assistance which men should render who are struggling in the same cause.

Co-operation will never be safe so long as it allows its resources to flow into the coffers of competition. Those who have the practical management of it, betray the cause they should promote, when they expend a single shilling outside their own movement that might be spent in it, as in doing so they are putting the sinews of war into the hands of their enemies. Every member of a Co-operative Store should put every other he needs executing, whatever it may be for—shoes, stockings, shirts, coats, hats, bread, butter, tea, sugar—everything, and all things—into the store, and compel the managers to execute them, through organised labour if possible, if not possible, then the best way they can. Co-operation to be efficient must be complete, and it never can be complete unless it supplies all the wants of all its members with the produce of organised labour.

In Colonial and Foreign produce, the Central Agency, 76, Charlotte-street, can do this admirably, and it is to be hoped that no one of the stores neglects so excellent an opportunity as this establishment offers. If it is so, co-operation, so far as these parties are concerned, is a dead letter, and cannot be expected to do much good in their hands.

In all movements, whether political or social, the great thing needed is a full comprehension of the work to be done by the people engaged in it. Sham republicans, and blind republicans, have assisted to destroy the Republic in France, and they did it, too, with the very instruments given to them for its protection. Universal Suffrage and Vote by Ballot, in their hands, worked as effectually for the establishment of despotism as the swords of the Cossacks could have done.

Let us not play this blind and false game in England; let each man know his work and do it, wisely and faithfully, whether he be Chartist or Co-operator, and we doubt not that liberty in its truest form will take root and grow in our land. We desire to see this, and as far as we can, to help it, and therefore we call upon all who can furnish us with the sober facts of the Co-operative Movement to do so, and we will take care that they shall be used for the benefit of the cause. We shall return to this subject again and again.

#### THE RULER BY VOTE AND SABRE.

Opponents of Universal Suffrage point with exultation to the vote by which M. BONAPARTE has just been created Dictator in France. They consider that it demonstrates conclusively the incapacity of the masses to distinguish political right from political wrong, and their consequent unfittedness to be entrusted with the exercise of political power. We confess that if we looked upon that vote as the free and unbiased approval of the people of France of the acts of a perjured usurper and wholesale murderer, we should feel less sanguine as to the progress of humanity than we now do. But there are many reasons why this conclusion ought not to be come to. In the first place, it is notorious that the only portions of the Press permitted to exist in France were in the hands of the Government, which dictated exactly what it thought proper to appear, and it is now confessed, has manufactured falsehoods upon the most astounding scale to suit its purposes. In the next place, the voting, however apparently accompanied by all the accessories for a fair and free exercise of the right, was defective at the very commencement, inasmuch as it left the voter no alternative but a Dictator or no government at all. Besides, there was the conviction, that even if the requisite majority was not deposited in the ballot boxes, the convention tools whom M. BONAPARTE had thrust into office throughout the whole country, would have no hesitation in cooking a majority to make things pleasant. The destruction of the ballot papers immediately after the result was ascertained, was a capital device for preventing any scrutiny in after years, or any detection of the frauds that might be perpetrated by these functionaries. But with all their care and anxiety to please their unprincipled employer, they have unconsciously discovered the fact that the votes have been tampered with. The whole population of France is about thirty-six millions, and upwards of eight millions of adult males are said to have voted. Now, it is a high average to take one adult in every five of the population, and that would give a total of forty millions instead of thirty-six. The zealous functionaries have overdone it. They have given us too much of a good thing, and it is clear that the return of the number of votes is as much to be depended upon as LOUIS NAPOLEON's oaths.

Making all allowance, however, for these deductions, there still remains the fact, that a very large proportion of the people did say 'oui' to the demand of a man who had violated his most solemn engagements to the nation, and in the pursuit of a low selfish ambition, caused the people of Paris to be shot down in the streets with as little compunction as if they had been game at a *battue*.

How are we to account for that fact? Perhaps the following may help to a solution:—It is now well known that the working classes took no part in the late usurpation. They had nothing to fight for. It was, they saw very clearly, merely a struggle between the majority of the Assembly and the PRESIDENT, which should gain the upper hand. Why should they interfere? All they knew of that majority was, that it had been the determined and constant foe of Republican institutions and Republican freedom. It had cut off at least one-third of the pursued a course of coercion, oppression, and tyranny, as far as the liberty of speech, writing, and publishing was concerned. The PRESIDENT had told them not once, but several times, that the majority

was ever ready to hound him on in attacks upon public liberty, but as invariably united to oppose him whenever he desired to do anything for the amelioration of the *ouvriers*; and they had seen too many instances in which this assertion looked like the truth. From the majority, therefore, they had nothing to expect. On the other hand, they saw M. BONAPARTE offered them the restoration of the Suffrage, and by his audacious *coup d'état*, they found he had swept that portion of their enemies out of the way. The political game became less complicated. Instead of having to deal with many tyrants in future, they would have to reckon only with one. LOUIS NAPOLEON could no longer throw the blame upon the majority if he did not satisfy the demands of the people. By the very mode he had himself selected he became directly and personally responsible for the whole policy of his Government, and if he failed to fulfil either his promises or their expectations, it would be easier to settle accounts with one than many. They got rid of a complicated irresponsible Government, and had in its place a simple, definite, and responsible ruler. If, after a fair trial, that ruler abused, instead of using the immense powers placed at his disposal, it was only necessary for the proletarians to have their *coup d'état* and sweep away, by force, a Government based upon force and bloodshed, and perjury—which has no moral claims on the allegiance or the confidence of the country, and which will only be tolerated as long as it is successful.

Reasoning like this, though unsuited to our sober country, where Parliamentary Government and popular agitations take the place of *coups d'état*, would be quite in place in France; and it appears to us satisfactorily to solve the otherwise anomalous fact, that such a man—or rather monster—should have been placed in such a position.

But the end is not yet. On the contrary, this trouble, perils, and difficulties are but beginning.

#### THE RICKETY WHIG MINISTRY ON ITS LAST LEGS.

Last year the convulsions of incapables, who have misgoverned the country since 1846, broke down soon after the meeting of Parliament, and it was only because there was nobody willing to take their places, that they were allowed to retain office. This year, although we are so near the commencement of the Session, it is doubtful whether they will take their seats on the Treasury Bench. If any number of public men of reasonable standing and abilities can be found to accept Ministerial responsibilities before that time, we shall be happily rid of the greatest caricature of a Government ever seen in this country. But are there any such persons to be found? We candidly confess that at present we do not see where they are to come from. The composition of parties remains almost the same as it was last February. The Whigs are weakened by the dismissal of Lord PALMERSTON, but their political rivals are not strengthened. Lord DERRY will still have to face the 'impracticable' men of his own party, who will look upon anything short of the restoration of 'Protection' as a treason. There is still the same want of men accustomed to the routine of office, and familiar with administrative functions—all the reasons which induced him on two successive occasions to decline the duty of forming a Cabinet, exist as strongly as ever.

On the other hand, the overtures made by Lord JOHN to such practised officials as the Duke of NEWCASTLE, Sir J. GRAHAM, Mr. CARDWELL, and others of the Peelite section of the House, are said to have experienced a similar reception to that of last year: They have been rejected, and, had they been accepted, their accession would not have strengthened the Cabinet in popular estimation, but the contrary. They are excellent chiefs of departments—'good men of business'—but no one expects any large or liberal policy from them; and Lord JOHN has shown, that whatever may have been his pretensions in former times, he is becoming more and more reactionary, and opposed to popular progress. The course he has pursued has also had the effect of repressing whatever amount of administrative ability might have been found in the ranks of his own party. His Government has been purely a family clique. Out of fifteen Cabinet Ministers nine belong to a family cabal. The three houses of GREY, BEDFORD, and HOWARD consider they have a right to monopolise the Government; and if the secret influences could be traced, by which the nine 'brothers-in-law' and 'Cousins' have been induced to let in the six, whose relationship does not appear in DEBBERT's Peerage, no doubt the same element would be found predominating.

This system of breeding in and in seems to be as fatal to Cabinet Ministers as it is to men and animals. It produces a stunted, feeble, imbecile race. If the present Ministry were enumerated one by one, and described as they really are in truthful terms, the nation would be ashamed of having been so long subject to a body of men not fit to rule the affairs of a petty corporation. We are certain that not one of the large merchants who sit behind the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER would give him £150 a year in their own counting-houses; and yet they have been content to see him mismanaging the national finances, and committing, year after year, such arithmetical blunders as would have drawn down smart punishment upon any boy on the third form of a public school. The few members of the Government not affected by congenital stupidity, or intractable capriciousness, are worn out, physically and mentally. Of some of them it may be literally said, that they can scarcely stand on their legs. Feebleness or wrong-headedness is stamped upon the Russell Ministry at a crisis in European affairs when energy, combined with far-seeing wisdom, are peculiarly and urgently requisite.

If we look outside the pure Whig party, to that which assumes the name of 'Liberal' and gives the Government what is called an 'independent' support, the prospect of finding efficient statesmen is not of much improved. There are, no doubt, in the ranks of that party, men of considerable ability, many transaction of business; but their faculties and applied to public business. Instead of applying themselves to the task of organising a party acting upon one clear and definite principle upon all occasions, and mastering the details of administration, so that when the time came they might take office with the confidence of the country; each individual 'Liberal' has ridden his own hobby, despised all action in concert; allowed Whigs or any other party to take the initiative in practical business; and but for an oratorical display now and then, have been made mere political nobodies. The light in which the head of the family clique looks upon them, may be seen by the insolent snubbing he gave to some of them when they asked for an interview on the subject of the promised Reform Bill.

Such, then, is the state to which aristocratic and middle class Government has reduced the nation at this momentous juncture. They have repudiated popular Government, and their own has expired from inanition. No violent revolution has thrown the state machine out of gear—no factious opposition has caused the Ministry to break down. It has stopped of itself, and there is no chance of its being set going again, until it is wound up anew, and fresh springs and motive powers are added to it.

The only immediate practical solution of the difficulty appears to be a dissolution of Parliament and a General Election. Perhaps that might so alter the equis of parties, which imposes political stagnation upon it, would be succeeded by such a preponderance of power on one side or other, as would enable it to move either forward or backward. Anything would be better than the standstillism—the negation of all healthy life and action—to which we have been accustomed for the last few years.

