

Poetry.

"THE TIME SHALL COME."

(An Canadian Boat Song.)

The time shall come when Wrong shall end,
When Peace to Peers no more shall lend;
When the lordly Few shall lose their sway,
And the Many no more their work obey;
Till, brothers, toll—till the work is done—
Till bondage is o'er, and Freedom's won!

The time shall come when the artisan
Shall homage no more the titled man;
When the millionaire no more shall pine,
By Mammon's throne no more shall shine;
Till, brothers, toll—till the work is done—
Till bondage is o'er, and Freedom's won!

The time shall come when the weaver's hand
Shall hunger no more in his fatherland;
When the factory child can sleep till day,
And smile while it dreams of sport and play;
Till, brothers, toll—till the work is done—
Till bondage is o'er, and Freedom's won!

The time shall come when Man shall hold
His brother dearer than the world's gold;
When the Negro's stain his freedom mind
Shall sever no more from mankind;
Till, brothers, toll—till the work is done—
Till Justice and Love hold jubilee!

The time shall come when kindly men
And mire for toys of the Past are shown;
When the Past and False, alike, shall fall,
And Mercy and Truth endow the soul;
Till, brothers, toll—till the work is done—
Till Mercy and Truth hold jubilee!

The time shall come when earth shall be
A garden of joy from sea to sea;
When the slaughterer's sword is drawn no more,
And Goodness exults from shore to shore;
Till, brothers, toll—till the work is done—
Till Goodness shall hold high jubilee!

Reviews.

The Tug and the Tiber; or, Notes of Travel in Portugal, Spain, and Italy, in 1850. By W. E. BAXTER. 2 Vols. London: Bentley.

In the present state of the Continent, everything calculated to throw light upon the actual state of the people, and of public feeling, is peculiarly interesting; and when, in addition, it is remembered that a romantic and persevering effort are made in this country to restore Papal supremacy, a book, which describes the existing condition of three purely Roman Catholic countries, will naturally be read with deep interest. Mr. Baxter possesses the advantage of having travelled in many parts of Europe, and of being familiar with the older portions of the United States. He thus brings to the examination of the social status of a new field of observation, a standard of comparison, and a test derived from the observation and study of other social, economical, and political circumstances, than those immediately under his notice. This description of knowledge enables a man to see more of the real life, as well as the peculiarities of the people, among whom he journeys for the time being; and to bring out these facts forcibly before the mind of the reader. The eye of the traveller must be educated to see well; and unless it be so, he may "travel from Dan to Beersheba and see nothing"—at all events, nothing that is worth narrating to another.

Although Mr. Baxter is a Protestant with very decided opinions on many political and economical questions, there does not appear to be any reason to suppose his prejudices have induced him unduly to shade the picture he presents of these Roman Catholic countries. The statements he makes of their condition are most melancholy. Everywhere, under the rule of the Austrian, the Bourbon, and the Pope, he found poverty and discontent. But what can be expected of countries where, as in Portugal, there are absolutely no roads? The mere fact carries us back to the dark ages, and demonstrates that the material rule of the Priesthood is as injurious as their political and religious supremacy. Within the last thirty or forty years Portugal must have retrograded; for, surely, when the Duke of Wellington was at Torres Vedras he must have had better roads for the transport of men and munitions than this! At this village we left the cultivated district to cross bare gloomy hills, on a paved track so rugged and full of dangerous holes that our positions frequently diverged from it to seek a smoother way over the fields. No words can convey to civilized ears any adequate idea of the execrable path, over which four hardy horses dragged our vehicle at the rate of two and three quarter miles an hour to Torres Vedras. Sometimes we descended an inclined plane, more like a timber slide than anything else; sometimes the horses scrambled like cats up a precipitous bank, and the wheels settled down into deep holes, out of which we were required to drag them, and at others we were jolted over huge boulders and shelves of rock, until every bone in our bodies ached. Many mud-paths in Switzerland are well made in comparison with this high road between Lisbon and Oporto. I would rather ride forty miles on the mountains of Scotland than on the leading thoroughfare of Portugal. How Antonio managed to hold on, no man can tell. At the termination of the journey he complained of innumerable bruises.

The portion of the work which relates to Italy fully bears out the statement of M. Mazzini in the *conversazione* of the Friends of Italy, reported in last week's *Star*. Everywhere, and in every circle of society, Mr. Baxter found a general detestation of the Austrians, the French, the King of Naples, and of the Pope, though the last is looked upon as the tool of others. Mr. Baxter is of opinion that this feeling is affecting religious belief, and that when the Italians find an opportunity to throw off the foreign yoke, they will at the same time sweep away the Papacy. The superstitious practices and the gross immorality of the priests, have rendered great numbers of the people infidel. The Church which claimed from them a belief in its infallibility, having been discovered to be a huge imposture, they have lost faith in everything else. An Italian gentleman with whom Mr. Baxter travelled, forcibly expressed the way in which religious men are affected:—

"I was struck by the effect which political grievances had produced upon the mind of this patriotic man. 'I am a Roman Catholic,' he said; 'but when I see the Pope leading the vanguard of despotism, indebted for his safety to the bayonets of France, intriguing to garrison Rome with Austrian soldiers, and the blood of his people, and then I look around and find Protestant countries entering into happy, and free, while Papal countries are desolate like Spain, and trampled on like my poor Italy—can you wonder, sir, that I begin to doubt the Divine origin of the faith of my fathers?'"

In Milan, and indeed throughout Lombardy, there is no disguise in the feeling of the people towards the Austrians. This is the state of passive resistance Mr. Baxter found there.