With such an election, too, the people at large might be shaken out of a state of political apathy, which is not at all justified by the appearance of chance of getting a Reform Bill worthy the name,—long as Lord JOHN RUSSELL, or anybody he will call to his assistance, remains in office.

**FATAL ACCIDENT.**—On Thursday morning John Noske, who was employed at Messrs. Elliott and Co's brewery, fell into a vat twenty-two feet in depth, where he was vat is emptied of the liquid. He was a steady man, and had been twenty-two years in the service of the firm.

#### Trades' Intelligence.

#### NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF UNITED TRADES.

T. S. DUNCAN, Esq., M.P., President.

"FIAT JUSTITIA."

"If it were possible for the working classes, by combining among themselves, to raise, or keep up the general rate of wages, it need hardly be said that this would be a thing not to be punished, but to be welcomed and rejoiced at."—STUART MILL.

We have been for a long time aware that amongst a small section of the democratic party a considerable hostility or jealousy existed against Trades' Unions generally, and the National Association in particular. We have seen several manifestations of this feeling. We have seen hybrid National Associations cunningly framed to catch the social, industrial, and political tastes of the day. And we have seen the difficulty which even the promoters have found in framing workable institutions amidst the conflict of differing and opposing opinions. And we have seen with regret immense sacrifices of time and talent—we think we may say wasted in elaborating Eutopian—because impracticable socio-political constitutions—which have died in their birth from want of nourishment; but we have not seen that any human beings among the working classes of Great Britain have been socially, industrially, or politically, morally, or physically benefited by these well-intended, but unavailing efforts.

It certainly appears that the great bulk of the working classes of this country are either not democratically inclined, or want faith in the prudence and judgment of the political leaders of the day. We know not how else to account for their apathy.

But although, unfortunately, working men of England will not, or do not, combine for political purposes, they have always evinced a strong and very natural disposition to band themselves together in defence of their industrial rights, and it certainly is not correct to say that these efforts have been uniformly and entirely unsuccessful. It is equally incorrect to say that reductions of wages have not been prevented to a large extent, and in very many instances, by combination, and its usual weapon, strikes. The Iron Trades of England have maintained their wages by a non-political combination. Mr. Ernest Jones attributes this to the absence of surplus labour. He is mistaken. During the years 1848-9, they expended upwards of Eighteen Thousand Pounds to protect themselves from the competitive action of redundant labour—this they could not have done but by combination. The Building Trades have maintained their wages by combination and strikes. The Great Builders' Union of 1834, notwithstanding many serious defects in its constitution, and its consequent dissolution, completely established the power and efficacy of Union, and although existing now only in isolated bodies, they still are so animated with the spirit of Union, that every attempt to encroach upon their wages or privileges have signally and invariably failed.

The Printers, the Coopers, the Paper Makers, Brush Makers, Cork Cutters, and many other large and important bodies, have equally proved by experience the advantage and necessity of combination; and although they have not yet discovered a perfect substitute for strikes, we believe they never resort to them but as a last resource. We cordially admit with Mr. Ernest Jones, the Editor of the 'Times' and other opponents and enemies of Trades' Unions, of the evils of Strikes, and none could have worked more sedulously to introduce a more rational policy to both employers and employed, than the Executive of the National Association. Our experience has proved that the present impossibility of superseding strikes mainly rests with the employers. 'They will not be dictated to,' Mr. Perry and his friends would not be dictated to, and the machine masters will not be dictated to, and however avers to them in either case may be to strike, the masters force it upon them. If the men and masters cannot be brought mutually to concede the abolition of strikes, by submitting their disputes to impartial arbitration, we know of but one mode by which so desirable a consummation can be effected, and that is, by a National Federal Combination, where each separate branch of labour will be under the care, guardianship, and protection of all. Strikes, then, and not till then, will become impossible. But Mr. Ernest Jones is more opposed to the nationalising of labour, than to isolated unions. He says 'That it appears to me much preferable that strikes should be supported on the voluntary principle, than by any organised compulsory subscription—the latter always fails to realise their objects.' (?) And then he proceeds:—'That he believes the voluntary support of the same trade and the same neighbourhood is much more likely to be rendered when the emergency arises, than a sum to be collected beforehand, for prospective cases which may or may not arise. Experience proves the truth of this.'

We beg respectfully to assure Mr. Jones that our united experience proves exactly the reverse, and is altogether in favour of the small compulsory payment, ranging over a wide field, and collected from a variety of different trades, instead of the voluntary subscription of men in the same trade, and in the same neighbourhood, for the following amongst other reasons:—1st. One penny a week from 15,000 men is equally effective and less burdensome to the donor than one shilling per week from 1,000.

2nd. The twelve thousand, consisting of different trades, and located in different places, are less within the reach of the counter combination of the capitalists, and entirely unaffected by local parochial and municipal middle-class influence.

3rd. The regular and continued payment of the small compulsory penny is more to be depended on than the large voluntary shilling. A strike conducted and supported upon this principle can never fail, if the men are true and faithful to themselves and each other, and abstain from acts of illegality. A strike having nothing to depend upon but voluntary aid, seldom succeeds; the act of voluntary contribution is very fatiguing, and soon tires the contributor—a fact which we thought Mr. Jones had already discovered in the many unavailing efforts to recruit the Chartist exchequer by voluntary means. In short, if any improvement has taken place within these few years, in the conduct and policy of Trades' Unions, it has certainly been by an extension of their base, by an amalgamation of isolated sections of the same trade into one organisation, as is the case with the Engineers, Printers, Masons and many others. We therefore advocate an extension of this principle. We think that Mr. Jones's opinion upon the general question is merely theoretical, which a more intimate practical acquaintance with the subject would have corrected, or materially modified. However desirable it may be that the working classes evince a more lively interest in their political position, we are of opinion they would commit a fatal error, if they permitted the political question, upon which there are so many, and such wide differences, to be mixed up with the wages question, upon which there is nearly an unity of sentiment.

We are not quite sure, that if the Charter were carried to-morrow that the position of Labour would be materially changed. We fear that the mere capitalists would, for a long time, greatly preponderate in the Chartist Parliament, as we find to be the case in the United States Congress, where the impracticable rights of man are still held subservient to the conventional rights of property. Need we refer to the protection still awarded to the slave owner? It is not so much political as social changes we require, and a more extended knowledge of our social requirements would infallibly lead to the political action necessary to obtain them.

If we think the opinion of Mr. Jones, upon the general question of Trades' Unions, is crude and unsatisfactory, his views of the National Association of United Trades is still more lax and opposed to facts. We beg to state, for Mr. Jones's information, that the wages of the members of the National Association have not been 'constantly' reduced since their adhesion. On the contrary (we believe without one exception) every attempt that has been made to reduce our members wages below the market price has been defeated, and generally without the intervention of strikes. In many instances, advances have been obtained and maintained, while the parties remained members of the Association, of which they were deprived immediately upon their withdrawal. The Wolverhampton affair, which Mr. Ernest Jones selects as a proof that the National Association 'has failed in its object,' has established the very opposite conclusion. If the Messrs. Perry have to this period



refused to accept the Book of Pious demands by the men, it has been because all their men who belong to the Association are receiving the Book Price in other factories. To this there is no exception, except in a few instances, where men have voluntarily broken their promises, and forfeited their honor.

The professions and engagements of the National Association were fulfilled in the Tin Plate Workers' case to the letter, and even beyond it. The convictions at Stafford, and the subsequent imprisonment of certain members of the Central Committee, is no proof that combination is illegal; on the contrary, the legality of combination is strongly confirmed by the judgment of the Court of Queen's Bench. The overt acts which were proved in evidence, were illegally enticing contract-servants to leave their employment under the influence of liquor administered to them; the connexion of the Members of the Central Committee with any conspiracy for any such illegal object, was only established by erroneous evidence, the Committee having always repudiated any such proceedings, and being in fact, totally opposed to them. The premises of Mr. Ernest Jones, in reference to the National Association being thus fallacious, he is necessarily at fault in his conclusions.

He then proceeds to ask certain questions, to which we shall content ourselves to give very brief answers. "Have the Strike that the National Trades' Union has not supported been less successful than those it has?"

We have no knowledge of the success or non-success of strikes with which we have not been concerned.

"Does not the weight of supporting turn-outs almost always fall on the immediate neighbourhood?" In isolated Unions generally—in the National Associations never.

"And is not the subscription of the working man often diminished by the consideration: Oh, they belong to the National Association, that will take care of them, we need not impoverish ourselves?" Certainly not; because the National Association has never applied for any assistance to support any strike out of its own circle. To support a political association have rendered them pecuniary support as efficiently, and even better? We think not; if we are to judge of what a political association would do, by what, in our time, they have done, in a pecuniary way.

We have then, undertaken to defend ourselves from what we consider an unwarranted attack of Mr. Ernest Jones upon our principles and policy. We have no disposition to be brought into a controversy with our Chartists friends, with whom we have so long worked, as it were, side by side. We think the division of labour, in working out a people's emancipation, may be advantageously adopted. Every one of us may exert ourselves, to the top of our power, in one or the other, or even all the departments of progress. We cannot be far wrong if we are found contributing to the general cause of progress; and if there is one enemy to progress more dangerous than another, it is he who would throw in the apple of discord amongst those who are struggling for the same common end—the emancipation of our order from the usurped dominion of capital.

If, therefore, we might presume to advise Mr. Ernest Jones, it would be that as the leader of a section of the people—not a very numerous one unfortunately, he should strive to strengthen his position by conciliatory means, and not by "running a race with all who do not naturally fall within his own standard of perfection, so as to throw the whole army of labour into confusion and anarchy."

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION  
238, Tottenham Court Road.