In the year 1844, the Corso, or Boulevard which surrounds the City of Milan, presented on fine summer evenings an animated spectacle of carriages and equestrians, rich liveries, and gaily-dressed fashionables; it was pleasant to sit in the elms, and look on the one hand towards the Alpine mountains shrouded by the setting sun, on the other at the glittering pageant which the pleasure-seekers displayed. Now all is changed. On the evening of a festival, I sauntered along this spacious drive, and found it forsaken, desolate, lonely. Here and there a grim Austrian soldier-guarded a cannon, or a tradesman and his wife jogged along in a rickety gig; but the nobles, the equities, the dancing steeds, had all disappeared—gone to Turin, to London—to any place where the uniforms of Hapsburg are not worn. Those who remain have sold their stables, appear seldom in public, and living retired and obscure, wait the good time coming, when Hungary shall sound the loud tocsin, and Austria, paralyzed, behold the political emancipation of Italy.

I had observed, during my previous visit to Lombardy, the dislike felt by all classes towards their German masters: no one even then could spend a few days in Verona, Padua, and especially in Florence, without observing that dislike was love in comparison with the unendurable hatred, the unendurable detestation, expressed by man, woman, and child, when speaking of "teuschel." We travelled always in the public conveyance, and conversed with a great many people in every walk of life: the only one who was not a man and he was a slave of national independence, and an ardent enemy of the Government of the North. In Bologna, in Florence, in Rome, dislike manifested itself. In none of these cities, nor on any of the roads in the country, did we see a single German ruler or soldier speaking to an Italian. The military men were everywhere so very silent to Coventry; and when sent elsewhere with very little respect.

I looked for any mark of interest between the people and the troops in the streets, in the churches, in the carriages, and in the balconies of the capital of Lombardy; but there were two principal causes, occupying the mind of the people, which prevented any such interest. The first was the Pizzolo del Duomo. The Cafe Mozza ever being it, and the Italian gentlemen and ladies intrude there, every citizen is constantly on the alert, to insure the revenue of their detested rulers, the Lombards

have given up using it; not a man was to be seen smoking in the streets; and so severely had I been treated, as well as other citizens, when I was warned not to put a cigar into my mouth and thereby break the rules of the "Invisible Government." "If you smoke, sir, you will be knocked down," was repeatedly remarked to me.

Contrast the desolation, estrangement, poverty, and discontent which pervade the realms under the fatal domination of the Papacy and despotism with the state of affairs in Piedmont, where the priests are not entirely in the ascendant, and where there is yet a constitutional government, and some freedom of opinion and action:—

Once Piedmont was the persecutor of the Waldenses, the incarnation of bigotry; now she has established liberty of worship, and a Protestant chapel is being erected at Turin; formerly her ministers approved of that prohibitory fiscal system from which commerce has suffered so much in the Mediterranean; but during the past year they have concluded a Free Trade treaty with England, and prosperity has returned to Genoa to an extent even beyond the expectations of the most sanguine mind. What a change has this liberal policy produced within the last few years!

Not long ago, the city of the Doriae seemed rapidly hastening, like Venice, to a premature death; but of late that retrograde movement has been stopped; in 1849 I observed manifest symptoms of improvement, and in 1851 the appearance of the Porto Franco, or quarter of bonded warehouses, quite surprised me. One could scarcely move among the crowd of merchants, elegant merchants, and porters, busily engaged among bale-loads and produce; the quays resembled those of Liverpool or New York, more than the deserted wharves of a declining land; and the business there transacted has no outgrown the capabilities of the harbour, that it is said government have determined to abandon the arsenal and dockyards to commercial purposes and remove their establishment to La Spezia.

It is really heart-cheering now to stand on the pier of Genoa and contemplate the forest of masts within the mole, to mix with the commercial men on the Bourse or at the Porto Franco, and to see the vast amount of traffic on the coastward and landward. I had heard of the rapid strides being made by Piedmont, but the reality surprised me. From Piaveh Santa to Nice, from Spizola to Genoa, marks of industry, energy, and progress on every side appear: admirable roads, well-cultivated fields, silk-worms, canvas-manufactures, ship-building, railways, new villas, all bear witness to a rising people—a people who must infallibly lead the civilisation of Italy. They have no ruins among them to meditate, unless they be the venerable walls of Genoa's places; but the middle of England has fallen upon them, and when a period of freedom has brought forth its proper fruit, we may expect to see all that is good and great in the Peninsula rallying round the throne of Turin. How mysterious are the ways of that God who has so ordered it that a country once the high place of ignorance has become the very stronghold of the refuge of Italian patriotism! Watch well, ye enemies of tyranny, over the independence of Sardinia, and the liberties of the Peninsula are safe.

We have confined our extracts to those portions of Mr. Baxter's volumes which treat of the political and social aspects of these nations; but it would be doing him an injustice, if we left our readers to infer that other and lighter matter is not to be found in his pages. Lest such an impression should have been produced, we will conclude with a thrilling story of a "hair-breadth escape" while travelling on the Simplon, between Sion and the summit of that Alpine-road.

At one o'clock in the morning, I was awakened by a crash and a tremendous motion. Thinking that we had run against a wagon, I kept my seat, but in a minute or two the driver turned round and gave me a countenance on which terror was legibly written, that I instantly opened the door and sprang out. "For God's sake, sir, take care," shouted the conductor, who, seated on the box beside the coachman, with one hand held the wheel-horses on their track, while with the other he firmly gripped the handle of the drag. It was a pitchy dark night, the side of the road being invisible except where the lamps shone. Beside me the driver, his teeth chattering with fright, could say nothing but "Oh, mon Dieu." I heard somewhere or other the roaring of a torrent, and on a tree near me a screech-owl uttered its shrill cry to the voices of the night. Several minutes elapsed before we could realise the awful nature of the peril which, thanks to the extraordinary nature of mind displayed by the conductor, we had almost miraculously escaped. Had he not left his usual place to sit on the box, humbly speaking, no one would have survived the hour to narrate the terrible catastrophe. A wooden suspension-bridge, seventy feet in height, and spanning a rapid river had been swept away by a rise of waters, consequent on a thaw in the mountains. On the brink of the precipice thus caused by nature, our leading horse having fallen over it had been instantaneously killed. Had his harness been of stout leather, no mortal power could have saved us; but providentially he had been attached to the vehicle only by two rope traces and a slight strap. The tremendous motion I had felt was the struggle between the wheel-horses pulled back by the heroic conductor (for the driver was powerless to do more) and the unfortunate animal, still hung suspended in mid-air, and the roaring torrent. The crash was the recoil of the vehicle, when the traces broke, and the victim fell headlong into the abyss below. Outriggerly approaching the brink of the chasm we found the remains of the harness, and discovered the exact nature of our situation. I have travelled not a little both by land and sea, in all manner of conveyances; and on every kind of road, but such scenes as that I never expect to witness again, though I should spend the remainder of my years in wandering to and fro over the earth. 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THE ATHENÆUM INSTITUTE
FOR AUTHORS AND ARTISTS.

Every man of letters and every artist who has any particular fondness for the study of the history and progress of literature and art, and who is desirous of securing a permanent and profitable position in the literary and artistic world, should be a member of the Athenæum Institute.

The Institute is a body of men and women, who are more interested in the study of literature and art, than in the pursuit of a profession, and who are desirous of securing a permanent and profitable position in the literary and artistic world. The Institute is a body of men and women, who are more interested in the study of literature and art, than in the pursuit of a profession, and who are desirous of securing a permanent and profitable position in the literary and artistic world.

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Men of Fortune interested in Literature and Art.

Authors of Fortune, who, from philanthropic motives, would aid the Institute.

Publicists, Printers, Stationers, and others whose fortunes are derived from the labours of authors and artists.

Professional Artists, including all who obtain their living by the exercise of the Fine Arts in all its varieties.

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PROSPECTUS OF THE
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF UNITED TRADES

PROTECTION OF INDUSTRY AND EMPLOYMENT OF LABOUR
IN AGRICULTURE AND MANUFACTURES.

Established 24th of March, 1845.

OFFICES, 200, TOTTENHAM-COURT-ROAD, LONDON.

President—G. A. Fleming, Esq.
Committee—Mr. Frederick Green, Mr. William Peel, Mr. Thomas Winters, Mr. Edward Humphries.

Bankers—John Stock Bank of London.
Auditors—Joseph Glover, Esq., Public Accountant, 12, Bucklersbury, London.
Secretary—Mr. William Peel, 200, Tottenham-court-road, London.

Objects and Principles.—To secure as far as possible a Great National Industrial Union of all Classes of Labourers, and to concentrate the various Trades Unions into one consolidated confederation, thereby multiplying the power of each trade, and enabling each trade to defend its own interests with the whole strength of the Association.

To secure as far as possible a fair day's work for a fair day's wages, and to prevent the employment of any class of labourers, who are thrown out of employment in consequence of resisting reductions of wages or other aggression upon their interests.

To secure the payment of every man his wages in the current coin of the realm.

To cause the employers in all trades, wherever practicable, to provide properly lighted and ventilated workshops for those employed therein, in order to do away with miasma, and the sweating system, and to prevent the numerous evils arising from work being done at private houses.

To regulate the hours of labour in all trades, with a view to the health and comfort of the workers, and to prevent the employment of any class of labourers, who are thrown out of employment in consequence of resisting reductions of wages or other aggression upon their interests.

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To Correspondents.

Our Correspondents will oblige us greatly by attending to the following general instructions:

The earlier we can receive their communications in the week, the more certain they are of being inserted. This is the case especially with letters on general subjects intended for the columns of the 'Star' for Free Communication.

Reports of proceedings of Clubs, Bodies, Trades, and Co-operative Societies, &c., should be forwarded immediately after their occurrence, by this means a great deal of matter is avoided, and the reports are more reliable, and consequently more interesting.

Reports should be sent in a plain statement of facts. All communications intended for publication should be written on one side of the paper only, and addressed to the Editor.

Agents wishing for contents bills can have them by post by signing their wishes.
J. D. Campbell—Received.
A. F. Dunsterline—Received.
G. W. Alcock—has come to hand.

THE STAR.

SATURDAY, APRIL 3, 1892.

PARLIAMENTARY LEGERDEMAIN.

Even with the hustings before them, so rooted is the hostility of the great majority of the present House of Commons to a radical reform, that they either absented themselves, or held out against Mr. HUME's 'Little Charter.' Some eight or nine members more than the usual number were all that was added to the minority, and on the division the numbers were 244 against 80. In the minority there were some new names, representing altogether about a million and a half of persons in addition to the large towns formerly arrayed in support of Suffrage Extension. Coventry, Bath, and Chester, took their stand beside the metropolitan boroughs, Manchester, Birmingham, Sheffield, and Glasgow, while smaller towns, Rochester, Lincoln, and Hastings, for the first time joined in the demand for representative reform. Mr. DISRAELI and Lord J. RUSSELL led the Opposition. The latter only a degree more moderate in expression, not a whit in spirit; and the notable incident of the debate was the really clever speech of the new Chancellor of the Exchequer, who seemed quite to have demolished all the arguments based on the assumed predominance of the territorial nominees in the House by an elaborate analysis of its composition, which made out that the towns had an excess of representatives, and the counties were most unfairly treated.