#### THE MASTER ENGINEERS AND THE AMALGAMATED SOCIETY.

On Saturday, in pursuance of the resolutions arrived at and made public by the large employers of Manchester and London, notices were sent to all the masters of the respective engine factories, in consequence of the recent proceedings on the part of the men, their works would be closed on Saturday next, the 10th inst. This is the only step at present taken by the masters, only a few men having as yet been discharged for refusing to work overtime. But the effect of this determination on the part of the masters will be to throw out of employment 3,500 members of the Amalgamated Society. Consequently, this, however, and assuming that other machinists cannot be secured, a much larger number of other persons must be deprived of their means of subsistence. Taking into the calculation moulder, boiler-makers, carpenters, brass moulders, cooperages, painters, trimmers, unskilled labourers, and such, not less than 30,000 men will be dependent on this cup of *distress*. In Lancashire, it is estimated by the masters that 10,000 hands will be thrown out of employment, in addition to the members of the Amalgamated Society, in that county alone; and it is not unreasonable to double that number when London is included.

The boiler-makers throughout the country number about 3,000 or 4,000, and as nearly all of them are employed in the boiler-making trade, it is not surprising that the proceedings of the Amalgamated Society, nor were there any of their body members of it. However, they convened a meeting on Saturday night in London, at which a proposition was thrown out and adopted, subject to the approval of their brethren, and that they should not labour after the 10th, if then discharged, without being compensated for their loss of time from that period until their re-employment.

On Saturday a proposition was made to the Executive Council, to the effect that if the Amalgamated Society would invest £10,000 of its funds in tools, any amount of capital would be forthcoming, if necessary, to enable the men, when formed into a society, to undertake any amount of work which might be desired. In consequence of this proposition, coming, as the reporter was informed, from a responsible capitalist, a meeting of the Executive Council was held on Monday night in Little Albert-street, at which a resolution was passed to the following effect:—"That inasmuch as the employers have refused to do the work for the public, the members of the Amalgamated Society determine to undertake it themselves, and to advertise to the same effect in the public newspapers."

At the same meeting it was intimated that the masters had thrown out hints that they were desirous of receiving a deputation from the men, and it was resolved that should the masters' association acquiesce with their desire to receive a deputation, such a deputation would be immediately appointed.

Messrs. Ransome and May have issued a circular to their men, in which they express their decided opposition to the principle of systematic overtime, which they describe as being injurious to the master as well as to the man. By the 23rd rule of the Amalgamated Society, all the members of the society, who may be thrown out of employment by this move, are entitled to receive 15s. a week. It is not intended to draw upon the deposited fund of £25,000 to support the 3,500 members of their society who will be thrown out, but to levy a special rate upon those members who remain in employment.

#### MEETING OF THE METROPOLITAN WORKMEN.

On Monday night a crowded meeting of the men was held at their Central Club, in Stepney. An Engineer having been called to the chair, briefly stated that they had met for the purpose of ascertaining the position of affairs in the different localities of London, so far as they had yet come to their knowledge. He would call, as therefore, upon Mr. Newton to give them a sketch of the present aspect of matters.

Mr. Newton, who was warmly cheered, proceeded to detail the progress of the movement. He stated that on Sunday afternoon there had been a meeting of the Executive Council, at which many excellent and practical suggestions had been thrown out, and he was happy to inform them that after much anxious consideration of the Council, feeling the necessity of not trenching upon the funds of the society, had devised means whereby employment would be secured to them. (Cheers.) On Saturday night he had attended a meeting at Greenwich which had been called in consequence of Mr. Penn's letter, and he was happy to state that the Executive Committee of the Amalgamated Association were desirous to receive a deputation from the Executive of the Amalgamated Society. He was happy to tell them that at that meeting Mr. Penn was eulogised as one of the most liberal of their employers, and it was out of the respect which they entertained for him, that the men had taken the earliest opportunity of calling a meeting in order to consider how far they could be adopting the suggestions which that gentleman had made to them. The feeling of that meeting was unanimous—that if the employers wished to receive a deputation, a deputation should attend them, but that the men ought not to take the initiative. At that meeting there had also occurred what he anticipated would be a general meeting of the Amalgamated Society, and who had continued to work overtime instead, and inquired if they could not, as non-members of the society, co-operate in the movement. If their assistance would be accepted, they would then forward their work at the termination of the ten hours. This proposition was readily accepted, and the fact was that the determination of the masters to clear their works of the Amalgamated Society, and the city men and non-society men, greatly added to their strength and numbers. (Cheers.) He was not enabled to give them any very detailed information, but he might state that amongst the London employers who had posted the notice to close on the 10th, or had given formal notices to the men, were several of the largest employers and a great many of the most influential. However, Messrs. Gibson and Russell had not yet adopted the notice, but he believed that they would this day. From Manchester he had received information of only three firms having posted the notice, but he had no doubt there were others. He was happy to say that every report they received was of the most encouraging character, and that there was every probability of the movement being speedily carried into effect. (Cheers.)

Advertisements had been prepared for insertion in the public papers, and vigorous and effective measures had been taken to secure them a large amount of work. In conclusion, he desired them to remember that their position was a passive one in resisting the strikes of the employers, and that they could not be adopting the necessity of making preparations in their own defence.

Mr. USHER was glad to hear that preparations were being

made to meet the crisis. He was sure that the men were quite ready to commence the system of self-employment. He believed that the movement would be a success, and that the working men, but would be of the greatest advantage to the small employers, because a number of the repairs that the men would have to execute would be taken to those factories where the employers had identified themselves with the men.

Several other speeches followed, which protracted the meeting to a late hour. Their general import was in approval of the proceedings of the Council, and expressive of sympathy with the labourers whose discharge would be consequent upon the closing of the factories. It was intimated that means would be taken to afford pecuniary assistance to any who would be so situated.

MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. The Executive Committee of the Central Association met on Tuesday to consider a communication from the Amalgamated Society, which expressed a desire to meet the Executive of that body, with a view, if possible, to settle the existing differences, and took that communication into consideration; but after a lengthened sitting no conclusion, it is understood, was arrived at.

The Council of the Amalgamated Society also met, and, without waiting the reply of the Central Association to the offer of an amicable conference, passed the following resolutions:—

"The Council of the Amalgamated Society submit the following resolutions to their members, and request that branch meetings will be called as soon as possible, and the votes taken and returned to the Council."

"1st. That 10,000 of the funds of the Amalgamated Society shall be paid over to such number of trustees, not less than six, as are selected by the Executive (such trustees to be men in whom public confidence will be placed in consequence of their position in society) and to advance the same from time to time, to managers appointed by the Executive (such appointments to be afterwards confirmed by the society) for the purpose of carrying on the business of engineering, machinery, &c."

"2nd. That advances, as well as others which the trustees may obtain from other sources, shall be secured by a mortgage of all the plant and stock in trade employed in such business to the said trustees, who shall have power to give priority to any such other advances over sums advanced out of the funds of the Amalgamated Society."

"3rd. The conditions of work under which such business is carried on shall be such as are approved of by the Executive of the Amalgamated Society from time to time, with the view of giving employment to the greatest possible number of members of the trade who are out of employment for the time being, consistently with the stability of the business and the welfare of the workmen employed."

A message was received on Tuesday by the workmen from Manchester, stating that, in addition to the three firms before mentioned which had posted notice of their intention to close their factories on the 10th, the same course had since been followed by Messrs. Higgins and Co., Messrs. Sharp Brothers, Fairbairn, Elce and Co., Marsden and Lewis. The firms which had not yet posted or given verbal notices were Messrs. M'Gregor and Co., Crighorn's, Flookton's, Galloway's, Gore's, Gads, Lynch and Neglish's, Briggs and Mather's, Mathers, Glasgow's, Sible's, Vaughan's, and Hassoch's. It must not be understood from this that it is not the intention of these firms to co-operate with the other masters who are ready to do so, but that they are not prepared to discharge their workmen, any notice whatever. A communication from Bristol, stated that the firm of Stothard, Slaughter, and Co., had determined to close on the 10th. The effect of this step, on the part of that firm, would throw about 500 persons out of employment.

A very considerable number of the society's men are engaged in the different railway workshops and steamboat factories of the kingdom. There are about 600 members in the shops of the North Western and its branches, and not less than 120 of them at Stratford. It was said that a number of trades, representing 2,000 men, had offered support to the society to the extent of 5s. per week per man.

#### ACTUAL COMMENCEMENT OF THE STRIKE.

The dispute became still further complicated on Wednesday by the closing of the establishment of Mr. Scott, moulder, King-street, Commercial-road East, in consequence of the refusal of the men to submit to a new condition of connection with their employers, proposed to be carried out by their employer, one of the masters who on Saturday last gave notice that their establishments would be completely closed on the 10th instant. It appears from the statements of the men that some of their number had lost time from the commencement of the week up to Wednesday night to the amount of a quarter of a day, in consequence of which Mr. Scott demanded that they should work overtime in the evening, so as to make up the time they had lost; and, further, Mr. Scott intimated that it was his fixed intention to stop two hours' pay for every hour of time which they had lost, or might lose. The men remonstrated against the adoption of what they conceived to be an unreasonable proposition, and, after some further parley, refused to submit to it, upon which Mr. Scott replied that in that case they had better quit their work at once, as he fully intended to close the shop on Saturday, and the two days intervening between that time and the present could make little difference to either party. The men then retired, and on Monday morning Mr. Scott's workmen notified their intention to the general secretary of the society, or the executive council, and not returning to their work after the dinner hour, the establishment was forthwith closed.

The following communication was received on Wednesday by Mr. Allan:—

"London, Jan. 6th, 1852.  
"Central Association of Employers of Operative Engineers, 30, Bucklebury."

"Sir,—Your letter of yesterday, stating that you had been informed this committee were desirous of seeing a deputation of workmen, having been considered, at the ordinary meeting of this day, I am directed to direct that the individual members of this association are already ready to receive any communication from their workmen in their respective establishments, they cannot recognise the Executive Council of the Amalgamated Society as the proper channel for effecting any arrangements between themselves and those in their employment, and the association having been formed for the express purpose of defending themselves and their well-disposed workmen from the dictation and pernicious interference of the Council you represent."

"I am, sir, your most obedient servant,  
"SIR JOHN SUTHER, Secretary."

"Mr. Wm. Allan, Secretary Amalgamated Society of Engineers, &c."

A meeting of the London District Committee took place last night (Wednesday) when reports were given in by deputations from various establishments unanimously in favour of maintaining the position assumed by the Executive Council.

It is believed that work at the shops to be closed will cease on the Friday night, the week's wages in many establishments being then due, owing to a prevalent practice of keeping a day's pay in hand.

MANCHESTER.—At the meeting of employers on Tuesday night it was unanimously determined that the Manchester executive should not only repudiate any idea of inviting a deputation, but should also insist that even if one sought an interview it should be declined; and that nothing should be taken into consideration, but a communication, in writing, from the leaders or officers of the Amalgamated Society.

Messrs. Ransome and May, of Ipswich, have addressed a somewhat lengthy address, in which they decline to accede to the just request of their workmen. The conclusion of their address was as follows:—"We have to acknowledge the respectful candour and openness with which you communicate on these subjects have been conducted, and, although in this instance we cannot accede to your requests, we are pleased to assure you that while we should resist all attempts at dictation from a threatened combination, we are not the less open to a fair consideration of any matter affecting your interests."—Yours respectfully, RANSOME and MAY.—Orwell Works, 12mo, (December) 31st, 1851."

Mr. Allan, Secretary to the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, has received a letter from Thursday from Viscount Ingestrie in reply to a letter requesting him to be one of the trustees of a fund to enable the workmen to set up for themselves. His lordship is for settling the dispute by arbitration, and suggests, as a preliminary measure, that twenty gentlemen—ten nominated by masters and ten by the operatives—should nominate one nobleman or gentleman, one master, and one operative, to form a committee to decide upon what sort of a tribunal should be fixed upon, as to mode of examining witnesses, length of time of trial, in fact, all preliminary measures; and perhaps that they should nominate the jury. I would say, that I declined to be a trustee for a fund to enable workmen to set up for themselves, feeling that this matter must of necessity—owing to the good sense and honesty of Englishmen—be settled by fair arbitration. The letter was accompanied by the consideration of the council, but no definite conclusion was arrived at on the subject to which it referred.

It was stated that efforts were being made by a number of men belonging to the establishment of Messrs. Easton and Jones, Borough, to save capital and engage premises as to start business for their own employment, in the course of next week. Also, that the same men had another shop, on the Surrey side, to about fifty in number, have subscribed 45 each, and taken premises for a similar purpose, having already received orders, one being for the construction of a sixteen-horse power steam engine. The moulder, hitherto distinct society from the Amalgamated Engineers, are likely to become an active party in the dispute, as they have conveyed a long list of several employers that in the event of their losing work through the realisation of the threat to close establishments, although they have not hitherto interfered in any way in the matter, they will only return to their shops upon the same terms as are now demanded by the Amalgamated Society.

#### MEMBERS' MEETING OF THE AMALGAMATED SOCIETY.

The East London branch held a meeting on Thursday evening at the Phoenix Tavern, Ratcliff-cross, for the purpose of taking into consideration the resolutions adopted by the executive of the Masters' Association yesterday, and also to consider the necessity of empowering the executive council of the Amalgamated Society to appropriate £10,000 of the society's funds to the opening of an establishment for self-employment, with

out the intervention of the masters. Upwards of 300 members of the district association were present. Mr. Newton did not think due notice had been given to any vote that night, and was not right to come to any decision. In the course of the subjects which Mr. Newton said, that forty workmen had already spent down £5 each, making £200, for the purpose of opening a great establishment, and they were now negotiating for the premises, and were about engaging a manager to conduct the business. A large quantity of tools had also been contributed. (Heard, Hear, &c.) There was no doubt of their commencing immediately, as they had promised of several jobs already. (Loud cheers.) Those men had of night asked the advice of the executive council on the subject, and they were told to proceed with the undertaking, but that when other workmen were established on a similar principle, they should be brought under some central control, so that one shop should not be an idle, while the others were fully occupied. (Cheers.) The society had received promises of support from several noblemen, who were willing to become trustees of some new establishments, and that circumstance would carry away itself to the movement. One local influence attached to the movement, and that was the fact that the council of two thousand members had agreed to support the council's earnings five shillings a week each to pay out of their own pockets. (Cheers.) The meeting was afterwards addressed by Mr. Norman and Mr. Matthias, and then adjourned.

#### SHIPWRIGHTS' STRIKE ON THE WEAR.

The shipwrights of Hylton, an important shipbuilding station on the Wear, have been out on strike during the last two or three weeks. The mayor of Sunderland has tried his good offices, and the following masters in dispute were laid before him at a meeting he had with masters and men last week:—"1. That allowances be given when caulking and upon launching days only. The masters to be fully empowered to caulk their vessels when and how they choose, as is customary in the port of Sunderland. 2. That no workmen should be allowed to leave his master's yard until the bell has rung. 3. That each master shall employ such labourers or borers in his yard as he may deem expedient. 4. That the hours of working on Saturday afternoon shall be, in the summer months, from one o'clock to five p.m., and in the winter months from half-past one o'clock to four p.m., the workmen doing the caulking, and the masters to be empowered to caulking, squaring, caulking, &c., as is invariably the case in yards on the river Wear; and that the masters shall have full powers to conduct their business in a manner similar to other masters of this port, regardless of 'knees.' An agreement was come to upon all the points but the third, regarding the payment of labourers, which the men would not submit to, and so the matter stands."

#### Chartist Intelligence.

##### NATIONAL CHARTER ASSOCIATION.

The new Executive Committee of this body held its first meeting at the Office, 14, Southampton-street, Strand, on Wednesday evening last. Present: Messrs. Arnold, Bezer, Grassy, Holyoake, Jones, Shaw, and Wheeler. J. J. Bezer was called to the chair.

John Arnold then read the list of the Committee, as reported by the inspectors of votes, and also a letter from W. J. Linton, declining to sit unless the movement joined the middle class.

Ernest Jones rose and read a copy of a letter he had sent to the Democratic papers, wherein he resigned his seat, and gave the reasons for so doing. Mr. Jones then retired.

John Arnold then read the auditor's report, which stated that the receipts from September 29th, to December 31st, 1851, were £24 10s. 0d.; Tract Fund and Tracts, £2 14s. 0d.; Total, £26 14s. 0d.; and the Expenditure, during the same period, £50 8s. 8d.; leaving a balance due of £24 10s. 11d.; in addition to which the liabilities are for Rent, £14 8s. 0d.; and Printing, £9 6s. 0d.; making a Total Debt of £35 4s. 11d.

The Committee then determined, to avoid the increase of liabilities, to give up the office, and elected James Grassy as a gratuitous secretary, *pro tem*. Messrs. Blair, Murray, and Wilkins attended as a deputation from the National Reform League to solicit the insertion of the notice of its meetings in the weekly list published by the Executive.

The request was unanimously agreed to. Mr. T. M. Wheeler, having resigned, the Committee adjourned.

JAMES GRASSY, Secretary, *pro tem*.  
96, Regent-street, Lambeth.

To whom all communications must be addressed.

Since we received the above from our Correspondent, our reporter has furnished us with the subjoined more detailed account.

#### THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL CHARTER ASSOCIATION.

This body assembled, according to a notice from the Secretary, at the Association Rooms, Southampton-street, on Wednesday evening. Mr. Linton read the scrutineer's report, from which it appeared that Messrs. E. Jones, Arnold, O'Connor, Wheeler, Grassy, Shaw, Linton, Bezer, and Holyoake, were duly elected. Mr. Bezer having been elected Chairman.

Mr. E. Jones read a letter to the Chartist body, in which he tendered his resignation as a member of the Committee, stating that he had already sent it to the Democratic Press.

Mr. WHEELER wished a further explanation of his motives, and trusted he would after his determination.

Mr. JONES declined giving any other explanation than that contained in his letter, and retired.

A letter was read from Mr. Linton, stating his belief of the impossibility of reconstituting the Chartist movement.

It was decided that the Secretary should correspond with Mr. Linton.

Mr. ARNOTT laid the financial report before the Committee, from which it appeared that the receipts had been £46 17s. 9d.; the expenditure, £55 8s. 8d.; leaving a balance due to the Treasurer of £8 10s. 11d. In addition to this, £14 8s. was due for rent; £9 6s. to the printer; and £2 to the Secretary; making a balance of £37 4s. 11d. against the Committee.

After some discussion relative to the position of the finances, it was decided that one month's notice, or less, if it would be accepted, should be given to the proprietor, of the Committee's intention of quitting the Office Southampton-street.

Mr. HOLYOAKE moved, and Mr. GRASSY seconded:—"That the Executive Committee regrets its inability to continue to pay a Secretary; and therefore resolves to elect a Secretary whose services shall be gratuitous, with the understanding that the remuneration shall be tendered for gratuitous services as shall be rendered."

Mr. ARNOTT explained relative to his position, and his inability to act gratuitously.

Mr. SHAW moved:—"That Mr. Wheeler act as Secretary."

The motion not being seconded.

Mr. GRASSY moved, and Mr. HOLYOAKE seconded:—"The nomination of John Arnold."

Mr. ARNOTT consented to serve on the stipulations of the resolution for one month.

Messrs. WHEELER and SHAW opposed Mr. Arnold's nomination, and the vote of the Chairman caused his rejection. Mr. WHEELER nominated the other members of the Committee in succession, but they either declined standing, or were not seconded.

In this dilemma Mr. Bezer quitted the Chair, and Mr. HOLYOAKE was elected thereto.

Mr. SHAW moved, and Mr. BEZER seconded, the nomination of Mr. WHEELER.

Mr. WHEELER declined standing under the circumstances, and resigned his seat on the Executive.

Mr. GRASSY consented to act as Secretary during the ensuing month.

Messrs. HOLYOAKE and ARNOTT were appointed to draw up a brief address to the country.

The Executive then adjourned until the ensuing Wednesday evening.

During the sitting a deputation was received from the National Reform League, requesting insertion of their meetings in the Executive notices.

On the motion of Messrs. WHEELER and SHAW, the request was complied with.

#### METROPOLITAN DELEGATE COUNCIL.

A meeting of this body took place on Sunday afternoon, at the Finsbury Literary Institution. Mr. Murray in the chair. Contributions were received from Holloway, Hoxton, City, Finsbury, Islington, and the Ship Loyalists. Mr. Harman reported relative to procuring a hall for the purpose of a public meeting.

After some discussion it was decided that the John Street Institution, Tottenham-street, should be engaged for Monday, January 19th. Ernest Jones was engaged forward a motion, requesting that portion of the rule, by which the Executive formed a portion of the Council, Messrs. Cottle and Weedon proposed, "That the Executive should be entitled to a seat, but not to a vote."