Considering that the exact reverse of this proposition has long been assumed to be beyond cavil or dispute, the boldness of the opposite assertion excited no little surprise on one side of the House, and great cheering on the other. Mr. DISRAELI is really so clever at juggling with figures, that he seems to be quite cut out for the position of Chancellor of the Exchequer. There were great doubts as to the propriety of the appointment; but, by way of showing that when the time comes he will be able to cook a Budget, he dished up electoral statistics after a fashion that threw the tricks of HOBHOUSE or ROBIN, the conjurors, into the shade. The general result of his researches into the composition of the constituencies, was, that the town population is better represented than the rural population; and that, instead of the proportion of voters to the adult males of the country being one to six, it is in reality one to four. The means by which these conclusions were arrived at were these: The population of the boroughs represented in Parliament was subtracted from the total population of the county or division in which these boroughs are situated, and the remainder designated the 'rural population.' In this way Mr. DISRAELI made out Mr. CODDEN the representative of a purely agricultural constituency, and one very hardy used. Separating the population of nine considerable towns from the aggregate population of the West Riding, he found that five hundred thousand of an 'urban population' had sixteen members; while eight hundred thousand of a rural population had only two members. The fallacy on which this calculation rests is so transparent that it does not require one word of comment. In the so-called 'rural population' of the West Riding there are many manufacturing towns with populations varying from four thousand to fifteen thousand inhabitants, who will find with surprise that they are reckoned among agriculturalists, and who certainly never expected that their exclusion from the Franchise, or their being swamped in a county constituency, would be urged by a dexterous opponent as an argument against Parliamentary Reform.

The raising of the proportion of voters to the whole adult population was effected by a *ruse* not less subtle. Instead of taking the adults of the United Kingdom, Mr. DISRAELI substituted the figures applicable to Great Britain only. Such are the wretched subtleties and tricks by which it is sought to stave off the demand for representative amendments, and to befoul the people, in spite of their senses, into a belief that the existing system really confers electoral power upon them. After performing these feats of legerdemain with figures, the finance minister, by way of conclusion, guarded himself and his colleagues against being set down as enemies to all reform. They did not consider an extension of the Suffrage to be synonymous with the extension of the democratic power; but, in the meantime, they take their stand by the settlement made in 1831, as one which, though not made by them, nor favourable to them, has yet under *remedial* (query corrupting?) influences, proved capable of giving good government and freedom. While we laugh at the coolness of the concluding assumption, it is impossible not to feel gratified with the essential fact in the statement. Lord JOHN RUSSELL held by finality for a long time. He has given it up and proposed a new Reform Bill. The Tories have advanced to the point he has abandoned. They take their stand now by the act of 1831. What better encouragement can the earnest Reformer have to pursue his labours with unwavering confidence in the sure and certain result? The great Tory party which battled so fiercely against the Reform Bill of 1831, now claims to be the chief anchor of the Constitution. The spirit and change of progress has seized upon them, and without either their knowledge or previous concurrence, they will in future be pressed on to the recognition of yet greater and more radical changes.

Yet the men who pioneer the path to those adaptations of the institutions of society to the growing wants of experience and intelligence of the age, are sneered at as 'visionaries' by the would-be 'practical men,' whose late adoption of their views only proves their own want of political foresight and wisdom. It depended upon them, indeed, there would be no progress whatever. They have to be dragged onward, and they bestow not a little abuse on those who have led them forward. The 'Times,' which has been compelled, in deference to opinion, to advocate Parliamentary Reform, compensates itself by abusing JOSEPH HUME, and classes him in the same category as ROBERT OWEN. We are certain that both parties were very much astonished at finding themselves, even in imagination, ranked together. Whether either of them will consider it complimentary is very problematical.

The direct use, however, of the division upon Mr. HUME's motion was the unmistakable index of the present party, the real opinions of the age, and the representative body. The Whigs are Whigs and nothing more. If the constituencies return them to the next election, they and the country at large have what to expect from them, either in power or in opposition. Taken in conjunction with their vote against the Ballot, there can be no doubt as to the position which it is their determination to maintain on the question. If the Liberal party are really Liberal, they will effect no compromises with men, either on the hustings or in Parliament. Let every man stand on his own bottom; and as they can hope for no substantial help from the Whigs to carry out their measures of Reform, let all honest Parliamentary Reformers abstain from assisting Whigs in any way, either by getting into Parliament, or to aid them in gaining possession of power when they are there.

Such an independent and determined course would have the effect of either compelling the Whigs to coalesce with the advanced party, on their own terms, or it would give them such a standing and influence, that they would practically hold the balance of power in the House, and be enabled to dictate the policy on all points.

Advantage of Appropriating the Subscriptions to the Assurance of Funds.
It is a well-known fact that the subscriptions to the Assurance of Funds, which will ultimately drop in to the benefit of the Institute, is that provided the philanthropic portion of the scheme is properly managed, the policies will remain for the benefit of those subscribing.

By this plan, those who sympathise with Literature and Art will have an opportunity of gradually testing the scheme, and this would not be risking their money on an untried experiment. There are, doubtless, many noble-minded and wealthy individuals who would subscribe largely to any method that would permanently benefit the workers in Literature and Art; and there may be reckoned still more who would give their subscriptions to the Institute, and by which they could gradually test the result of their liberality; and who thus might conscientiously compound, as it were, for all claims of a like nature.