Messrs. Wheeler and Shaw supported the latter proposition. The motion of Mr. E. Jones was carried. Several rules, of minor importance, were agreed to; among others, "That the Council should assemble at three o'clock on a Sunday afternoon, and adjourn at five o'clock. Several notices of important motions were handed in for discussion at the ensuing meeting, and the Council adjourned."

SHIP LINT, High-street, Whitechapel.—Mr. Fussell addressed the audience at this locality on Sunday evening, and was much applauded. Mr. J. Shaw occupied the chair.

Amongst other local business it was unanimously decided, that Mr. J. Shaw should be instructed to move on the Executive that "Thomas Martin Wheeler should be appointed General Secretary." Mr. Shaw also decided that the Ray-Combs Committee should assemble for the final settlement of their accounts, on the ensuing Sunday evening. In future this locality will meet at six o'clock,

when the "Northern Star" &c., will be read and discussed, until the lecture commences. Mr. J. Fussell complied with a request to lecture on the "Rights of Labour," on Sunday evening, the 17th inst.

LITERARY INSTITUTION, Leicester-place, Little St. James-street.—On Sunday evening a public meeting was held at this place, Mr. Murray in the chair. Messrs. Bezer, Wheeler, Windmill, and other speakers addressed the meeting upon subjects connected with the Chartist agitation, and the other reform movements now occupying public attention.

PARANQ CHAPEL, BROMSBURY.—A public tea party was held here on Wednesday evening. After the repast, Messrs. Bezer, Leno, O'Brien, Townshend, Nicholls, and others, addressed the company. The chair was ably filled by Mr. Olympeus, and the whole proceedings were marked by cordiality and good humour.

MANCHESTER.—A general members' meeting was held in the People's Institute, Heywood-street, Ancoats, on Sunday last. Mr. W. Grocott in the chair. After the transaction of local business, the delegates from this locality to the late delegate meeting at Bielefeld were called upon to give in their report, which gave general satisfaction to the members. Several members expressed their approbation of the coming delegate meeting at Hebbel Bridge. It was agreed, by a large majority:—"That Edward Hloosen and William Grocott represent this locality at the Lancashire and Yorkshire Delegate Meeting, to be held at Hebbel Bridge, on January 18th, 1852, and on the 19th inst. in the forenoon." It was also agreed:—"That the following business should be introduced by our delegates:—1. To consider the propriety of sending as many delegates as possible to the Reform Conference about to assemble in London, in order that the people may be fairly represented. 2. The propriety of uniting the two counties, with one secretary only. To arrange for an interchange of lectures. They were also instructed to recommend to the delegates the propriety of employing Ernest Jones for a few weeks to lecture in the two counties. A vote of thanks was given to the chairman, and the meeting adjourned.—T. OSMAN, Secretary.

SWANSEA.—The members of this locality held their usual meeting on Sunday last. After the financial and other business of the locality was disposed of, Thomas Clow was appointed to sit in the Central Delegate Meeting of Lancashire and Yorkshire, to be held at Hebbel Bridge, on Sunday, January 18th. In the evening Mr. Crooks, of Manchester, lectured. Mr. Cottle in the chair. The energetic and eloquent lecture of Mr. Crooks was listened to with great attention, and after a vote of thanks, by Mr. Houghton, to the lecturer, the meeting broke up.

FINSBURY LOCALITY.—This locality held its weekly meeting in the Hall of the Finsbury Literary Institution, on Sunday, January 4th. Mr. Livesey in the chair. After the usual routine business, Mr. Butler moved, and Mr. Pennel seconded, "That Messrs. Butler and Batchelor be elected as secretary and treasurer for the next three months." Carried. The following persons were elected as council:—Messrs. Butler, Atkinson, Mason, Livesey, Winnill, Fenel, and Weedon. It was then moved, "That this locality disapprove of any large expenditure at present by the Metropolitan Delegate Council for getting up public meetings, and recommending them, above all things, to keep out of debt, believing all levies on new localities to be injurious to their progress." Carried. Mr. Weedon gave notice of motion. "That the visiting committee have a book, duly signed by the chairman and secretary, and that they wait upon the members every Sunday morning, for the purpose of receiving subscriptions, enrolling members, &c." Messrs. Livesey and Atkinson were appointed as auditors.

ASTON-UNDER-LYNE.—The annual tea party and ball took place in the Association-room, Water-street, Chorlton-on-Medney, on the 2nd of January. The band of the Association played round the town, previous to the tea party, which was numerous attended. The room was tastefully set out for the occasion. After the president delivered a short address to the company, which was received by cheering, singing, and recitations, and the amusements were kept up till a late hour. On Sunday the members held their weekly meeting, when, after the secretary had received the contributions, together with several advances of the first quarter's Executive, Mr. James Taylor was elected as delegate to the Hebbel-bridge delegate meeting. We hope our Yorkshire brethren will be up and doing in the good work, and also that our new Executive will act in unity with each other.

STALYBRIDGE.—The members held a tea party and ball on the 2nd inst. Mr. Hill in the chair. The room was tastefully set out for the occasion, and dancing was kept up till a late hour. On Sunday, the 4th inst., a members' meeting was held, when, after transacting business, and other business, the following resolutions were agreed to:—"That Mr. Samuel Cooper be elected delegate to represent this branch in the forthcoming delegate meeting." "That the school, in connexion with this association, be re-opened on Tuesday evening, January 13th."

#### BALANCE SHEET OF THE NATIONAL CHARTER ASSOCIATION, FROM SEPTEMBER 29th TO DECEMBER 31st, 1851.

RECEIPTS.	£ s. d.	EXPENDITURE.	£ s. d.
Ashton-under-Lynde	0 10 0	Ashton-under-Lynde	0 10 0
Birmingham	0 10 0	Birmingham	0 10 0
Bingley	0 10 0	Bingley	0 10 0
Blairgowrie	0 10 0	Blairgowrie	0 10 0
Bolton	0 10 0	Bolton	0 10 0
Brighton	0 10 0	Brighton	0 10 0
Bury	0 10 0	Bury	0 10 0
Camperdown	0 10 0	Camperdown	0 10 0
Chelsea	0 10 0	Chelsea	0 10 0
Cheltenham	0 10 0	Cheltenham	0 10 0
Cinderhill	0 10 0	Cinderhill	0 10 0
Coventry	0 10 0	Coventry	0 10 0
Dundee	0 10 0	Dundee	0 10 0
Edinburgh	0 10 0	Edinburgh	0 10 0
Exeter	0 10 0	Exeter	0 10 0
Greenwich	0 10 0	Greenwich	0 10 0
Deptford	0 10 0	Deptford	0 10 0



## The Provinces.

## Scotland.



## Foreign Intelligence.

## FRANCE.

## ABOLITION OF LIBERTÉ, ÉGALITÉ, FRATERNITÉ.

The 'Moniteur' contains the following letter from the Minister of the Interior to the Prefect of the Seine:—  
 'Paris, Jan. 6.—Monsieur le Préfet,—"The emblem most worthy of respect is this character which they only recall evil days. Thus these three words, "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," form by themselves a touching device; but, as they have been only to appear at epochs of troubles and civil war their coarse inscription upon public buildings saddens and alarms the passer-by. I therefore beg you to efface them. It would be at the same time proper to restore to the monuments, places, streets, &c., their popular names, which have been preserved by familiar usage through all changes of regime. No historical remembrance, glorious for France, ought to be excluded. The Palais National is to be called now the Palais-Royal; the Académie-Nationale de Musique the Grand Opéra; the Théâtre de la Nation Théâtre Français; the Rue de la Concorde Rue Royal, &c. I beg you to make to me, in the same spirit, a report upon the analogous changes which you will think proper to propose to me.—A. DE MONTY.'"

It is needless to add that the changes prescribed in the foregoing letter will be effected throughout France in all those departments where the generals and prefects have not already taken the initiative.

On Tuesday night the President went to the opera 'in state.' The front of the house in the Rue Lepelletier was brilliantly illuminated as on the night of a masquerade. The house of the tailor of the President, at the corner of the street, was illuminated, and a transparency showing the figures 7,473,431, surmounted by the letter M, was arranged over the door. There were no other illuminations. The Rue Lepelletier and a great part of the Boulevards were occupied during the evening by strong bodies of gendarmes, cavalry, and infantry. The President took his seat in the centre compartment of the state box prepared for the occasion. The two compartments on either side were filled with general officers, and officers of the President's household. The delegates from the departments occupied the pit stalls. The corps diplomatique in court dresses sat in the large boxes on the right and left of the stage. The general officers of the garrison of Paris were in the second tier of boxes. The balcony stalls were chiefly filled with mayors and their ladies. The Princess Mathilde sat in the box usually occupied by the President. There were not many ladies present, but among the few were the Princess Calémaki and Countess Molke. The pit was entirely filled with officers, non-commissioned officers, and private soldiers. Besides the gilt bronze eagle upon the President's canopy, there was an immense eagle painted on the proscenium, flying in a blue sky, its eyes turned towards the sun. The drop scene between the acts (painted expressly for the occasion) represented an allegorical figure of France, with the motto, 'Vox populi, vox Dei.' When the Emperor went to the opera it was customary to play on his entrance 'La Victoire est nous,' and the march of 'The Caravane de Caïre.' These airs were played on the present occasion. The opera was 'The Prophet,' and the ballet 'Vert-Vert.' The President stayed till nearly the end of the ballet. On leaving the house a crowd assembled in front shouted loudly 'Vive Napoleon,' but his carriage afterwards proceeded along the Rue Lepelletier, and along the Boulevards amidst a dead silence.

The Tuileries will henceforth be the official residence of Louis Napoleon.

The ceremonies took place in the order we announced them last week. On the grand day, when the installation at Notre Dame took place, the fog was so dense as to render the most finely decorated and the most shabby objects equally colourless at fifty paces off, and at a hundred equally invisible. The ceremonies were as much military as religious. Louis Napoleon was dressed as a general officer of the line, and surrounded with military. The official reception at the Tuileries commenced at half-past two o'clock of the different public bodies, of officers of the army, National Guards, and delegates of departments. There were no addresses, or speeches, and the ceremony of presentation was over a half-past five o'clock. The public buildings and theatres were illuminated, but the fog threw a compassionate veil over the scenery. A certain set of streets were monopolized for the passage of the carriages of people furnished with tickets to be present at the ceremony; so that *sergens de ville* and municipal guards were engaged in a perpetual strife with erratic cars, whose drivers were often only reduced to order at the sword's point. The bitterest ill-humour was visible among the officers of the army and the police among the whole line, and the smallest contravention of their words of command on the part of common wayfarers, male or female, was the signal for denunciations of the coarsest and most ridiculous menaces. The great hall of Notre Dame, the 'Bourdon,' immortalized by the poet who is now in exile at Brussels, began to toll as the President alighted and entered under the crimson pavilion, which was extended beneath the central statue-studded archway. Acclamations were none. He was received with no demonstrations of any kind; nor was there the least show of enthusiasm even in the pretensions who surrounded him. The ministers, the marshals of France, the admirals, the officers of the President's household, and a large staff accompanied him.

When the ceremony was over, there was a little less coldness among the spectators inside the church; and the cheers of 'Vive Napoleon' were pretty general. But outside all was apathy; not a voice was raised to cry, 'God bless him!' He went back by the quays, attended as he came, but instead of continuing his journey to the Elisee, his carriage turned in under the archway of the Louvre, into the Place du Carrousel, and hence gained the Tuileries. The people gazed vacantly through the grate of the Carrousel, and some said, 'J'y est,' and others responded, with a laugh, 'J'y restera.' Lusty-looking fellows were having medals of the new potentate for sale at two sous. On one side is the head of Louis Napoleon, with the inscription 'Born at Paris, 1808.' On the other side is the number of the votes by which he has been raised to be the saviour of the destinies of France.

The address of the Consultative Commission is a fulsome flattery of Bonaparte, and, of course, quite the reverse of those who do not support him. It says, in one part,—'It is no longer odious theories only which you have to pursue and to suppress, for they have been changed into facts and horrible crimes. May France be at length delivered from those men who are always ready for murder and pillage—of those men who in this nineteenth century are the horror of civilization, and who, by awakening the most distressing reminiscences, seem to carry us five centuries backward.' The Archbishop of Paris addressed him thus:—'Monsieur le Président,—We come to present your our felicitations and good wishes. What we are going to do to-morrow we will try to do every day of the year about to commence. We will try to God with fervour for the success of the high mission confided to you; for the peace and prosperity of the republic; for the well-being and concord of all citizens. But, in order that they may be good citizens, we will pray God to make them good Christians.' Bonaparte thanked the archbishop for having recommended to the Divine protection acts which had been inspired by the sentiment which dictated these words:—'Let the good take heart, and let the wicked tremble.'

The following proclamation has appeared:—'The President of the Republic, upon the report of the Consultative Commission, proclaims the results of the votes given by the French citizens for the adoption or rejection of the following *plébiscite*:—"The French people desires the maintenance of the authority of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, and delegates to him the powers necessary for establishing a constitution upon the basis proposed in his proclamation of December 2nd, 1851." The number of persons voting has been 8,116,773. 7,439,216 have voted "Yes," 610,737 have voted "No," 36,820 bulletins have been annulled as irregular. The present decree will be published and posted in all the communes of the Republic.'

A decree announces that the gold, silver, and copper coin shall bear in front the effigy of the President, with the words 'Louis Napoleon Bonaparte.' On the reverse are to be engraved the words 'République Française,' and round the edge 'Dieu protège la France.' Another decree declares that—1, that the French flag shall be re-established on the colours of the army; and 2, that it is to be established on the cross of the Legion of Honour.

In future every public functionary is to take the oath of allegiance to Louis Napoleon's person. It is said for the present the idea of assuming the title of Emperor has been dropped. It is a fact, nevertheless, that on Thursday night it was determined to push on for the empire without drawing breath. More moderate counsels have, however, prevailed since; and Louis Napoleon will content himself for the present with the title of President of the Republic. Others say that he will assume that of Prince Regent of the Republic. One of the difficulties which stand in the way of the President's proclamation of his title as Emperor is obvious. Is he to call himself Napoleon II. or Napoleon III.? If he assume the former title, he ignores the imperial right of the late Duke de Reichstadt, and hence his own hereditary claim. If he assume the latter, he flies in the face of the European cabinets, by ignoring the governments which were established in France under their auspices and by their treaties. This embarrassing question is said to have reconciled Louis Napoleon to the maintenance of his present title. His civil list is to amount to twelve millions of francs.

The very 'Moniteur' that reports the fulsome speech of M. Baroche at the Elisee contains a decree setting forth that the offence of speaking against the government multiplies exceedingly, and ordaining that for the more speedy and effectual repression of such offences, they are in future to be tried by the police instead of by a jury. The decree has a retrospective operation, and hundreds of men now lying in gaol for no other crime than the utterance, in

the hearing of a spy, of a few words of honest indignation, in which the whole civilised world would sympathise, are mercilessly tried by jury, and to be hurried before a merciless tribunal that will simply register, in the forms of justice, the commands of the dictator.

The Elisee, it is said, is to be restored to the family of Murat, in the person of Prince Lucien, Murat, son of Joachim, the former King of Naples. 'A letter from Vienna, of the 27th ult., says the 'Presse' states that Louis Napoleon, in a letter addressed to the Emperor of Austria, requested him to consent to have the mortal remains of the Duke de Reichstadt, now lying at Vienna, near those of his mother, Maria Louisa, in the vaults of the Capucins, transported to Paris.

The 'Patrie' states the cost of the ceremony at Notre Dame at 190,000 francs; and in comparing this expenditure, which is termed modest, with the cost of the funeral ceremonies which were celebrated at the same cathedral on the death of the Duke of Orleans, congratulates the taxpayers on the great consideration which is shown for their pockets by the government of Louis Napoleon.

The mayor and municipal council of Mious, near Lyons, have presented an address to Louis Napoleon with the incongruous heading, 'To His Majesty, Monsieur le Président of the French Republic.'

The municipal council of Le Puy, capital of the Haute-Loire, having refused to appoint a delegate to the ceremony of Louis Napoleon's installation, on New Year's day, has been dissolved. M. St. Perrier, one of the six Montagnard representatives of the department, has been elected.

M. Troplong, first President of the Court of Appeal, has declared to his brother judges that the presidency of the senate had been offered to him, but that he had declined the office, saying that he wished to remain a lawyer, and to stand aloof from political life. M. Baroche was greatly chagrined that this distinguished post, which he had marked out for himself, should have been offered beforehand to M. Troplong. But the vice-president of the Consultative Commission is not expected to entertain any scruples on this account should the presidency of the senate be offered to him, as is highly probable.

The prosecution of the press in France has given an extraordinary impulse to publication in Belgium, where it is proposed to print a great number of pamphlets, which could not possibly, under present circumstances, issue from the press at Paris. The speculators who have set this enterprise on foot undertake to smuggle the pamphlets and journals so published into France with as much certainty as Geneva watches are brought clandestinely over the Swiss frontier.

In the 23rd regiment of the line, garrisoned at Metz, two sergeants have been arrested, and conducted to the fort of Bitch. Two others have been arrested and imprisoned at Metz. Two more have fled; and two are broken. Similar facts are said to have occurred in other corps garrisoned in the same town. All these arrests have arisen from the discontent expressed at the way in which the soldiers were obliged to vote.

We announced some time ago that a marriage was on the tapis between the President and a Princess of Sweden. This has been confirmed in the German papers. The princess in question, a descendant of Gustavus Vasa, King of Sweden, now resides in Austria. She is about the President's age, and passes for possessing a dowry of 100 millions.

We are now able to throw some additional light on the results of M. de Persigny's visit to Brussels. The Belgian government has consented to the extradition of the Socialist representatives, but not to that of any others who have taken refuge on the Belgian territory. The demolition of the fortress will not be granted, it is said.

In the colony of Algeria an 'amari aliquid' dashes the exulting joy with which Bonapartism has hitherto contemplated the election of December 20 and 21. The truth has been kept back as long as possible, and the whole truth has not yet come out, but enough is known and admitted to have drawn forth from the 'Moniteur Algerien' an official lament that the electors of Algiers should have shown such 'ingratitude' towards Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, and such ignorance of their true interests as to have separated themselves from the other citizens of the French republic. So far from exhibiting that wonderful enthusiasm in rushing to the poll, which according to the returns was universal in France, the large majority of the Algerian colonists abstained from voting, but between those who voted the race in every commune was a close one, and in very many places, including the town of Algiers, the 'noes' had it. The returns from Constantine have not yet arrived, but the report is that two-thirds of that province, inclusive even of the army there, have voted in the negative. This result cannot be accounted for upon any sound Bonapartist principle. It cannot be said that the Algerians are indifferent to politics, for in 1848 an immense proportion of the registered electors took part in the election. It cannot be argued that the traditions of French glory in Algiers being of later date than the Napoleonic era, they are incapable of appreciating the virtue of Louis Napoleon's name, for at that occasion out of 66,000 votes, 39,000 were given to Louis Napoleon, 20,000 to Cavaignac, and but 7,000 or 8,000 were divided between Ledru Rollin and Raspail. These figures prove also that Algeria was not then much imbued with anarchical doctrines. It is, moreover, notorious that they have made no progress there since. How can it have come to pass, therefore, that in 1851 50,000 electors should have disavowed to exercise their privilege?

Movable columns of military staffs scour the Hérault in every direction, bringing in prisoners. 500 have taken refuge in the mountains, where, having neither food nor shelter, their suffering is extreme.

A decree appears for opening to the Ministry of the Interior a credit of 4,832,987fr. on the budgets of 1852, 1853, and 1854, for the completion without delay of several lines of electric telegraph. The most important are as follows:—1. Paris to Marseilles; the telegraph now stops at Chalons. 2. Paris to Bordeaux, and thence by Toulouse to Celis. 3. Paris to Strasbourg.