A handsome Annual Subscription to the Institution would be a fair answer to all private contributions.
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In the first place, it has been argued, with a considerable show of reason, that Annual Parliaments would prevent members from thoroughly mastering their duties, and keep the whole country in a state of continual ferment. By Mr. DUNCOMBE's plan, the

THE NEW MILITIA BILL.

Unawed by the fate of their predecessors, the De-
Ministry have brought in a new Militia Bill. In
its leading features more undisguisedly warlike to
the White House, while pains have obviously been
taken to dress it, as far as possible, of anything
might render it unnecessarily offensive. The
point in which it is more open to objection than
it succeeds, is the increased range of its operation.
Lord JOHN confined his conscription to young
men between twenty and twenty-three years of age;
period of life when, as he very justly remarked,
parties would be generally unmarried, and
hampers either with the cares of a family, or
responsibilities of large and important establishments.
Besides this, to young persons of that age a
soldierly drilling, so far from being either objection-
or injurious, would be pleasant in most cases.

THE MURDER AT STOW-ON-THE-WOLD.—John Humble, who stood charged with the murder of his father by shooting him with a gun, was tried at Gloucester on Thursday and found guilty of "manslaughter." He was sentenced to a fortnight's imprisonment.

less such a termination were shortly arrived at, upon which the men might go in with honour, they would have to buckle on their armour, and labour in the field of agitation.

a tea party be held in the Literary Institution on Monday, in commemoration of the birth-day of Maximilian Robespierre. The members were requested

Assize Intelligence.

The committees of the approaching Cork exhibition are working with great earnestness in Cork, Dublin, and Belfast. Almost all the necessary funds have already been collected, and it is expected that all the arrangements will be made in a most satisfactory manner.

any five days after the day or such proclamation, the day of the fifth year of Queen Anne, c. 8, or the act of the 5th and 8th years of William III., c. 25, or any other law to the contrary notwithstanding."

system became thereby so debilitated that she was reduced to a complete skeleton, and suffered continually from sick headache and nervousness. On her return to England she commenced taking Holloway's Pills, and in the course of six weeks this unwholesome medicine removed all traces of those distressing complaints, and she now enjoys the best of health.

chiefly by reports from abroad, for our own market is scantily supplied, and our large exports, both abroad and to the interior of the country, would certainly occasion a rise were it not for the favourable reports from foreign markets. All apprehension that the frost has injured our crops is dispelled by the fact that the weather has been so mild since the 1st of November that the crops are now in a state of rapid growth, and the yield is expected to be very good.

DIFFERENTIAL DUES.—On Saturday a bill now in the House of Commons was printed to enable her Majesty to abolish, otherwise than by treaty, on condition of the reciprocity, differential dues on foreign ships. It is proposed that the rates and duties on foreign ships may be made

that the rates and duties on foreign ships may be
an order of the Queen in council, so as to make the act

severe, should oppose the bill even in its present stage.

side, they did not preach about reform, but *only* about the church being in danger. (Great laughter.) He said the tradesman was dependent upon the populace. (Hear.) Being asked about the ballot as a remedy, he said "I could never bring his mind to do anything secret" (hear, hear)—that secret voting would be a benefit at the time to those who were not able to give their votes openly without ruin, but if it got wind, it would cause a worse jealousy—(hear, hear!)—it would be a benefit if it was so contrived that it never got wind how a man voted! (hear, hear)—"I thought they would be able to get it out of him, unless he were a man of strong nerve." (Hear, hear.) Mr. Berkeley entertained the house for some time with

ively passages in the evidence of witnesses, and treated as farcical the suggestion of Mr. Disraeli that the way to cure corruption was "by elevating the tone of the community." He read a long list of boroughs which he said were "tarred with the same brush" as St. Albans; and then grappled with the objections urged against the ballot, maintaining that the

that the working of this plan in France was brilliant, and in America perfectly satisfactory, notwithstanding the breaking of a few ballot boxes. Those who refused to trust the people, and spoke of Democratic tendencies, might as well anticipate from under the foundation of that house the outburst of a subterranean fire. The ballot might

Mr. BARNOW. I have been appropriated to constituencies over 1,000 voters; though we added to the principle, he was not to the details. He asked the house to permit him to bring in a bill to give protection to electors at the polling booths, and if they did so, they would perform a great act of abstract justice to the public, and of honour to themselves. (Cheers.)

He concluded that it would prove a delusion and a snare, more from the experience of other countries than from any theoretical notions. That it did not secure secrecy was demonstrated in America.

Sir B. HALT would grant that the election of the hon. member for South Norfolk was a proof of the independence

of that constituency. He was, indeed, a remarkable instance; because the tenant farmers of that county, not trusting in the aristocracy, were determined themselves to bring forward a man to carry out the objects they had at heart. It was well known that noble duke, in that county brought up their tenants at elections like a flock of sheep. ("Oh, oh!") An election was now pending in the north of England where the millowners were canvassing the

the smallest tradesmen in favour of their candidate, and where the working classes were banding together, and going to the tradesmen, saying to them, "You shall vote for our candidate." So that the tradesman did not know whether to disoblige the millowners or the working men. He denied the assertion of the hon. gentleman (Mr. Berkeley)

that the constituency of Marylebone were corrupt. He had represented that borough for fifteen years; there were nearly 20,000 voters, and he said it was impossible for any corruption to take place in that borough. (Cries of "Oh!" from the Ministerial benches.) The election disturbances in the United States were not caused by the ballot, but

The parochial elections for St. George's, Mary-le-bone, and St. Pancras, with ratepayers varying from 15,000 to 19,000 in each, took place every year by ballot. The voting took place in districts, and the greatest order and propriety prevailed. He was anxious that there should be no delay in this, and that the ratepayers should be able to vote in person.

Mr. W. WILLIAMS rose amid loud cries of "Oh, oh!" from both sides of the house. The ballot was not the only thing wanted to improve our electoral system. He begged to remind hon. members of a return published in 1847, which showed that 214 boroughs, with a constituency of

116,500, returned 329 members, being a majority in that house. Any representation founded upon such a state of things was illusory, and ought to be amended.

Mr. B. COCHRANE said, that the foreigner whom the hon. gentleman opposite desired to have as a witness of our next general election might, by selecting Mr. Coppock as his *cicerone* on the occasion, certainly obtain a very edifying insight into the electioneering proceedings of the other side

of the house. Laughter.) As to the ballot, if that system were to be adopted for electors, it should, as a fitting corollary, be also applied to the faking of votes in that house; but he much doubted whether the constituencies who insisted upon pledges from their representatives would like to give up their present means of ascertaining whether

those pledges were fulfilled. (Hear, hear.) As to the United States, the United States was a Republic, whereas we lived under a constitutional monarchy, so that no valid analogy could be drawn between the two countries in this particular any more than there was similarity between the two representative assemblies, if we were to judge from the precedents.

the proceedings in Congress the other day, when two hon. members of the American legislature, Messrs. Brown and Wilcox, having a difference of opinion in the house, set to work calling each other liars and pulling each other by the ears. (Laughter.) Quoting Sir James Graham, the hon. member said :—" The whole system of secret voting is inconsistent with the English character. If he be an honest man and a firm friend he will not want the ballot. If he

skulks he will not avail himself of it. The only persons to whom the ballot would be valuable would be those dirty, hypocritical scoundrels—(hear, hear, and laughter)—men whose faces belie their purpose—men who pretend to be your friends only to deceive and betray you—who flatter you with vain hopes of support, which they have no intention to realise—men who talk of intimidation, but seek the opportunity of gratifying their sordid envy, their revenge,

and that bitter hatred which, combined with their cowardice, marks them as the most contemptible of mankind." These are the men who demand a measure that is a mere recipe to

Lend to lies the confidence of truth.

("Hear, hear," and laughter.) He (Mr. Cochrane) could not at all improve on this language of the right hon. baronet.

Mr. COBBEN, upon this exhausted question, declined to notice fallacies which had been often exposed. He adopted the instance of France alleged by the former speaker. At

the general elections there, 6,000,000 of people voted in one day, and that without tumult or confusion: how different was that from the scenes of riot and confusion which took place at some of the smaller elections in this country. The absence of all outward demonstration—the ordinary accompaniments of flags, bands, and processions, which, with the ballot, would not be used—would prevent those riots and disturbances which all should be anxious to avoid.

The people of the United States, who complained of the corruption at their elections, did not wish to resort to open voting, but that the ballot should be made secret; and so it should. Unless the ballot was guarded by secrecy, it would not be effective in protecting the voter from undue influence—whether of landlords, of millowners, or of mobs.

Capt. SCORELL supported the motion, but could gain but an imperfect hearing.

Mr. WALROLE.—The hon. member for the West Riding, in arguing this question with his usual ability, has rested his support of the ballot on two grounds. The hon. member did not condescend to discuss the question in its political bearings, but invited us to look at it in its moral aspect; and, viewing it in that light, he contended that the introduction of the ballot would prevent certain evils, and elevate and improve the moral condition of the electors.

vate and improve the moral condition of the people. Now, I think I shall be able to show that the ballot, instead of preventing the evils to which the hon. member referred, might possibly leave them as they are, but would probably augment them; and that, instead of advancing morality, it would be very detrimental to it. (Cheers.) Before entering upon this part of the subject I will take the liberty of referring to two observations which fell from the hon.

member. The hon. member declared that the extension of the franchise, for which he is so anxious, would be an unmitigated evil, unless it were accompanied by the ballot. I trust the members of this house will bear this declaration in mind when they come to give their votes upon the next question which will be submitted to their consideration. The next motion upon the paper is for leave to bring in a bill "to make the franchise and pro-

cedure at elections in the counties in England and Wales the same as in the boroughs, by giving the right of voting to all occupiers of tenements of the annual value of £10.^s Seeing, then, that in the opinion of the hon. member the extension of the franchise without the ballot would be an unmitigated evil, if the house, as I trust it will, should reject the present motion, I think I am entitled to claim the vote of the hon. member against the motion of his hon. friend (Mr. St. John).

friend which follows. (Loud cheers.) The other passage of the hon. member's speech to which I am about to refer I cannot pass over so lightly, and indeed he must permit me to say that it was not worthy of him ; because it was not an accurate representation of the words of the noble lord at the head of the government. (Hear, hear.) The words which the hon. member used were very remarkable ; he said, that the noble lord at the head of the government had

made use of the expression, that the landlords of England looked on their tenantry as political capital.

Mr. CODDEN.—No, I did not. (Cries of "Oh, oh!" "Order!")

Mr. WALPOLE.—I am not misstating what the hon. member said. (Cheers.)

Mr. WALPOLE.—I believe the words which the hon. member attributed to Lord Derby were, that the tenants of England were the political capital of their landlords. (Cheers.)

time and ours in arguing on an unfounded hypothesis. ("No, no.") I quoted Lord Derby's words from "Hansard" ("Oh, oh!") and I said, after some other remarks interspersed, that he claimed the tenants as his political capital. (Oh, oh! and groans.)

Mr. WALPOLE.—I should be very sorry to misrepresent the hon. member.

Mr. CODDEN.—"Canital" is an American phrase.