The truth of what may have taken place at the banquet in the Tuileries on Tuesday is involved in mystery. The 'Moniteur,' which chronicled the most trifling details of the dinner of the Prefect of the Seine at the Hotel de Ville, is silent upon the subject. None of the newspapers are more communicative. It is stated by a person usually well-informed that the President was not there, and that all sorts of conjecture were about as to the cause of his absence. The telegraphed correspondence of Havas, however, just out, gives a circumstantial though not a long account of the banquet from which it would appear that the President did dine with his guests at the Tuileries. According to this version covers for from 380 to 400 persons were laid in the Salle des Marchaux. On his arrival he is said to have been received with enthusiasm. On the right of the President sat the mayors of Marseilles and Toulouse, and the Prefect of the Seine; and on his left the mayors of Lyons and Bordeaux, and the Prefect of Police. The Mayor of Epinal gave utterance to the joy which swelled every heart. The President returned thanks in very few words. He said that his government would direct its efforts to deserve the devoted concurrence of honest men, and would continue to be strong because it would be based upon justice, and the serious interests of the entire nation. After the dinner, 800 or 900 delegates were admitted to pay their respects to the President. The *soirée* was prolonged to a late hour. This is a semi-official account, and, therefore, to be doubted. It is s'ated on good authority that it is most likely that the above is a description of what did intend to take place, but not a description of what did.

It is stated that M. Thiers is going to start a paper at Brussels, where he has taken up his quarters, evidently with the conviction that the Belgian capital is now the last hold of parliamentary institutions on the continent, and that the hopes of a return to constitutional monarchy in France are knit up with the maintenance of the independence and freedom of Belgium. The French government has conceived fresh umbrage against the cabinet of Leopold, from this new scheme of M. Thiers, which is put forward under its protection; and has sent the strictest orders to the prefects of the frontier to exclude the new journal, which will be a sort of resurrection of the 'Ordre.'

## GERMANY.

**ABOLITION OF THE AUSTRIAN CONSTITUTION.**  
 The Germanic Diet, in its sitting of the 31st ult., decided on the suppression and sale of the federal fleet. On this occasion Austria proposed to form the German navy in three divisions, to be commanded respectively by Austrians, Prussians, and Germans of other states. Prussia opposed this arrangement when the above final resolution was adopted. Prussia has declared her readiness to undertake the support of the fleet for one month.

**AUSTRIA.**—Several Imperial decrees have been published abolishing the constitution of the 4th of March, 1849, and abrogating privileges then announced. The foundations of the future organisation of the State are defined. The constitution is to be altered in a conservative sense, and with due consideration for all preponderant interests. A civil and penal code will be gradually introduced into the Crown lands. The district functionaries and governments will appoint committees of conservation, selected from members of the landed proprietary and the commercial classes.

## ITALY.

**ROME.**—A very unfounded feeling of uneasiness prevails, and the night patrols have of late been stronger than usual in Rome. Five persons were arrested in the *café* opposite the Valle theatre, two or three nights ago, on suspicion of being connected with the, as yet, unraveled mystery of the secret press. It is customary with the police authorities to overhaul the pockets and persons of whatever actors may resort to the capital at the commencement of the Carnival theatrical season, in order to make sure that they are not Mazzinian emissaries under the disguise of the Theban sock and buskin; and, as the actors of the Valle theatre usually converge every evening in

the *café* opposite, the *shirri* have a convenient opportunity of nabbing them there altogether, as it were in a trap. This was effected the other evening—the police agents entered, the doors were shut, and no one was allowed to go out before having been subjected to the required personal examination. The actors were not found to have anything criminal in their possession, but under the table of another party, who were playing at dominoes, a packet of forty clandestine publications was discovered, to the great consternation of the party, who declared they knew nothing about it. Whether the papers were dropped by a young man who a moment before approached the table to bespeak the dominoes, or whether they were placed there by the *shirri* themselves, in order to have a pretext for arresting some obnoxious individuals, is uncertain. They marched off the unfortunate prisoners, who will long ere they have any other lodging than the dismal political dungeon to which they were immediately consigned.

## UNITED STATES.

By the Niagara we have advices to the 24th ult. They state that the intelligence of the French revolution had caused much excitement at New York, and it was expected would add materially to Kossuth's popularity and prospects. Kossuth was to leave New York for Philadelphia and Washington on the 24th. The American President, in his message to the legislature in answer to their resolution on the Promethean affair, desires to Great Britain any authority in San Juan. There was little doing in Congress. A bill for establishing a Mint in California had passed.

The following important telegraphic communication from Washington, has been received via Halifax:—

WASHINGTON, Dec. 24, 9 A.M.  
 The capital is in flames. The fire was discovered about daylight this morning. Already the valuable library of Congress is destroyed. Weather cold and frosty, water scarce, and impossible to use engines. It was hoped to confine the fire to the library, but buckets only could be used. The speakers and members of Congress joined in the efforts to subdue the ravages of the flames.

Above 25,000 dollars have been subscribed for Kossuth in New York, besides a large amount deposited in banks to his credit. A deputation of the bookbinders in the employment of the New York Bible Society presented Kossuth a beautiful morocco-gilt Bible, a quarto edition, as a testimonial of the regard in which they hold his character as the champion of civil and religious liberty, and adding that they intended, in a few days, to give him something more substantial.

## CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

By the Harbinger we have advices to the 2nd December from the Cape of Good Hope.

We learn that the state of affairs in Kaffirland had in no way improved at the departure of the Harbinger. The Kaffirs continued their depredations in the lifting of the cattle and burning houses, and occasionally killing the colonists; and in this they were generally assisted by the rebel Hottentots. As yet no check had been given to them by Sir Harry Smith. More troops were required. In one engagement, Lieut. Colonel Fordyce and Lieut. Carey were killed; Lieut. Colonel Gordon severely wounded, and Captain Denvenish mortally wounded. The public feeling at the Cape was still greatly excited. They think there should be a local militia, and that could not be effected without a local government, which the colonists should themselves elect.

## Foreign Miscellany.

Cardinal Patrizi has issued a notification informing the public that the Pope has condescended to grant the permission of using fat in culinary operations on fast-days during the ensuing year. The time of Lent is exempted from this provision.

A letter has been published from the Spanish Minister to Mr. Webster, communicating the pardon of James M. Wilson, one of the Lopez expeditionists, in consequence of a most affecting appeal from his mother to the president, which was sent to the Queen of Spain, and who in consequence liberated him, and has sent him home with funds from her private purse. The letter from the Minister says that all other considerations have been set aside, but that of restoring happiness to the unfortunate mother, and restoring her erring and misguided son, whose despair is described in such simple and touching terms that they have not failed to affect the benevolent heart of her Majesty.

## DEATH OF BARON KEMENY, THE HUNGARIAN.

The following letter, addressed to the editor of the 'Daily News,' appeared in that journal on Tuesday:—  
 'Sir,—It is with regret I inform you that Baron Kemény, aged sixty-three years, who was appointed by Kossuth as Chief to the Hungarian Committee in this country, died suddenly this morning at eleven o'clock, at his residence in Foley-place, while the secretary to the above committee (S. Wekey) was reading to him the letter of Mr. Toulmin Smith, in the 'Daily News' of this day, concerning the Hungarian refugees. The lamented Baron, displaying great courage in the late Hungarian struggle, and distinguished himself by the decisive battle of Piski, under General Bem, being also at the same time, in the Transylvania. We should feel greatly obliged by your inserting a paragraph of the above melancholy occurrence in your paper.'

'I am, sir, your most obedient servant,  
 STANISLAV TULAY, Colonel de Genie.  
 10, Charles-street, St. James's Hospital, Jan. 6.'

Another correspondent says:—The gallant colonel was sixty-three years of age, and was one of the most celebrated officers during the Hungarian war of independence. He defended the Bridge of Piski, in Transylvania, with 2,000 men and seven guns against 14,000 Austrians and thirty guns, who were defeated with great slaughter. By his gallantry he saved the Hungarian cause, and only a good soldier, but a real patriot, and a kind friend to his brother refugees, he having spent his last shilling the day before his death in relieving his distressed fellow-countrymen, many of whom are in a most deplorable state of poverty.'

## FATAL AFFAIR WITH THE NEGROES AT LAGOS.

At the moment that the Screw Company's Cape Mail packet Harbinger was leaving Sierra Leone for England, on the 17th December, her Majesty's screw-ship, the Niger, boarded her, with dispatches from Commodore Bruce for England. These dispatches, it was understood, contain official information to the Admiralty of a desperate and bloody fight which the Niger ship had fought with the Niger, being also at the same time, in the Transylvania. We should feel greatly obliged by your inserting a paragraph of the above melancholy occurrence in your paper.

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## Spirit of the Press.

## THE ENGINEERS AND THEIR EMPLOYERS.

(From the Spectator.)

A determination not to understand the matter in hand seems to be fixed in the minds of those who have been dealing with the intended 'strikes' of the engineers and mechanics of the iron-trade; although it is only by arriving at a clear understanding that the dispute can ever be arranged on such a basis as to make the settlement satisfactory and enduring. The real understanding of the case appears to us to be quite practicable; and therefore we hold it also within the bounds of possibility that masters and men should come to a settlement satisfactory and enduring. Let us say at starting, however, that a part of the understanding must be a distinct recognition of the rights which exist on both sides, and of the powers also which exist on both sides; thus far in the contest, both sides are chargeable with ignoring essential facts.

Among the modes of promoting a misunderstanding on the part of the public, has been the systematic confusion of claims distinct; and also a *constructive* interpretation of claims. The proceedings of a local union at Oldham, in the case of Messrs. Hibbert, Platt, and Son, have been treated as identical with the proceedings of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers. The Oldham union, indeed, seems to belong to the Amalgamated Society; but it has exercised an independent local action beyond that which the Society has exercised. Again, the Amalgamated Society is charged with 'intimidation,' and a case of violence at Leeds has been alleged against it: the violence at Leeds was individual, and the offenders have been punished; and it is as absurd to accuse the general body with that violence as it would be to accuse the whole body of iron manufacturers of the breach of compact not explicitly denied by Messrs. Hibbert and Platt—with this difference in the two cases, that the Amalgamated Society disavows the violence, while the manufacturers support Messrs. Hibbert and Platt. The 'intimidation' used by the Society is exactly the same as the intimidation used by the masters—the attempt to obtain certain concessions by the fear of pecuniary inconvenience as the consequence of refusal. The means of enforcement is exactly correlative—the men withdraw their labour, the masters withdraw employment. The combination alleged against the men has its exact counterpart in that of the masters; the men have a fund, the masters a large fund. If capital has its rights, so has labour; and if society at large has any interest in the matter, it is as much on one side as the other. Both sides have a right to claim the conditions on which they can give and take employment, and to enforce those conditions so far as they can do so by the control over their own actions; and they, the members of either party, have the right to combine with their fellows for the promotion of the general interest. It is the refusal to recognise the exactly correlative nature of these several rights and powers which constitutes the weak point on either side. The masters have a right to employ their capital as they please, to make what conditions they please, and to combine for the purpose of inducing others to make those conditions general. If the men think the conditions cruel, their only appeal is to the humanity of the masters, which must be *spontaneously* exercised; or to the Legislature for a general law, if they can get it; or to their own power of refusal. If the masters employ other hands, that fall in with the conditions deprecated, the men have no right to interfere—except, we repeat, through the moralist or the Legislature. Nothing can be peremptorily demanded of any individual employer except obedience to the laws.

But these rights of the masters are no more than correlative to precisely similar rights of the men. They have a right to lay down the conditions of their *own* labour, even to the extent of saying, as Messrs. Hibbert and Platt's men have done, that they will not work with certain men; as much right as a physician has to decline to meet a quack doctor, or as a guest at a dinner has to withdraw from the presence of an unwelcome guest, if it be only because that other is offensive to him.

Messrs. Hibbert and Platt's men, however, were not merely capricious in a condition which they themselves accepted and afterwards broke. It refers to a new practice in the iron trades. Many of the 'tools' used in those trades are very elaborate and valuable pieces of machinery, costing at times as much as £2,000; and the skilled 'mechanic' who has served an apprenticeship of seven years, understands the construction and management of the tool at which he has worked. The masters have found, however, that they can employ a common unskilled labourer if a mechanic be first used to 'set out' the labourer's work; and thus a mechanic and a labourer fill the place once filled by two mechanics: the labourer taking probably half the wages—say 18s. instead of 36s. The mechanics object: they argue that their apprenticeship entitles them to a pre-emption over the labourers; that their ingenuity and assiduity have helped to simplify the machines, whose easy management is now turned against them; and that the more enduring interests even of the master are promoted by retaining valuable machines in the hands that do not hazard misuse, damage, and loss. The reader will perceive both the force and the weak points of this argument; but the fact on which we are now insisting is, that the men have some grounds in reason and equity for their claim, and a right to enforce the condition of their own labour, if they please, even to declining, for the interest of their order, a joint employment with the unskilled labourers. The masters have the equal right to employ the unskilled labourers, if they choose, and if they can obtain skilled companions for them. The circumstance that the rights are conflicting, the interests conflicting, ought not to blind us to their existence: on the contrary, to recognise them distinctly is the first step towards a reconciliation.

The demands made by the Amalgamated Society for the discontinuance of overtime and piecework, are also far from being merely capricious claims—far from being without embarrassing difficulties of enforcement. Daywork is not always, as the reader would suppose, the opposite of piecework, but often a fixed quantity: so much done in ten hours shall be a day's work; only, says the man, do not *force* me to work longer by saying that you will give me none if I will not work fourteen or seventeen hours a day; do not force me, under pain of paying me less, to work harder, in heat and over-strained exertion, than human limbs can bear. 'Piecework' is objected to by the men, not only as directly lowering wages, and compelling excessive exertion, but also as facilitating the employment of middlemen, like the 'sweaters' of the tailors' trade. The men have a right to object; the masters have a right to employ none but men who will work hard and long. They have some reason also on their side in the undeniable propensity of numbers to idle and avoid work, and in the uncertainty with which orders come in. In equity and humanity, however, those reasons do not justify the coercion of the really steady workman, nor a *systematic* use of overtime as a means of beating down wages by making the men feel alternations of no pay and full pay.

Recognising the rights, the masters and men know, from bitter experience, that they also possess mutual powers of annoyance. 'Strikes' are mostly retaliated by the closing of shops, the calling of new hands into a trade, and the improvement of labour-saving machinery. On the other hand, discontent among workmen is invariably felt in the loss, through damaged machinery and diminished production; and the shifting of hands, in the case of skilled labour, is in itself a source of injury. Masters and men can damage each other.

It is not less certain that they possess common as well as conflicting interests; and an allusion to the principle of mutual insurance, at the meeting of employers last week, by a master noted for his intelligence and kindness, Mr. May, of Ipswich, was received with a fervour remarkable in that assembly. It would be well if the spirit of that suggestion could be transferred to the proceedings on both sides. The talk among the masters about not submitting to 'dictation' is balderdash; just as the whining of the men about 'oppression' is nonsense. The thing to be done is to reconcile the justice and the amount of power to enforce conditions residing in each side, and then to establish a machinery for facilitating the expression of the several desires, the free working of the several influences, in order that the two parties may have a consistent means of coming to terms on a fair and practical basis. But that means, the common interests would be better served than by any other conflict of capital and labour; since it is only the alliance of capital and labour that can really bring forth that full production in which society at large is most interested—to say nothing of the social concord.

## THE MASTER ENGINEERS AND THEIR WORKMEN.

(From the Standard.)

The dispute between the master engineers and their workmen has at length assumed a very serious aspect. By Saturday next many thousands of workmen will be deprived of employment, unless the masters reconsider their determination to close their works, or unless some reasonable adjustment of the dispute be effected in the meanwhile. We have already expressed our opinion that the operatives in the particular branch of industry in question want many of the grounds for complaint which are possessed by their brethren engaged in other trades, but at the same time, some of the demands made by the workmen seem founded in justice, and such as it would seem to be good policy on the part of the masters to concede with a good grace. Take for example the question of 'overtime' which has already been given up by several employers. One thing is manifest, that neither masters nor employed can hope for victory each over the other, except by a perfect combination among themselves. On the one hand, if the employers can succeed in winning over a sufficient body of operatives to their terms, the remainder must per force submit, were the

£25,000 capital which they possess multiplied tenfold. On the other hand, if any considerable number of masters give way, the victory will infallibly fall to the men. It is, in truth, a contest as to which party can starve out the other. At the same time, we forewarn the noble lords from a prolongation of the struggle between the parties. Hitherto in England manufactures have been carried on by an association between those whose capital was money, and those whose capital lay in their skill and labour. Under that system, which undoubtedly is not without its advantages, the gain, we apprehend, has been palpably on the side of the money capitalists. It cannot be denied, however, that it is in this way that our manufacturers generally have attained the high position they hold in the civilised world, because they have been presented with all the aid and assistance that an almost unlimited amount of capital could purchase. We doubt if the amount of money applied to the prosecution of manufactures in England during the last fifty years is at all imagined; or that if it were men would believe it. Probably the same amount would, if so applied, go far to reclaim the waste of the vast American continent. There is no doubt that the manufacturing prosperity of Great Britain owes much to the capitalist, but, be it remembered, that all this is now no more than a debt, and will be repaid in the moment the two parties come into collision. It is wise then, we ask, to sever the bond between capital and labour that has existed so long and so favourably for the country?

But, perhaps, it may be said that this is merely an imaginary danger. We do not think so. The probable result of a continuance of this contest between employers and employed will be to drive the men into the formation of what we may venture to call labour clubs, but which will be to all intents and purposes a new species of partnership with a moderate capital. Such associations, moreover, would possess this advantage over the old system of transacting business, viz., that they could undersell all rival dealers by saving the employer's profit, and in no considerable item. We already see a hint at something of the kind in the proposal of the Amalgamated Society to invest £10,000 of the capital in the purchase of tools, with a view to underwrite the execution of works. Such a partnership as we have referred to would find little difficulty in these days in obtaining sufficient funds to begin with, when gold is pouring in annually at the rate of £15,000,000 a year. We trust, however, that the good sense of both parties will unite in putting an end to this unhappy dispute, that otherwise may have, as a remote consequence, the effect of revolutionising the entire trade and commerce of the country.

## DESTRUCTION OF THE STEAM SHIP AMAZON BY FIRE, AND LOSS OF ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY-ONE LIVES.

PLYMOUTH, Jan. 6.—It becomes our painful duty to report the particulars of a most appalling accident. The new Royal Mail Steam ship Amazon, Captain Symons, which left Southampton on the 2nd inst. for the West Indies and the Gulf of Mexico, has been totally consumed by fire, and of 162 persons who were on board when she left it is feared only twenty-one have been saved.

The Amazon left Southampton at half past three o'clock on Friday afternoon, and in the Channel experienced strong head winds and rain. At a quarter before one on Sunday morning, when the ship was about 110 miles west of Scilly, a fire broke out suddenly, forward on the starboard side, between the steam chest and the under part of the galley, and shortly after the flames rushed up the gangway which is in front of the foremost funnel. The alarm bell was rung, and Captain Symons rushed on deck in his shirt and trousers. Wet awnings and other loose things were placed on the gratings of the spar deck hatched, and a hose was brought to play on the main deck, but quickly abandoned in consequence of the excessive heat. The deck pump was also kept at work until the men were forced to retire. The wind was blowing half a gale from south-west, and the vessel was going by the wind. About 110 miles west of Scilly, a fire broke out suddenly, forward on the starboard side, between the steam chest and the under part of the galley, and shortly after the flames rushed up the gangway which is in front of the foremost funnel. The alarm bell was rung, and Captain Symons rushed on deck in his shirt and trousers. Wet awnings and other loose things were placed on the gratings of the spar deck hatched, and a hose was brought to play on the main deck, but quickly abandoned in consequence of the excessive heat. The deck pump was also kept at work until the men were forced to retire. The wind was blowing half a gale from south-west, and the vessel was going by the wind. About 110 miles west of Scilly, a fire broke out suddenly, forward on the starboard side, between the steam chest and the under part of the galley, and shortly after the flames rushed up the gangway which is in front of the foremost funnel. The alarm bell was rung, and Captain Symons rushed on deck in his shirt and trousers. Wet awnings and other loose things were placed on the gratings of the spar deck hatched, and a hose was brought to play on the main deck, but quickly abandoned in consequence of the excessive heat. The deck pump was also kept at work until the men were forced to retire. The wind was blowing half a gale from south-west,