Mr. WALPOLE.—The hon. member shall not put me out by these interruptions. (Loud cheers.) That the hon. member used the words I have stated, and in the manner I have stated, I firmly believe, because they were taken down at the time. (Continued cheering.) If not, let him retract them. (Cheers.) The hon. member unquestionably went on to quote the exact language used by the noble

lord at the head of the government; but does that language contain the expression attributed to the noble lord by the hon. member? (Cheers.) On the contrary, it is pointed to this, that the occupying tenantry of counties and the landlords of counties entertained feelings of mutual regard and goodwill towards each other, and in that way landlords exercised influence over their tenants. That was the effect of the passage quoted by the hon. member.

and it contained nothing to justify him in asserting that Lord Derby said, or ever intended to say, that the farmers of England were the political class of the country. (Cheers.) The House Secretary then proceeded to discuss the question in the moral aspect. The ballot would not prevent the evils of bribery and undue influence, but on the contrary would probably exaggerate them, while it would be detrimental to the moral character of the people. Bribery and intimidation could not be prevented by the ballot unless absolute secrecy could be secured, which was hopeless; suspicion would be excited, and the public trust would be shaken. Wherever there was a public trust it should be exercised under the control of public opinion. The opportunity of concealment afforded an opportunity for fraud, and this would have an ill effect upon the character of the people.

Lord D. Stuart moved the second reading of this Bill, to the effect of remedying notorious evils. If it would not, altogether stop corrupt practices and intimidation, it might diminish them; while nothing would tend more to elevate the tone of the community.

Upon a division, the motion was negatived by 236 against 144.

The result was received with loud cheers.

Mr. H. J. H. moved for the understanding your direction about the division. I voted in the wrong lobby. I intended to vote in favour of the motion of the hon. member for Bristol. I voted against it. (Great laughter.)

The orders of the day were then disposed of, and the house re-assembled at half-past twelve.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 31.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—The second reading of this Bill, to the effect of remedying notorious evils, was taken up at 10.15. The principle of which, he said, was in a position to say the nation had consented. While a multitude of petitions had been presented in favour of this Bill, not a single petition had appeared against it; a circumstance, he believed, unparalleled in a question of this importance. In Ireland the land was the chief means of existence to the population; and the main object of this Bill, which did not force the land into other parts where it did not exist as a custom, was to provide full and fair compensation to the tenant for labour and capital expended by him upon the land, whereby its value was increased. Mr. Crawford explained the provisions of the Bill, observing that, as a landlord, he believed that landlords' rights rested on a sure foundation unless these of the tenants were protected.

Mr. Sturges moved the great importance of any measure calculated to promote the industry and stimulate the energies of the people of Ireland. This difficult question had long engaged his attention, and he hoped before long to lay upon the table a measure for simplifying the code of landlord and tenant in Ireland, which had been an obstacle for principle of compensation for unimproved land. The measure, he said, was not a simple one, but it was a clear proposition of moral justice that a tenant should have a fair opportunity of enjoying the benefit of his industry without the risk of being deprived of it by arbitrary caprice. After referring to the number of bills introduced into the House of Commons on this subject, and promising that no measure could be so successful which was not simple in its details and easily worked, Mr. Napier stated his objections to the present Bill—namely, it perpetuated a custom which was nowhere a legal custom, and which ought not to be recognised by Act of Parliament; it did not carry out properly the principle of compensation for unimproved land; it was a patchwork of old and new provisions, and its machinery would create difficulties and tenants at variance. Concurring with Mr. Crawford in respect to the principle of compensation, he would not go out of the limits of the fixed laws of property, and he concluded with an outline of the measures which the government proposed hereafter to introduce upon their own responsibility for consolidating and amending the law, and for simplifying the code of contracts, and providing simple, clear, and efficacious remedies for both parties.

Mr. Napier had been disappointed at the conclusion of Mr. Napier's speech, which postponed the hope of a remedy in this matter. The principle enunciated by him should at once take the form of a law, or why not go into committee upon this bill, the principle of which had been assented to?

Lord CASTLEREAGH parroted of the same feeling. The bill, whatever its defects might be, was intended to remedy an evil to which much of the calamities of Ireland had been attributed, and, if there were objectionable clauses in it, they might be dealt with in committee.

Mr. J. G. G. moved for the speedy introduction of measures that would encourage the application of capital to land in Ireland, where, for want of it, large portions lay waste.

Mr. V. SCULLY bore his testimony to the interest which the people of Ireland took in this bill, and assured the house that its rejection would create a feeling of deep disappointment. The principle of compensation had been conceded; the rest was a matter of detail. The custom of tenant-right was not confined to Ulster; it was found all over Ireland; and there was no greater objection to legalising this right than to legalising the copyhold tenure, which was founded upon tenant-right. The giving tenants a permanent interest in the land would extinguish agrarian discontent and suppress illegal customs.

Mr. J. G. G. moved for the speedy introduction of measures that would encourage the application of capital to land in Ireland, where, for want of it, large portions lay waste.

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THURSDAY, APRIL 1.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—The house sat for a short time, but no business of any general interest was brought under consideration.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Mr. M. MILNES moved a resolution expressing the disapprobation of the house at the menace of Austria that she would subject British travellers to inconvenience and annoyance, in consequence of the refusal of the Austrian government to expel foreign refugees. The hon. gentleman referred to the reception which had been given to Kosch, who had given each off-noon to Prince Schwarzenberg and the Austrian Government. He proposed by his motion to afford to British subjects that protection to which they were entitled, and to prevent its being supposed that the correspondence which had passed between Prince Schwarzenberg and Lord Salisbury was acceptable to the parliament and the country. If ever we admitted the principle of demanding that expelling foreigners at the bidding of a government, we should be bound not merely the constables, but the executioners of Europe.

Mr. S. SECRETARY WALKER urged, as a reason for not pressing the motion, the difficulties it might interpose to the maintenance of our present relations with friendly states.

Mr. A. STURGES supported the motion.

Mr. T. DUNCOMBE moved for leave to bring in a bill for appointing commissioners to inquire into the existence of bribery in the borough of Harwich.

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Mr. WALKER said he was so far from wishing any advantage in the immediate issue of a writ for a borough in which the government might be supposed to have some influence, that he would prefer that due notice should be given, so that no unfair advantage should be given to any party.

Mr. DUNCOMBE then withdrew his motion, and gave notice that he would move it to-morrow.

The remaining business was then disposed of, and the house adjourned.

(From our Second Edition of last week.)

FRIDAY, MARCH 26.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—In reply to a question from the Marquis of Salisbury, it was the intention of the government to introduce a bill to continue the Encumbered Estates Act for another year, and in the meantime inquiry should be made as to the practicability of effecting such an alteration in the Court of Chancery as would enable that Court to transact some of the business usually transacted in the Encumbered Estates Court.

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the workhouse. The jury returned a verdict of Guilty against the man, and Acquitted the woman; and he was sentenced to two months' imprisonment.

FOREIGN.

PARIS.—The "Moniteur" contains a decree, imposing severe restrictions upon the sale of materials for printing. Entries are to be made of the names and addresses of purchasers, and copies of this register sent to the Prefect of Police. No private press, however small, can be possessed without authorisation. Printers' licences are in future to be conferred by the Minister of Police.

The Swiss question is revived. The "Public" declares that France is decided to intervene.

MR. T. S. DUNCOMBE AND THE CHARTISTS.

The following Correspondence has taken place between the Chartists of Bristol and Mr. T. S. Duncombe.

Bristol, March 24, 1885.

HONOURABLE AND RESPECTED SIR,—We, the undersigned, with the most unfeigned respect and affectionate sympathy, beg to warmly congratulate you upon your restored state of health, as announced in your noble retiring address to the Committee of the United Trades' Association, after a most painful and protracted illness; the result of which has been watched by us, and we are sure, by thousands, with deep though silent anxiety; and by which the sacred cause of industrial freedom and humanity, has for a time been nearly deprived of the valuable services of one of its most able and consistent advocates.

Sir, had this welcome announcement been unaccompanied by anything but your restoration to health, we assure you it would have been to us a source of infinite pleasure and delight, in consideration of the many valuable and arduous services you have rendered to the persecuted and oppressed of our own, and every country, who required your generous aid, and your able and consistent advocacy, during your long and brilliant parliamentary career, of those principles of real legislative reform which won for you the esteem and admiration of friend and foe.

But, Sir, when coupled with this, we have your generous pledge that you will still continue to watch with interest industrial movements of the Working Classes, and tender them your experienced advice; and, above all, when you announce your patriotic determination again to resume the advocacy of the all-important question of Parliamentary Reform, it inspires us with fresh hopes, and kindles a flame of fervent enthusiasm in our hearts, being of opinion that upon your auspices alone, at the present crisis, can a real People's Party be formed, for the purpose of effecting such a radical reform of our representative system as the exigencies of the times demand. We consider ourselves justified in coming to that conclusion, without descending to vain adulation, knowing the fact that you have devoted years of your valuable life to become possessed of a thorough and practical knowledge of the character and requirements of all classes of our industrial community; a qualification which we are sorry to say, few gentlemen in your sphere of life possess, and think beneath their dignity to acquire.

We hope, Sir, that you will accept of our hearty congratulations and our regisitions in the spirit they are penned, and believe us, when we say, that our highest aspirations are, that Providence may long spare your health and strength in the advocacy of those principles which are so dear to you and us, and that in spite of all apparent difficulties, you may live to bring your long and arduous labours to a triumphant issue.

We remain, dear Sir, on behalf of the Chartists of Bristol, Yours obediently,

JOHN ROGERS, Chairman.

WILLIAM SHEEHAN, Secretary.

T. S. Duncombe, Esq., M.P.

1, Palace Chambers, St. James's Street,

March 20th, 1885.

GENTLEMEN.—Accept my sincere thanks for your kind congratulations, and for the manner in which you are pleased to remember and speak of my humble services in the popular cause.

While I am not insensible to the warmth of your interest in my welfare, I can assure you that I value your address far more highly, than if it had been limited to mere personal compliments, or the expression of kindly feeling towards me as an individual.

I have not been an inattentive or unconcerned spectator of events, during the period in which indisposition has prevented me from taking the active part I formerly did in public affairs; on the contrary, I have watched with the deepest anxiety the progress of all the movements which might have a tendency to promote the political enfranchisement, and the social improvement of the industrial classes, as well as those fluctuations in the state of political parties which might advance or retard those objects.

I have observed with regret the political apathy and indifference upon most important and pressing questions, which has pervaded the classes formerly the most prominent in urging those questions upon the attention of the legislature. The anomalous state of parties, caused by the just and liberal policy of the late Sir Robert Peel in 1846, had undoubtedly much to do with that condition of the public mind. Within the legislative parties were too evenly balanced to permit of any decided progressive policy being pursued. The Liberal party thought that their first duty was to secure the permanence of the commercial policy commenced in 1842, and consummated in 1846. They were of opinion that to press the late government unduly, might endanger the continuance of that policy, and they gave their support to an administration, with which, on most other questions, they professed to have little in common. Such a course on the part of those who would otherwise have led popular movements, and imparted weight and influence to them, naturally discouraged the formation and concentration of any body powerful enough to produce any practical effect upon either the government or the legislature.